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Chief Editor  
Nalini Rewadikar

Editor  
Yatindra Singh Sisodia

Associate Editors  
Manu Gautam  
Tapas Kumar Dalapati



**M.P. Institute of Social Science Research, Ujjain**

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**M.P. Institute of Social Science Research**

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## **Russia in the Arctic: Opportunities and Challenges**

**Bipandeep Sharma\***

*Since the beginning of 21st century, Arctic is seen as a region with increased military and non-military activity. The continuous retreat of Arctic sea ice due to increased global warming is leaving its impact on Arctic not only environmentally, but also geo-politically. The opening up of Arctic sea lanes and places of immense economic and strategic importance in the region, has led to a geo-political race amongst Arctic and non-Arctic states to dominate Arctic affairs. Major five Arctic states which includes Canada, Denmark, Norway, Russia and United States, had already started pursuing their Arctic strategy in the region. This paper tends to analyse Russia's interests in the Arctic region, elucidating various challenges and opportunities that the country faces geo-politically, being the largest stake holder in the region.*

Arctic is the northernmost region of the earth. The region which was completely hostile and was almost inaccessible to human population in past decades has started witnessing drastic changes due to changing global temperatures. The Arctic region constitute almost 14.5 million square kilometres of earth's surface, which is almost equal to the size of Antarctica (Polar Discovery: Arctic Location and Geography, 2006). But unlike Antarctica, the Arctic is surrounded by landmass of eight countries which

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### **Russia in the Arctic: Opportunities and Challenges**

includes Canada, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Russia, Sweden and United States. The global climate change is leaving its worst impact on Arctic's ice. Due to higher global emissions the polar ice cap of Arctic is 25 per cent smaller than it was in 1978. It has been estimated that in summer of 2007 alone more than 1.6 million square mile of Arctic ice melted beyond the average normal (Arctic Sea Ice Shatters All Previous Record Lows 2007, 2017). On 7 March 2017's Arctic's maximum ice cover was recorded as lowest in 38 years of satellite record. The current recorded sea ice extent over the Arctic Ocean is 14.42 million square kilometres as compared to 2015's maximum of 14.517 million square kilometres, and 2016's maximum of 14.52 million square kilometres (Arctic sea ice maximum at record low for third straight year, 2017). The tremendous pace at which global warming is occurring at the Arctic is not only impacting the region environmentally, but also geo-politically. Out of eight Arctic states, the five major dominant powers which claim their stakes in the region are Canada, Denmark, Norway, Russia and United States. Geographically, out of these five states, Russia encompasses half of the Arctic coastline, about 40 per cent of the total land area beyond the Arctic Circle and almost three-fourth of Arctic population (Laruelle, 2014). Kremlin's interest in the Arctic region started reviving with the coming of Vladimir Putin into power. The region during the cold war was strategic base for Russia's conventional and nuclear arsenals later started showing its geo-political significance with the changing environmental conditions.

#### **Natural Resources**

Russian Arctic Zone consists of the largest portion of the undiscovered Arctic hydrocarbon reserves. The region accounts for almost 95 per cent of Russian gas production, 70 per cent of oil production, 99 per cent of primary and placer diamonds, 98 per cent of platinum group elements, 80 per cent of nickel, 90 per cent of chromium and manganese, 40 per cent of gold, and from about 50-90 per cent of antimony, tin, tungsten and other rare earth metals in percentage of Russia's total (Dobretsov & Pokhilenko, 2010). Russia is second-largest producer of dry natural gas and is the world's largest producer of crude oil. These resource reserves accounts for more than 40 per cent of the Russian federal budget revenues (U.S. Energy Information Administration (EIA), 2016). The Russian geologists had discovered almost 200 oil and gas deposits in the Russian Arctic Zone majority of which are located in Western Siberia. Therefore, looking at the vast economic potential of the region, Moscow plans to transform the Arctic



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into “Russian Federation’s leading strategic resource base”, which can be used for providing solutions to the problems of social and economic development of the country (Russian Federation Policy for the Arctic to 2020, 2009). In order to get maximum benefit from these unexploited resources Russia has already started investing in the region and numerous national and foreign companies have also invested billions of dollars in Russian oil and gas projects. Russia, which lags in advance technology, sees western investment in the region as a boon to its reviving oil and gas sector. The huge foreign investment on the one hand it is bringing large capital inflow in Russian Arctic, on the other hand it is simultaneously reducing exploration cost for Russian oil and gas companies and is saving their billions of dollars. Between 2010 and 2011, five major agreements between foreign international oil companies as one partner and Rosneft (Russia's leading oil company) as other, were signed (Overlandi, Godzimirsk, Lunden, & Fjaertoft, 2013). Apart from oil and gas, the Republic of Yakutia (also known as Sakha) and Arkhangelsk Oblast accounts for 80 per cent and 18 per cent of Russian diamonds respectively (Vorotnikov, 2013). Russia is also one of the largest producers of gold in the world. It’s 80 per cent of known gold reserves and most of its gold mines are located in southern Siberia, east of Novosibirsk and in Russian Far East (Boyd, Bjerkgård, Nordahl, & Schiellerup, 2016). Coal, which is most abundantly and widely distributed fossil fuel around the world, is also found in Arctic waters. It has been estimated that almost 2.1 per cent of world’s coal extraction takes place in Russian Arctic.

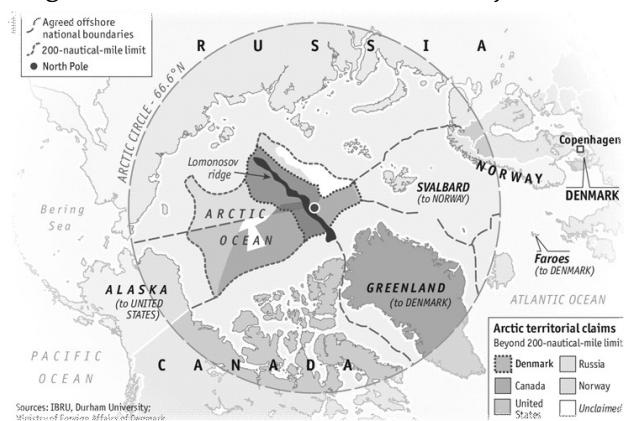
### **Territorial Interests**

As per the United Nation Convention on the Laws of the Sea (UNCLOS), coastal states are provided with 200 nautical miles of exclusive economic zone beyond their shoreline. Further, UNCLOS also grants signatory states, some exclusive rights to extract mineral resources beyond their exclusive economic zone (EEZ), but only if the signatory state successfully justifies that the area beyond its EEZ as an extension of its continental self, before the Commission on the limits of Continental Shelf (CLCS), by providing scientific evidence within 10 years after ratification of the UNCLOS treaty by the signatory state (U.N., n.d.). On the basis of this treaty Moscow has claimed that the Lomonosov and Mendelejev ridges are extension of its Siberian shelf, and the country has already submitted its claim regarding the same to CLCS. The CLCS rejected Russia’s claims in 2001 on the basis of less technical and scientific information provided to the commission (Russia Presents Claim Of Arctic Seabed To UN, 2016), and

### Russia in the Arctic: Opportunities and Challenges

further the commission asked Russia to undertake further scientific research to justify their claims. On 3rd August 2015, Russia again made its revised submissions before CLCS (U.N., 2015), but the commission is yet to make its final recommendations on Russian claims. The issue of Lomonosov ridge is rather complicated as the same Lomonosov ridge is also claimed by Canada and Denmark. The Lomonosov ridge is an underwater chain of mountains extending from New Siberian Island off the North central coast of Russia to Ellesmere island of Canada (Spohr, Höring, Cerioli, Lersch, & Soares, 2013). Both Canada and Denmark are undertaking joint scientific research in the region to survey, map and collect data, in order to justify their claims to CLCS. On Lomonosov ridge issue all three states are in the race to maintain their own sovereignty. Canada defines Lomonosov ridge as an underwater extension of its Ellesmere Island, while Denmark consider it as an extension of Greenland landmass, whereas Russia claims it to be the part of its Siberian shelf (Spohr, Höring, Cerioli, Lersch, & Soares, 2013, p. 38). The reason for claiming Lomonosov ridge is not merely economical (even though the area holds 2.5 billion barrels of oil equivalents, as per US Geological Survey), but also strategic and political as the control of the region would enable the control of entire Northern Sea Route and that of high north. Therefore, Russia's planting of Russian titanium flag at the bottom of the Arctic at north pole in 2007 was the clear symbolic message to the world that the Russian interest in the region are not just confined to the coastal sea's and EEZ's, but extend up to the North pole, and circumscribe the entire region (Parfitt, 2007).

**Figure 1**  
**Showing Arctic Territorial Claims of five major Arctic States**



Source: <http://www.economist.com/news/international/21636756-denmark-claims-north-pole-frozen-conflict>

### **The Northern Sea Route**

As per the “State policy for Russian Federation in the Arctic for the period 2020 and Beyond”, Russia intends to use Northern Sea Route (NSR) as a national single transport communication of the Russian Federation in the Arctic (Russian Federation Policy for the Arctic to 2020, 2009). If the extent of sea ice kept on retreating at current pace, Russia would have good prospect for intensive exploitation of the northern sea route. Shipping voyages through NSR will significantly increase which will significantly reduce shipping distance between Europe and East Asia from 21,000 km using the Suez Canal to 12,800 km using NSR. This will cut the transit time of ships sailing between Europe and East Asia by 10-15 days (Rodrigue, 2017). The opening up of the NSR will not only enhance international shipping transits through the region but it will also enhance Russia’s domestic transits of ships connecting Siberian river ports to each other and to other European and far eastern parts of the country (Sergunin & Konyshchev, 2014). Therefore, analysing the potential of NSR Moscow wants to retain its complete control over this entire sea route. Russia is highly focused on developing the NSR into a significant international shipping route and wants to dominate the entire trade transiting through this passage. The major challenge before Russian policy makers is that United States and some other European countries seek to ensure that the status of the NSR along the Arctic coast of Russia should become international. This is highly contradictory to Russian interests as this will not only result in depriving Russia from significant revenues for the use of NSR by other countries, but will also increase Russia’s military and strategic vulnerability from the north (Sergunin & Konyshchev, 2014, p. 76). Russia therefore, is leaving no stone unturned to regulate shipping in NSR as per Russian laws. In January 2013, new navigational rules for regulating shipping and other shipping related activities for NSR were issued by the Russian Ministry of Transportation (Ministry of Transportation, 2013).

## Russia in the Arctic: Opportunities and Challenges

**Figure 2**  
**Showing Northern Sea Route**



Source: [https://www.polarcruises.com/sites/default/files/Map\\_Shokalskiy\\_Northeast Passage.jpg](https://www.polarcruises.com/sites/default/files/Map_Shokalskiy_Northeast Passage.jpg)

### Indigenous People

Russia holds about half of the Arctic population. The major Arctic population centres in Russia includes Murmansk, with an estimated population of around 3,00,000, Norilsk, with over 1,70,000, and Vorkuta with around 60,000 people. The major ethnic groups of Russian Arctic people are Gizhigans, Kolymchans, Markovtsy, Pomors and Ust-Tsilems (Arctic). The Russian Arctic zone consist of almost 46 towns having one per cent of Russia's total population, accounts for 11 per cent of country's gross domestic product and almost 22 per cent of Russia's export earnings (Sergunin & Konyshchev, 2014, p. 72). Therefore, analysing these economic potentials of the Russian Arctic zone and contributions of the indigenous people towards state's economy, the Russian Government is working to further develop the region through industrialisation and infrastructural development. The state government is bringing billions of dollars of Russian and foreign direct investment in energy, mining, transportation, pipeline system and other such sectors. This can potentially improve social and economic status of the indigenous people living in Russian Arctic by providing them with better employment opportunities and access to better lifestyle. In 1990, Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North (RAIPON) was established, in order to protect indigenous peoples' human

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rights, defend their legal interests, assist in solving environmental, social, economic, cultural and educational issues. This Russia's umbrella organisation organises 35 regional and ethnic organisations of Russian indigenous people, and represents almost 41 groups of indigenous people of the North, Siberia and the Far East Russia (Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North (RAIPON), 2015). RAIPON holds the permanent participant status in Arctic Council, special consultative status in United Nations Economic and Social Council and an observer status in Governing Council/Global Ministerial Environment Forum of the United Nations Environment Program (Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North (RAIPON), 2015).

### **Russia's Strategic Interests and Military Capabilities in the Arctic**

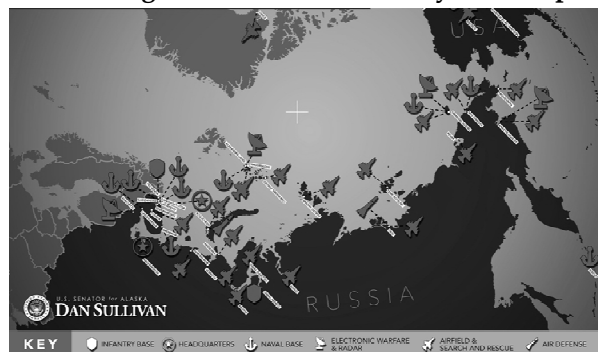
With the opening up of the new Arctic maritime shipping routes, Arctic states had started investing heavily in infrastructure development in the region. These developments include both military and non-military assets, to secure places and routes of strategic and economic importance. The construction of new icebreakers (both conventional and nuclear powered), Arctic capable ships, submarines, search and rescue vessels, communication networks, deep water ports and other such assets of strategic value have already started shaping Arctic geo-politics. Russia, which highly prioritise Arctic's importance in its strategic and national interests policy framework, in last two years has continued its massive military infrastructure build-up in the region. In order to strengthen Arctic defence, Russia has activated six new combat brigades out of which four are Arctic combat brigades. Russia currently maintains 14 operational airfields and has proposed 50 new airfields in its claimed Arctic by 2020. Russia accounts for 16 deep water ports in the region, 40 icebreakers with 11 additional in development some of which are nuclear powered. Russia has increased continuous long range air patrols and has deployed surface to air missile defence systems at strategic locations with most advanced SAM's in the world (Sullivan, 2017). The region which during cold war time served as a hiding base for Russia's secret submarines, with the changing global temperatures is making Russia vulnerable strategically. Taking into consideration the huge hydrocarbon and other mineral resource potential of the region, Arctic and Non-arctic States are also looking at the region strategically and in terms of exploring economic avenues. The navigation through northern sea route, further raises strategic concerns for Russia as if the NSR becomes navigable throughout the year, it will not only be the merchant ships that would be transiting through

### Russia in the Arctic: Opportunities and Challenges

Russian waters, but also warships of different states would have the rights of innocent passage as per UNCLOS to transit through NSR.

Arctic is seen as a region in terms of both strategic and economic importance and hence Russia is much ahead in the race to dominate the region compared to the other Arctic states. Russia supports peace and stability in the region and as per Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov's Tenth Biennial Arctic Council Ministerial Meeting at Fairbanks, Alaska he publically asserted that there is no potential for any conflict in the Arctic (T.V., 2017). He further emphasised that, "We have affirmed our commitment to solve all the issues that may emerge in the Arctic through political negotiations... We obviously don't see any issues that would require the use of force. Our partners agree with that" (Sputnik, 2017). But despite of these statements by Russian foreign policy officials, the biggest irony is that Russia is militarising Arctic at a much greater pace as compared to other Arctic states. Since 2014, Russia has opened six new military bases in its Arctic zone which are located on the islands of Kara and Laptev Seas in the Western Arctic and Chukotka in the far east of Russia (Litovkin, 2017). Also, the old military bases of Soviet times have been replaced with new ones which are equipped with the latest technology. The two largest bases, Northern Clover and Arctic Trefoil, which are located in the Novosibirsk Islands and in Franz Josef Land, are the most northerly permanent settlements in the world. These two Russian bases can sustain several hundreds of servicemen and contain everything required for survival for 18 months in isolation from the Russian mainland. The main purpose of these bases is radar surveillance and to make contact with military aviation that monitors the skies over the Russian Arctic (Vershinin, 2017).

**Figure 3**  
**Showing Russia's Arctic Military Build-Up**



Source: [https://foreignpolicymag.files.wordpress.com/2017/01/russiaArcticbuildup\\_012316e.jpg](https://foreignpolicymag.files.wordpress.com/2017/01/russiaArcticbuildup_012316e.jpg)

## **Sharma**

Russia has also established separate Arctic Joint Strategic Command which is also known as North Unified Strategic Command in December, 2014 to protect and regulate Russia's interests in the Arctic (Pike, n.d.). The force component of this command includes ground, naval, air and air defence element to guard any incoming threat to Russia from its northern borders. Russia is also actively implementing various programmes aimed at developing Arctic military infrastructure. Russia in 2015 even conducted its largest Arctic military exercise with 45000 troops, 3300 military vehicles, 41 ships, 15 submarines and 110 fighter aircrafts, to provide its troops with the experience of real time war scenario in the polar north (Inzhelevsky & Litovkin, 2017). The first public appearance of sub-zero sophisticated Arctic weapon system in the 72nd Victory Day parade at Moscow's Red Square on 6th May 2017, provided the world with Russia's intention in defending its northern border. The weapon system included the Pantsir-SA anti-aircraft missile-and-gun complex and the Tor-M2DT anti-aircraft missile system, as well as support vehicles specially designed for the Far North (Russia's Expansive Military Drill, 2015).

### **Challenges for Russia in the Arctic**

The Arctic is a contested space between all major five Arctic states; hence all the Arctic five finds divergence of opinion when it comes to their stakes in the Arctic. Analysing huge economic and geo-political gains of the Arctic, and the extent of region that falls under Russian jurisdiction, the Arctic is seen as an ocean of opportunities by Russia. But, looking at the geo-political, geo-strategic, and economic interests of other Arctic and non-Arctic states in the region, there are numerous challenges that emerge before Russian policy makers to implement state's Arctic strategy. Therefore, all such challenges which impacts Russia's interests in the Arctic are discussed below:

### **Clash of Interests among the Arctic Four<sup>1</sup> and Russia**

The recent 2016 release of unclassified version of the 'United States National Security Interests in the Arctic Region' policy draft clearly depicts United States' military objectives in the Arctic region (Department of Defense, 2016). This policy paper highlights the need for strengthening U.S partnership with its Arctic allies and partners. It stresses on the need for shaping military activity in the region in such a way which should avoid conflict initially, while simultaneously maintaining the capability to protect U.S. national security interests in the Arctic (Department of Defense, 2016).

### **Russia in the Arctic: Opportunities and Challenges**

Russia is solicitous about the U.S. military strategy that has led to increased military activities in the Arctic. The Arctic Council, which is the only regional organisation to govern Arctic affairs, is seen by both Moscow and Washington through different perspectives. Russia wants to make Arctic Council a full-fledged regional organisation, whereas U.S. considers the council as a forum for discussions and is against it in providing with the status of international organisation. Moreover, U.S. is in favour of strengthening the position of NATO in the region, and on the issue of NSR running along the Russian coast, U.S. seeks to ensure that the status of NSR should become international. Both of these U.S perspectives are strongly against Russia's interests and Russia rejects these publically (Sergunin & Konyshchev, 2014, p. 76).

Canada and Denmark the other two Arctic states are in divergence of opinion with Russia on the issue of Lomonosov Ridge. Both Canada and Denmark makes their claims on Lomonosov Ridge which Russia considers it to be an extension of its Siberian continental shelf. Canada claims Lomonosov ridge as an extension of its Ellesmere Island shelf, while Denmark claims it to be an extension of Greenland's landmass. Therefore, all the three (Canada and Denmark jointly) are undertaking scientific research in order to justify their claims on Lomonosov ridge, before CLCS. Russia, initially submitted its application to CLCS in 2001 which got rejected and the commission asked Russia to provide for more scientific evidence to make its claim further justifiable to CLCS. Therefore, after carrying out further extensive scientific research in the region, Russia in 2015 made partial revised extended continental shelf submission to the CLCS (Department of Defense, 2016, p. 7). Canada in recent years has also increased military activity in the Arctic. The northern airspace is being monitored and controlled through joint cooperation with United States, i.e., through joint American-Canadian system NORAD (North American Aerospace Defence Command), which is located at the Canadian town of Ehlert. NORAD is used for intercepting intelligence signals and monitoring Arctic spaces of the Canadian north (Government of Canada, 2016). Apart from all these Canada's continuous conducting of regular military exercises in the Arctic, since 2008 along with NATO member states (Denmark and United States), has raised great security concerns for Russia. Russia sees such activities in the region as a direct threat to its northern borders.



### **Presence of Non-Arctic States in the Region**

The increasing presence of non-Arctic states in the Arctic region is another challenge for Russia's interests in the region. In order to benefit from the vast reserves of Arctic it is not only the Arctic states which are showing keen interests in the region, but also many non-Arctic states with their robust maritime sector such as China, France, Germany, India, Italy, Japan, Korea, Netherland, Poland, Singapore, Spain and United Kingdom are undertaking numerous scientific and research expeditions to influence Arctic affairs. China sees Arctic as a new resource base for fulfilling the country's growing energy demands and has therefore invested financially and diplomatically in the region, but does not claim existence of any clear cut "Arctic Strategy" (Chen, 2012). The opening up of the Arctic will pave greater economic and geo-political advantages for China. It has been estimated that shipping route from Shanghai to Hamburg using the Arctic route is 6400 km shorter than the traditional route using Malacca Strait and Suez Canal (Leiv, Jian, & Iselin, 2016). These two traditional routes are infested with piracy related threats to ships traversing these routes, which pose greater challenges to the movement of Chinese goods and energy shipments. Therefore, opening of the Arctic sea route is seen as reliable and convenient shipping lane for safe and secure transiting of Chinese goods to European and western markets. China's energy consumption increased 200 per cent in last 20 years (Chen, 2012, P. 362), therefore analysing the enormous hydrocarbon potential of the Arctic, China can't ignore its importance from its strategic policy framework. Till 2016, China has conducted seven Arctic expeditions with its world's largest non-nuclear icebreaker "Xuelong" (South China Morning Post, 2016). China is investing billions of dollars in all these Arctic states to develop the extraction of oil and gas from the region. This Chinese move, where on one hand is building its strong friendly ties with the Arctic states, on other hand is seen as potential threat by Russia to dominate Arctic's geo-politics.

### **Economic Constraints and Inadequate Infrastructure**

Arctic is considered as one of the toughest places on earth to survive and operate. The harsh environmental conditions there require a large amount of funds and proper infrastructure to sustain and operate under such conditions. Undoubtedly, Russia is investing heavily for the development of the region, but still due to its dwindling state economy lags far behind other western Arctic states. Due to shortage of funds and inadequate infrastructure required for Arctic operations and for development of energy sector (mainly oil and gas), Russian state owned oil

### **Russia in the Arctic: Opportunities and Challenges**

companies are going into joint ventures with other Western, European and Asian mega oil and gas exploration companies (Overlandi, Godzimirsk, Lunden, & Fjaertoft, 2013, pp. 245-246). These joint ventures are significantly reducing exploration costs by providing economic edge to Russian oil and gas companies but are simultaneously making Russian companies completely dependent on foreign companies for advanced technological and infrastructural needs.

### **Climate Change and Environmental Concerns**

The higher rates of global warming and melting of Arctic sea ice at double rate than the average normal, where on one hand is giving way to huge economic returns to Arctic states, on the other hand is also giving birth to many environment related issues. Moscow is highly concerned about these changing Arctic conditions. The ice retreat is paving way to industrialisation and the increased military activity in the Russian Arctic region. Due to such activities Arctic environment is getting polluted. The major sources of pollution in the Russian Arctic are mining, pulp and paper mills, oil and gas complexes, facilities of the Northern Fleet, transport and fishing fleets, and discharges of untreated wastewater in populated areas. The emissions from these industrial enterprises can be traced in the area of thousands of square kilometres into the Arctic atmosphere (Kochemasov, Morgunov, & Solomatin, 2017). There are almost 27 pollution "impact zones" identified by the Russian scientists that include Murmansk Region (10 per cent of pollutants), Norilsk urban agglomeration (with pollutants greater than 30 per cent), west Siberian oil and gas fields (with more than 30 per cent pollutants), and the Arkhangelsk Region (around five per cent pollutants).

Nuclear safety has become another crucial component which has raised greater Russian concern in its Arctic region. Northern Russia consists of largest number of nuclear installations in the world, which includes both civil and military nuclear installations. More than 80 nuclear submarines with over 200 nuclear reactors stored within them, are stationed in Russian Arctic zone (Sergunin & Konyshchev, 2014, P. 73). Therefore, analysing the operational risk of nuclear power plants, radioactive waste from reactors and an after effect on Arctic people and environment, in case of any nuclear disaster, it can be concluded that Russian Arctic zone is most vulnerable to such threats.

### Conclusion

Russia's strategic documents and practical policies that are being executed in the region clearly demonstrate that Moscow has serious national interests at stake in the Arctic region. Russia considers its Arctic as a strategic backyard, with abundance of unexploited natural resources, places, straits and passages of extreme geo-political importance. All these have a lot of geo-political and geo-strategic importance for Russia and possess the potential of shaping the world's geo-politics in the near future, if the events kept changing in the region at current pace. If the Northern Sea Route becomes navigable throughout the year as being currently predicted, it will have the potential of changing the entire course of sea trade between Europe and Asian markets. The shipping route will not only reduce the shipping distance and transiting time between European and Asian ports, but will also save billions of dollars in terms of shipping fuel. This will significantly reduce the cost of goods being delivered to end markets. The transiting through NRS will provide huge economic returns to Russia in the form of ship transiting fee, fee for using Russian ice-breakers, escort services, utilisation port facilities etc. Apart from economic returns, shipping through NSR will enhance overall development of Russian ports, and lead to infrastructure development in all coastal cities of Russian Federation along the NSR. The development of immense unexploited hydrocarbons available in the Russian Arctic is another priority of the Russian Government and it sees it as a solution for the social and economic development of the country. Russia in its Arctic strategy adheres to maintain Arctic as a zone of peace and cooperation and wants to resolve all its territorial disputes with other Arctic states through peaceful means and as per international laws. There are numerous challenges that are being faced by Russia in meeting its interest in the Arctic, but the state is rather following a pragmatic approach in dealing with various issues in the region. Therefore, analysing all the geo-political and geo-strategic opportunities and challenges in the Arctic, it can be said that Russia has got large stakes in the region, and the region itself has a potential of influencing future geo-politics of the world.

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## **Livelihood Transition among PVTGs in Madhya Pradesh**

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*Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group (PVTG) are most vulnerable social groups among Scheduled Tribes in Madhya Pradesh. They have been facing livelihood constraints due to depletion of natural resources in their habitat. They have very little human capital and skill to accommodate themselves in the local labour market, which makes their livelihood most uncertain. The paper analyses, the livelihood transition and constraints faced by the Baiga, Bharia and Saharia tribes in Madhya Pradesh.*

Since independence, the Indian State took various steps to uplift the people belonging to the Scheduled Tribes (ST). These efforts began in the 1950s and it has aimed to integration of STs into the mainstream Indian society. The idea behind these inclusive policies meant for bridging the gap between Scheduled Tribes and other communities in all parameters of development. The salient problem faced by the tribal in the contemporary situation is their insecured livelihood. Due to deforestation, the traditional skills related to making of forest based goods have been suffered because of lack of raw material. It is also found that the tribal food intake and livelihood dependent on fruits, flesh, tuber and herbs are becoming less significant day by day. In the present context, due to depletion of the forest resources,

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tribal's dependence on forest is declining to a significant extent. On the other hand, due to lack of adequate access to land resources, tribal agriculture also becoming subsistence in nature. Therefore, tribal livelihood has undergoing through a transitional phase. Neither forest nor agriculture is able to support their livelihood need at present. The present study strives to unfold the livelihood transition being faced by PVTGs of Madhya Pradesh and constraints faced by them in managing their livelihood.

Tribal groups are at different stages of social, economic and educational development. While some tribal communities have adopted a mainstream way of life at one end of the spectrum, there are 75 Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs) in 16 states/UTs, which are now called as Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups, who are characterised by (a) forest dependent livelihood, (b) a pre-agriculture level of technology, (c) a stagnant or declining population (d) extremely low literacy and (e) a subsistence level of economy (Draft Tribal National Policy, 2016).

Madhya Pradesh with a tribal population of 21.1 per cent (Census 2011) is the home of the largest number of tribal people among all the states spread over 89 tribal blocks of 21 districts. The state has 14.69 per cent of the country's ST population (Census 2011) which is the highest among all states. There are total numbers of 43 tribal communities out of which three are identified as PVTGs namely Baiga, Saharia and Bharia. These tribal communities are most vulnerable as far as livelihood is concerned. Depletion of forest resources is main cause of their vulnerable livelihood. In the absence of skill, many of the PVTGs in Madhya Pradesh have diversified their occupation from agriculture to unskilled labour and migrant labour. The transition mostly shows a stagnant or negative occupational mobility as only a few among them could be employed in service sector. A majority of them are still lagging behind in major parameters of human development as compared to mainstream groups.

The Bharia, Saharia and Baiga are residing in the most remote areas in the state of Madhya Pradesh. The vulnerable communities have been inhabited in forested tracts of northern and south-western part of Madhya Pradesh. Though, these tribals are residing in the remote areas, they are not untouched from the socio-economic and political transformation undergoing inside and around their habitat. In the contemporary situation due to wide spread deforestation, alienation from traditional land holding, penetration of non-tribals and associated cultures have altered their traditional livelihood as well as concomitant cultures. At present they are facing dual marginalisation resulted from depletion of natural resources in their habitat

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and lack of alternative skill and education among them to catching up with modern form of occupation available in their periphery.

Livelihood is a way in which people make their living getting together necessities such as food, shelter and clothing and meeting long terms needs such as health and education. In resource scarce situations, Scheduled Tribes prefer combination of strategies to optimise their income, minimise the risks, and shock in the household. The household's entrepreneurial ability and ability to take risks in the new conditions also define their livelihood outcomes. The sustainability of the livelihood also depend upon the access to various types of capitals i.e., natural capital (land, livestock, forest etc.); physical capital (roads, dams etc.); human capital (skill, abilities); social capital (social network) and financial capital (money, assets etc.). The change in livelihood pattern is also ushered by enhancement of tribal education and importation of skill through migration to urban areas. For last seven decades, Government of Madhya Pradesh introduced various developmental interventions for the enhancement of livelihood opportunities of the PVTGs. The salient aim of this paper is to find out the nature of livelihood transition being faced by PVTGs of Madhya Pradesh.

### **Socio-Economic Features of Three PVTGs in Madhya Pradesh**

In Madhya Pradesh Baiga constitute 2.7 per cent of the tribal population of Madhya Pradesh. Baiga, a particularly vulnerable tribal group, means a priest and those who perform as village ritual and medicine men. Their abode in the State is the forested hilly tracts of Mandla, Dindori, Shahdol and Balaghat districts. Majority of Baigas are landless and collect firewood and medicinal herbs from the forests and sell them in adjoining markets. They also work as labourers in the fields of non tribals and with forest department. The Saharia constitute 4.0 per cent of the tribal population of Madhya Pradesh. These particularly vulnerable tribal groups reside in the Gwalior region of Madhya Pradesh. Saharia are preponderant in Sheopur, Shivpuri, Guna, Datia and Gwalior districts. Their main economic activity is farming and working as agricultural labourers, however, they are also engaged in collection and selling of fire wood, mining and quarrying and working at urban construction sites. The Bharia is a particularly vulnerable tribal community living in Patalkot valley of Chhindwara district of Madhya Pradesh, which constitutes 1.3 per cent of the tribal population. The most remote abode of Bharia lies in an isolated deep valley of Satpura range in Tamia region known as Patalkot. The Bharias of Patalkot reside in 29 small remote villages isolated from the highland of Tamia (Dixit: 2010). Earlier



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Bharias of Patalkaot earn their livelihood through shifting cultivation. At present the Bharias of Patalkot cultivate maize, kudo, kutki for their survival in the meager cultivable and walk up to the highland for selling herbs and forest produce. In the highland of Tamia, most of the Bharia are landless and earn their livelihood by collecting forest produce and selling of firewood (Singh: 1994, 111). These three PVTGs of Madhya Pradesh residing in difficult terrain in small and scattered hamlets/habitats, various development schemes aims at socio-economic development in a holistic manner by adopting habitat development approach and intervening in all spheres of their social and economic life to enhance their quality of life. The three PVTGs are residing in the Scheduled V areas and development schemes have been implemented through Special PVTG Development Authorities (*Saharia Vikas Abhikaran, Baiga Vikas Abhikaran, Bharia Vikas Abhikaran*). In these areas PESA (Panchayat Extension to Scheduled Areas Act, 1996), special provision for PVTGs have been undertaken to facilitate preservation of their pristine customs, tradition and conflict resolution mechanism through Panchayat Raj Institutions for their self-governance.

The previous study on the livelihood issues related to PVTGs of Madhya Pradesh is very thin. Debashish Debnath studied on livelihood securities and community forest management among primitive tribes of Madhya Pradesh. His study found that all three PVTGs were highly dependent upon non-timber forest produced (NTFP), followed by labour and non-agricultural labour activities. The findings of his study revealed that PVTGs help in the conservation of bio-diversity through diverse uses of various plants species for religious-cultural and health practices. He reiterated that under the influence of modernisation their indigenous knowledge is vanishing which is leading to deforestation (Debnath, 2016). V.K. Srivastava (2016) looked into the development of PVTGs based in Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh. He found that the population and literacy of all the PVTGs have considerably increased in the last decade. The salient problems with respect to all the PVTGs was scarcity of basic amenities like drinking water, un-irrigated land, land alienation, indebtedness which is detrimental for their livelihood. D.K. Verma (2018) studied on status of Baiga, Bharia and Sahariya PVTGs of Madhya Pradesh from historical perspective, the author viewed that initially these tribal communities were not vulnerable but introduction non-tribal economy made their livelihood situation dismal. They were not poor but excluding them from their rights from natural resource in their areas without giving their due share made them vulnerable. He reiterated that the natural life cycle of

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tribal ecology and tribal life was disturbed badly due to exploitation of forest, land and its resources by outsiders. This in turn trapped them into chronic poverty and indebtedness. Though, there are various studies available on various socio-cultural issues, there are still very few study are available for comparative analysis of livelihood transition of the three PVTGs of Madhya Pradesh.

#### **Methodology and Context**

The objectives of the paper are to: (i) comprehend the present occupational pattern among the PVTGs of Madhya Pradesh, (ii) to analyse the livelihood transition faced by the PVTGs in Madhya Pradesh, and (iii) to analyse livelihood and skill changes incurred due to government intervention among these vulnerable tribal communities of Madhya Pradesh.

This paper inculcated out of secondary data retrieved from 2011 Census and empirical data collected for a broader study in 2017. The entire PVTGs households are the universe of the study for understanding livelihood transition across the three PVTGs in the Madhya Pradesh. Information related livelihood transitions were collected from 184 PVTGs (80 Baiga, 38 Bharia and 66 Saharia) households using semi-structured interviews. The information was gathered related to: (i) livelihood transition in agriculture and allied activities, (ii) transition in education and skill formation, (iii) livelihood diversification through migration, and (iv) livelihood transition through education and alternative employment among the Baiga, Bharia and Saharia PVTG in Madhya Pradesh.

#### **Occupational Structure among PVTGS of Madhya Pradesh**

According to 2011 census, the work participation rates (WPR) among Baigas (51.4 per cent) and Bharias (49.1 per cent) are almost similar to WPR in total tribal population (49.9 per cent) of Madhya Pradesh, but among Saharias (44.9 per cent) it is relatively lower and comparable to state average (43.5 per cent). On the other hand, the proportion of non-workers is highest among Saharia tribe. The workers are primarily divided into two categories - main workers and marginal workers. The proportion of main worker in total population is 31-32 per cent in tribal population and non-ST population, but among PVTGs it varies from 23.3 per cent in Bharias, 25.1 per cent in Baigas to 28.8 per cent in Saharias. The proportion of marginal workers is 18.1 per cent in tribal population of the state and varies from 26.4 per cent in Baigas to 16.1 per cent in Saharias. The Saharias which has highest proportion of main workers among PVTGs have lowest proportion of marginal workers. But Baigas have relatively equal proportion of main and marginal workers,

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and Bharias have comparatively higher proportion of marginal workers as compared to main workers.

**Table 1**  
**Working Population among PVTGs of Madhya Pradesh, 2011**

Particulars	All ST Madhya Pradesh	Baiga	Bharia	Saharia
Total Worker	49.9	51.4	49.1	44.9
Main Worker	31.8	25.1	23.3	28.8
Marginal worker	18.1	26.4	25.8	16.1
Non Worker	50.1	48.6	50.9	55.1

Source: Census of India, 2011

The Census information on occupational pattern divided into four categories, i.e., cultivators, agriculture labour, household industrial workers, and other workers. The proportion of cultivators and agriculture labour in main workers is 41.5 per cent and 45.4 per cent among tribal population of the state. Among PVTGs the proportion of cultivators varies from lowest 17.9 per cent in Bharias, 20.3 per cent in Saharia to 28.2 per cent in Baigas, and agriculture labour from 52.4 per cent in Baigas, 59.0 per in Bharia to 64.4 per cent in Saharias. Thus, the PVTGs have more agricultural labour than cultivators, and Bharias and Saharias have even less than half of the cultivators other tribes of the state. The livelihood data drawn from the Census 2011 show that the majority of the PVTGs have been engaged in labour work and they have less dependent upon agriculture for their livelihood.

**Table 2**  
**Distribution of Working Population among PVTGs in Madhya Pradesh, 2011**

Particulars	All ST Madhya Pradesh	Baiga	Bharia	Saharia
<b>Main Worker</b>				
Cultivators	41.5	28.2	17.9	20.3
Ag. Labour	45.4	52.4	59.0	64.4
HH. Ind.Worker	0.7	1.4	1.5	0.5
Other Worker	12.5	17.9	21.5	14.8
<b>Marginal Worker</b>				
Cultivators	19.6	9.0	6.8	6.0
Ag. Labour	73.4	73.5	74.5	81.3
HH. Ind.Worker	1.4	1.9	2.0	1.2
Other Worker	9.6	15.6	16.8	11.5

Source, Census of India, 2011

In this paper, the inferences drawn from 2011 Census data is cross checked with empirical data collected from the 184 PVTGs in Madhya

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Pradesh. The paper is an excerpt from a research project undertaken for Madhya Pradesh State Planning Commission ( Joshi and Dalapati, 2018). The information derived from the empirical study show that PVTGs of Madhya Pradesh managing their livelihood with a combination of activities inculcating agriculture, labour, collection of forest produce, migration, service and self employment through petty shops. It is inferred from the field that very few PVTG households (1.6 per cent) are dependent only on agriculture for their survival. It is observed that only those households who had large size of landholdings with irrigated land are the household dependent only on agriculture. On the other hand, the landless and PVTG households with small land holdings go for multiple sources of income for their survival.

**Table 3**  
**Occupational Structure of among PVTGs**

Occupational Pattern	PVTG			Total
	Baiga	Bharia	Saharia	
Agriculture	01 (1.2)	02 (5.2)	0	03 (1.6)
Agriculture and Labour in /near Village	12 (15)	03 (7.9)	02 (3.0)	17 (9.2)
Agriculture and Migration	16 (20)	16 (42.1)	15 (22.7)	47 (25.5)
Agriculture and Collection of Forest Produce	01 (1.2)	11 (28.9)	01 (1.5)	13 (7.0)
Labour in Village and Migration	37 (46.2)	04 (10.5)	41 (62.1)	82 (44.5)
Service in Public/Private Sector	09 (11.2)	01 (2.6)	03 (4.5)	13 (7.0)
Labour and Small Shop/Business	03 (3.7)	01 (2.6)	03 (4.5)	07 (3.8)
Other	01 (1.2)	0	01 (1.5)	02 (1.0)
Total	80	38	66	184

Figures in parenthesis denotes percentages

Information gathered from Baiga PVTG show that majority of Baiga households get their livelihood from labour work in or near village for some part of year and also from out-migration for 3-4 months (46.2 per cent). The second important category of work for Baiga community was from farming as well as out-migration (20 per cent). These are found to be those households who cultivate one crop in a year due to un-irrigated land and in remaining time they migrate to other places. Around 11.2 per cent of Baiga households worked in private or public sector followed by 3.7 per cent households who were owner of small shop and at the same time do labour activities in/near their place of residence.

The occupational pattern of Bharia PVTG also reveals more or less same picture. In Bharia community, majority of households earned their income from agriculture as well as out-migration (42.1 per cent), followed by 29 per cent households who apart from farming were able to get income

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from selling minor forest produce. The households depending only on labour work were 10.5 per cent of the total. As far as dependency on natural resource base is concerned the PVTGs are known as forest people who were mainly dependent on forest produce for their livelihood. The empirical data show that none of the household was found to be entirely dependent on forest alone. Only 7.0 per cent PVTG households were earning major part of income from farming and some of it from NTFP in the form of firewood, honey, mahua, tendu leaves, etc. The Bharia PVTG community is more involved in NTFP collection in comparison to Baiga and Saharia community as they are living in the Patalkot valley having a significant forest cover.

On the basis of occupation, it is found that not a single Saharia household is exclusively dependent on agriculture for their survival. Majority of the Saharia households are engaged in labouring around village and migration (62.1 per cent) for their livelihood. Among the Saharia 22.7 per cent households are simultaneously engaged in agriculture and at the same time out migrating to other places for their survival. Very few Saharia households (4.5 per cent) worked in public or private sector and engaged in pretty entrepreneurial activities. Due to widespread deforestation and displacement Saharia tribals from their original habitat, their income from NTFP is also declining gradually making their situation more pathetic (Joshi and Dalapati, 2018).

### **Accessibility to Land and Economic Status among PVTG**

Livelihood of PVTGs community is mostly relied upon primary activity, labour, collection of forest produce and migration. The strategies adopted by the PVTGs depend upon the accessibility agricultural land, type of lands and rates of the agricultural produce in the local markets. In many cases, it is observed that food crops last for only few months and PVTG households have to rely on income earned from labouring around the village and remittances received from the migrating household members. The economic condition of the PVTGs can be accessed through the below poverty line households. In this study, it is found that 88.6 per cent Saharia households, 85.0 per cent Baiga household and 76.3 per cent Bharia households have BPL ration cards. In this context, it can be said that Saharia PVTG is the most vulnerable PVTG community in Madhya Pradesh.

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**Table 4**  
**Status of Agriculture and Access to Agricultural Land**

Status	Name of PVTG			
	Baiga	Bharia	Saharia	Total
<b>Ownership of Agricultural land</b>				
Yes	30 (37.5)	32 (84.2)	18 (27.3)	80 (43.5)
No	50 (62.5)	6 (15.8)	48 (72.7)	104 (56.5)
<b>Type of land (Average Quantity in Hectare)</b>				
Irrigated	.1021	.3739	.1515	.1760
Un-irrigated	.3062	.8403	.4973	.4851
Total land	.4084	1.2142	.6488	.6610
<b>Land Purchased in last 10 Years</b>				
No	79 (98.8)	36 (94.7)	66 (100)	181 (98.4)
Yes Purchased	1 (1.2)	0	0	1 (0.5)
Sold	0	1 (2.6)	0	1 (0.5)
Both Sold & Purchased	0	1 (2.6)	0	1 (0.5)
<b>Use of Crop</b>				
Domestic	29 (96.6)	05 (15.6)	10 (55.5)	44 (55)
Sell	0	2 (6.2)	1 (5.5)	3 (3.7)
Both	1 (3.4)	25 (78.1)	7 (38.9)	33 (41.2)
<b>Sell to Whom</b>				
Agriculture Mandi	0	2 (7.4)	1 (12.5)	9 (25)
Open Market/Hat	0	8 (29.6)	0	8 (22.2)
Money Lender/Shop	1 (100)	17 (63)	7 (87.5)	19 (52.8)
<b>Value of Agricultural Production (in Rupees)*</b>				
Average Production	18542	33694	16051	16430
Total Production	683400	1280400	1059375	3023175

Figures in parenthesis are percentages

\*Value of F Statistics is found to be significant at 5 per cent across PVTGs

The table 4 illustrated the accessibility to land resources and economic transactions among the PVTGs of Madhya Pradesh. It is inferred from the table that more than half of the household (56.5 per cent) are landless. Only 43.5 per cent PVTG households had access to agricultural land. Among the three PVTGs, out of interviewed respondents 84.2 per cent of the Bharia households, 37.5 per cent Baiga and only 27.3 per cent Saharia households had land. Most of the PVTGs owned unirrigated land and majority of the PVTG households had marginal landholdings. Among the three PVTGs of Madhya Pradesh, Bharia have greater amount of land in comparison to Baiga and Saharia. In last one decade, it is reported that only one household of Baiga tribe purchased some amount of land from another Baiga household. While one of the households of Bharia tribe disclosed that he sold his land due to some reason and another household was of the view that they had sold and also purchased some land in the last 10 years. But none of the household of Saharia tribal community either purchased or sold

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any land in last one decade. In the context of accessibility to land, the condition of Saharia community is most vulnerable.

The PVTG households narrated that the quantity of land is so meager that they hardly cultivate to sell. Most of their produce is used for domestic purposes. Only the commercial crops grown by them are sold. Majority of Baiga households followed by Saharia used their agricultural produce for domestic use. While some part of crops produced by Bharia PVTG is sold and some of it is consumed at their home. The agency to whom agricultural produce is sold also explains the economic transition of PVTG households. It is evident that majority of households of Baiga community used their agricultural produce for domestic purposes and only one of the household sold part of their produce to the local shopkeeper/moneylender, as the produce was so meager to be taken to market/*mandi* for sell. However, in case of Bharia tribal community majority of households reported that they sell their produce itself in the village to moneylender/shopkeeper from whom they have borrowed money for sowing crops. Similarly 87.5 per cent of Saharia households reported that they sell their produce to local shopkeeper/moneylender from whom they had purchased agricultural inputs or had taken money for some domestic purpose.

The average agricultural production across households of three PVTGs infer the fact that the highest amount of average production in agriculture is earned by Bharia (Rs. 33,694 per year) followed by Baiga (Rs. 18,542 per year) and Saharia (Rs. 16,051 per year) which is very low in context of bearing the expenses of a household. The variations in the value of production between the three PVTGs were also found to be significantly different among each of them. The economic condition of Saharia PVTG was found to be very pathetic among the three PVTG communities in all the aspects related to agriculture followed by Baiga. The economic condition of Bharia is somewhat better due to greater accessibility to land and forest resources available in the Patalkot valley (Joshi and Dalapati, 2018) .

**Table 5**  
**Value of Physical Assets among PVTGs (in Rupees)**

PVTG	Mean*	Sum	N
Baiga	41595	3327600.00	80
Bharia	72289	2747000.00	38
Saharia	22939	1514000.00	66
Total	41242	7588600.00	184

\*Value of F Statistics is found to be insignificant across all PVTGs

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Table 5 presents the analysis of accessibility to physical assets of the PVTG households in the form of livestock, consumer durables, agricultural equipments, domestic and commercial vehicles, etc. The monetary value of all these assets was calculated to compare the economic condition of household across the three PVTGs. The analyses infer that the maximum valuable assets are found in the Bharia households (Rs. 72,289). The Baiga households have the asset value of Rs. 41,595 and the Saharia household have an average material assets of Rs 22,939. However, the variations in the value of physical assets across three PVTGs were not found significantly different.

**Table 6**  
**Correlation between Agricultural Production and Physical Assets**

		Total Agriculture Production (Rupees)	Total Capital Assets (Rupees)
Total Agriculture Production (Rupees)	Pearson Correlation	1	.403*
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	184	184
Total Capital Assets (Rupees)	Pearson Correlation	.403*	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	184	184

\*Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

In this paper, it is found that PVTG livelihood is no longer dependent upon agriculture alone, the PVTG households have adopted combination of strategies to ensure their survival through attaching subsidiary labouring, collection of NTFP, migration, petty trade with agriculture. It is envisaged to comprehend role of agricultural income with the accessibility to capital assets owned by the PVTG households. This phenomenon has been tested through spear son's coefficient of correlation in the table 6. The findings revealed the fact that there is a positive correlation exist between agricultural production and access to valuable physical assets. A highly significant relation found between value of agricultural production and accessibility to physical assets among the PVTG households. The fact infer that though the livelihood strategies among PVTGs have been diversified due to the lack quality land and deforestation in the PVTG habitat, agriculture is the pivotal economic activity among the PVTGs which is responsible for economic development of PVTGs (Joshi and Dalapati, 2018).

#### Accessibility to Basic Amenities among PVTG

Status livelihood among PVTG is also reflected through the accessibility to basic amenities required for a just life. In this paper it is



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envisaged to comprehend the status of accessibility to basic amenities among the three PVTGs of Madhya Pradesh.

**Table 7**  
**Access to Basic Amenities among PVTG Households**

Type of Amenity	Name of PVTGs			
	Baiga	Bharia	Saharia	Total
<b>Type of House</b>				
Kachcha	63 (78.8)	32 (84.2)	38 (57.6)	133 (72.3)
Pucca	13 (16.2)	0	21(31.8)	34 (18.5)
Semi Pacca	3 (3.8)	6 (15.8)	0	9 (4.9)
Tapri/Jhuggi	1 (1.2)	0	7 (10.6)	8 (4.3)
<b>Source of Drinking water</b>				
Private	14 (17.5)	3 (7.9)	0	17 (9.2)
Public	66 (82.5)	35 (92.1)	66 (100)	167 (90.8)
<b>Toilet facility</b>				
Open Field	25 (31.2)	14 (36.8)	37 (56.1)	76 (41.3)
In house	27 (33.8)	5 (13.2)	10 (15.2)	42 (22.8)
Govt. Scheme	28 (35)	19 (50)	19 (28.8)	66 (35.9)
<b>Electricity Connection</b>				
Yes	64 (80)	38 (100)	29 (43.9)	131 (71.2)
No	16 (20)	0	37 (56.1)	53 (28.8)
<b>Cooking Fuel</b>				
Firewood	76 (95)	31 (81.6)	66 (100)	173 (94)
Gas	4 (5)	7 (18.4)	0	11 (6)

Figures in parenthesis are percentages

Table 7 reflects the accessibility to basic amenities like house, drinking water, toilet, electricity connection and cooking fuel among the PVTGs of Madhya Pradesh. The information depicts that condition of all three PVTGs in Madhya Pradesh is very dismal. It is found that 72.3 per cent of the PVTG households are residing in *kachcha* houses. The majority of this category of households belonged to Bharia community. At the same time 10 per cent of the households of Saharia community were found to be staying in *jhuggi/tapri* made up of dried leaves and wood. Government efforts in the form of Prime Minister Aawas Yojana are not found reaching all the needy PVTGs. Only 18.5 per cent households are staying in pucca houses either constructed by them or through Government scheme. While analysing the accessibility to drinking water facility, it is observed that more than 90 per cent PVTG households are using public hand pumps for potable water. However, few Baiga and Bharia households (9.2 per cent) have their private source of drinking water through wells and bore wells. The focus of Indian government is to make Open Defecation Free (ODF) India. The information from PVTG area elucidated that government scheme for providing toilet has

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reached to only 35.9 per cent of PVTG households. Still a large number of PVTG households (41.3 per cent) are defecating in open. While interrogating about the cause of not using toilets they opined that due to scarcity of water they are unable to use them. The PVTGs reported that accessibility potable water and household uses becomes acute during summer season. The connectivity of electricity is also found to inadequate in all three regions with PVTGs dominated areas. It is reported that more than 28 per cent households are spending their lives without electricity. For cooking their food most of PVTG households (94 per cent) dependent on firewood collected from nearby forest. The recently launched Ujjwala scheme provided alternative fuel to only 6 per cent PVTGs which is also very difficult on their part to refill the LPG cylinders due to dismal economic condition. A comparative analysis on accessibility to basic amenities show that Saharia community is the most excluded community among the three PVTGs in Madhya Pradesh (Joshi and Dalapati, 2018).

### Occupational and Educational Mobility among PVTG

**Table 8**  
**Occupational Mobility among PVTG**

Mobility in Occupation	Name of PVTG			Total
	Baiga	Bharia	Saharia	
Significantly Positive	7 (8.8)	3 (7.9)	1 (1.5)	11 (6.0)
Positive	1 (1.2)	2 (5.3)	1 (1.5)	4 (2.2)
Negative	0	0	2 (3.0)	2 (1.0)
Same as Before	72 (90)	32 (84.2)	62 (94)	167 (90.7)
Total	80	38	66	184

Figures in parenthesis are percentages

Table 8 depict the level of inter-generational occupational change among PVTG households and posit that very few PVTG households witnessed occupational change in a significantly positive manner (6.0 per cent). Only 6 per cent PVTG households witnessed significant occupational mobility after getting education and jobs. Analysis across the PVTG depicts that most of the inter-generational mobility is witnessed among Baiga followed by Bharia PVTG. Saharia PVTG is least affected by education and affirmative policies meant for them. Majority (90.7 per cent) of PVTG households opined that there is insignificant changes occurred across the generation in term of occupational mobility. The PVTG which has witnessed almost negligible upward occupational mobility is Saharia. However, very few Baiga (8.8 per cent) and Bharia (7.9 per cent) households upgraded their

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economic status through switching to service sector from the agriculture and labouring by getting into jobs and self employment. On the other hand, few Saharia households reported that they have denigrated into agricultural labour from the position of farmer due to fragmentation of land holding after partition of parental property. They have also reiterated that they are facing dual constraints of declining income from forests produced and landlessness which making their livelihood more vulnerable.

**Table 9**  
**Educational Mobility among PVTG**

Mobility in Educational Status	Name of PVTG			Total
	Baiga	Bharia	Saharia	
Significantly Positive	38 (47.5)*	11 (28.9)	41(62.1)	90 (48.9)
Positive	27 (33.8)	24 (63.2)	5 (7.6)	56 (30.4)
Negative	1 (1.2)	0	1 (1.5)	2 (1.1)
Same as Before	14 (17.5)	3 (7.9)	19 (28.8)	36 (19.6)
Total	80	38	66	184

Figures in parenthesis are percentages

Education is one of the essential components of human capital formation. Realising this fact government of India has implemented various educational development programmes and policies for the educational development of PVTGs. In Madhya Pradesh, there is a provision for appointing Baiga, Bharia and Saharia teachers, who can motivate the PVTG students according to their own worldview and dialect. The impact of PVTG teacher scheme and Ashram School towards turn down dropout rate and retention of PVTG students for higher education is quite successful (Sisodia, Bhatt and Dalapati, 2010). On the other hand, after implementation of Sarva Siksha Abhiyan (SSA) in the year 2000 the educational level of PVTG has been enhanced. The information shows nearly 49 per cent of the total PVTG households stated that there has been significant positive change witnessed in educational status of their households in comparison to previous generation. Significant educational development is witnessed among Saharia followed by Baiga and Bharia PVTG. The Bharia community reside in the isolated Patalkot valley, therefore this community face locational disadvantage for students who want to pursue higher studies. Side by side positive change was also acknowledged by 30 per cent PVTG households. Majority of these category households belonged to Bharia followed by Baiga and Saharia community. At the same time around 28.8 per cent households of Saharia PVTG households stated that their educational status is same as it was in their previous generation. Similarly 17.5 per cent households of

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Baiga community were of the view that their educational status has not improved over the years. On the contrary very few households of Bharia community (7.9%) feel that there is no change in education over the years. Analysis of all type of mobility among the PVTG it is witnessed that their economic condition may not have improved over the generation but it is evident that educational development has been gaining ground in the PVTG areas which is a good indication for human development of PVTGs in Madhya Pradesh.

**Table 10**  
**Improvement in Skill Development**

Improvement in Skill Development	Name of PVTG			Total
	Baiga	Bharia	Saharia	
Significantly Positive	2 (2.5)*	2 (5.3)	1 (1.5)	5 (2.7)
Positive	1 (1.2)	0	0	1 (0.5)
Negative	0	1 (2.6)	0	1 (0.5)
Same as Before	77 (96.2)	35 (92.1)	65 (98.5)	177 (96.2)
	80	38	66	184

Figures in parenthesis are percentages

In the contemporary situation mere formal education is not enough to manage a livelihood in rural areas. Even the PVTGs have to attain a certain skill to bargain an enhanced remuneration in the local job market and in migrating destinations. The table 9 indicated that there is a significant improvement in educational status among PVTGs but significant improvement of skill among PVTGs of Madhya Pradesh is not witnessed during the study. Majority of them are not able to acquire any new skill which could enhance their occupational mobility and could fetch them sufficient income to feed the entire family. According to table 10, from 184 households only five (2.7 per cent ) households opined that their family members have acquired some new skill which has enhanced their household income. Very few PVTG members have acquired the skill of driving, masonry and tailoring. On the other hand some Bharia households accepted that they are losing the skill of making handicrafts and identifying herbs due to lack of raw materials and rapid deforestation in their habitat (Joshi and Dalapati, 2018).

### Conclusion

In nutshell, it can be concluded that agriculture is no longer the prime source of livelihood for the three PVTGs residing in Madhya Pradesh. They have been facing a transition in their livelihood pattern due to widespread deforestation and lack of adequate arable land in their habitat.

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Majority of PVTGs have started depending on labouring and remittances from migration to substantiate their income from the agriculture and collection of NTFP. Majority of the PVTG households are poor and lack basic livelihood amenities like proper housing, safe drinking water and sanitation. No significant occupational mobility among Baiga, Bharia and Saharia is witnessed during the last decade. Very few Baiga, Bharia and Saharia have joined the government and private jobs taking advantage of affirmative meant for the PVTGs in Madhya Pradesh. However, a noticeable educational development is observed across all the three PVTGs regarding their educational status.

A comparative analysis of livelihood condition across three PVTG show that Bharia community of the Tamia block of Chhindwara district are in a better condition in comparison to Baiga and Saharia community. Still the Bharia have accessibility to some land and forest resources which to make their life less vulnerable in comparison to Baiga and Saharia. However, the Patalkot valley is recently connected through a motorable roads and penetration of non-tribal middlemen has started influencing the Bharia economy. The livelihood of Baiga community is also affected by deforestation and fragmentation of land holding; however more number of Baiga youths are getting educated and engaged themselves in alternative occupation in comparison to Bharia and Saharia. The most vulnerable PVTG is Saharia, who have lost the land and forest resources around them. The Saharias are also facing marginalisation due to lack of adequate education and skill to face the present transition in their livelihood.

The present transition in the livelihood pattern of PVTG is very crucial for their survival. As the discussion unraveled, they have been transformed into land less labourers and joining the unskilled labour force in the urban areas. The processes have not only affecting the traditional livelihood system but also dismantling their socio-cultural traditions. Therefore, it is high time for policy makers to relook in to the habitat centric conservation cum development approach and initiate alternative strategy to strengthen the livelihood condition PVTGs in Madhya Pradesh.

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## **Examining E-Governance: A Study of Land Records Management System in India**

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*E-governance is considered as one of the key imperatives in realising the idea of good governance in our country. This article embarks on whether the use of information and communication technology in the area of land records can be a substitute to good governance. The primary rationale behind this work is to study the system of land records in India and the various reforms initiated by the state to bring transparency and efficiency in the system of land records. The article highlights what are the shortcomings that are standing in the way of ensuring 'good governance' in the domain of a robust land record management system in the country.*

The term 'Good Governance' is a holistic and dynamic concept that has been inducted into the vocabulary of third world countries by the west. This concept has been hovering the tenets of public administration since the 90s and the western discourse of good governance has embarked the third world countries to reorient and restructure its economy and follow the tenets of 'good governance' which is primarily based on eight pillars namely: participation, consensus building, accountability, transparency, responsiveness, effectiveness and efficiency, equity and inclusiveness and follows the rule of law. After initiation of globalisation and liberalisation in

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the year 1991, there was an immediate shift from state led economy towards market led economy. This immediate shift was encapsulated with the introduction of various kinds of e-governance initiatives combined with the use of information and communication technology (ICT) to ensure efficiency and transparency in governance. E-governance is considered as one of the key imperatives in realising the idea of good governance in our country. This article embarks on whether the use of information and communication technology in the area of land records can be a substitute to good governance. What is the prevailing system of land records in the country? What are the various policy initiatives introduced by the state to bring transparency and accountability in the land records management system? Can digitalisation and introduction of ICT in maintenance and preparation of land records can be a substitute to good governance? and Why an efficient and transparent land record management system is required to contribute in the development of 'good governance'?

### **Land Records in India**

Since British era, much emphasis was laid on preparation and maintenance of land records as land revenue constituted a major source of income to the state. The maintenance and preparation of land records is primarily for revenue purposes and they contain details like whether land is cultivable or non-cultivable, cultivated area, type and quality of the soil, source of irrigation, cropping pattern, leases, easements and assessments of land revenue etc. (Wadhwa 2002, 4702). Thus, the present state of land records in the country is fiscal in nature and presumptive in character. The title of land is based on the presumption that one who pays the land revenue to the state is the owner. Thus, the entries made in the land records are presumptive and are likely to be challenged in an appropriate court or tribunal. The revenue laws followed in respective states lays down that no suit shall lie against the state government or any officer in the revenue department of the state for any misgivings in the land records register. The Registration Act of 1908 also clearly mentions that while accepting a document for registration, the registration department need not concern itself with the validity of the document. In India, the law provides only for the registration of document and not for the registration of title. The legal framework in the country is designed to register only the deed document of a property and it was not meant to guarantee title to the land. Therefore, a property deed is only a document that shows a particular transaction took place but it does not in itself ensure validity of the transaction that took



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place. If any land dispute arises, it is duty of the land holder to prove the ownership of title as the state only provides for the registration of deed.

The existing system of land records in India is reminiscent of the colonial system and at present the records kept is worn out and the village maps do not represent the ground situation as they have not been updated by the respective state governments. Such a system of land records has led to practices such as land grabbing and land alienation of the disadvantaged sections of the society in the hands of the powerful people with vested interest. According to Saxena, "the possession and ownership of land continues to be transferred on the ground without consequential mutation in the records with the result that the records as they exist today hardly reflect the reality regarding ownership of land" (Saxena, 2005, 315). The dilapidated condition of land records in the country brought no changes in the affairs of the state to start afresh a system of surveying, updation and mutation of existing land records. In many cases land is recorded in the name of a person who died long ago and still their name remained on the records. Similarly, land goes on being transferred without mutation being carried out in the land records and therefore the present state of land records hardly reflects the reality on the ground. In most of the states, village maps are found in decrepit condition and as a result states have to grapple with the problems of land related disputes. Land related disputes eventually led to the dispossession and displacement of tribals, forest communities, small and marginal farmers and landless labourers. Apart from this decrepit condition of land records, land markets in India involves high transaction cost. As per the estimate of a study conducted by the World Bank, India ranks 94 in terms of efficiency in registering property with the government (Faizi and Behera 2014, 1).

After Independence, a series of land reform measures were initiated by the state like abolition of intermediaries to eliminate zamindars, taluqdars and jagirdars who had dominated the agricultural sector at the time of Independence; tenancy reform to guarantee security of tenure for tenants and also to ensure regulation of rent by the landlords; land ceiling was initiated to ensure redistribution of surplus land among small and marginal farmers and landless workers. Despite the fact that a series of land reforms were initiated by the state a large section of population still remained landless. There are many reasons attributed for the failure of the land reforms like land grabbing by landed aristocracy in the form of *benami* transactions, lack of political will among the state actors to ensure a just redistribution of surplus land among the landless sections of the society and

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last and the most significant among them was the absence of land records regarding ownership and possession of land. The absence of land records made it difficult for the state to identify who are the real cultivators of land and this in turn stood in the way of judiciously identifying the true beneficiaries of land reforms.

The inconsistency involved in the maintenance of land records involves a multitude of administrative, legal and political factors. First, governance at the state level involves the culmination of more than one agency that is involved in the preparation and maintenance of land records. The existence of more than one department at the revenue level makes it difficult to keep pace with the organisation and maintenance of land records. The survey and settlement department, the revenue department and the registration department are the three main administrative agencies under land revenue administration. The survey and settlement department deals with survey, preparation and maintenance of village maps. The revenue department prepares and maintains the textual records. The registration department deals with the registration of land, transfers, mortgages etc. The existence of several departments makes it difficult to ensure coordination and this result in little or no interaction among them. In a well functioning land market, it is necessary that the data shown in textual records should match the spatial information stored in cadastral maps. The mismatch between the textual records and spatial data is the result of the fact that there has been no attempt by the state to keep a well updated system of land records. Second, there is no centralised legal framework that governs land management in the country. As land comes under the ambit of state subject, each state follows its distinctive system of registration and maintenance of land records. The absence of a unified system of law that manages governance of land management in India has culminated in high transaction costs and this is evident from the fact that in some states like Kerala and Orissa the cost of registering land with the government is as high as 13 and 11 per cent respectively (Table 1). The high transaction costs have led to evasion in registering land with the government and this has eventually led to discrepancy between the textual and spatial records. The political factors involve lack of political will across policy makers to bring about reforms in the age old land record system of the country. It also calls our attention to the level of corruption at the state and district level that has thwarted the implementation of a transparent and efficient land information system.

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**Table 1**  
**Stamp Duty Rates across Indian States**

Sr. No.	State	Rate of Stamp Duty
1.	Andhra Pradesh	8%
2.	Bihar	8% Urban and 6% Rural
3.	Gujarat	4.9%
4.	Haryana	Urban: 8% Male and 6% Female Rural: 6% Male and 4% Female
5.	Himachal Pradesh	5%
6.	Karnataka	8.4%
7.	Kerala	13.5% Urban, 10% Rural
8.	Madhya Pradesh	10% Male, 8% Female, 9% Joint Registration
9.	Maharashtra	5% Male and 6% Female
10.	Orissa	11% Urban and 8% Rural
11.	Punjab	Urban: 8% Male and 7% Female; Rural: 5% Male and 4% Female
12.	Rajasthan	6.5% Male and 5% Female
13.	Tamil Nadu	8%
14.	Uttar Pradesh	10% Male, 8% Female
15.	Uttaranchal	10% Male, 8% Female
16.	West Bengal	6% if value of property is <=25 lakh, 7% for properties valued > 25 lakh duty is also lower by 1% for Panchayat areas.

Source: National Housing Bank.

### **State-Led Initiatives to Reform Land Records**

The role of the state in bringing about reforms in the area of land record and its management remained dubious till the enactment of 'Strengthening Revenue Administration and Updating of Land Records (SRA and ULR) and Computerisation of Land Records (CLR)' which began in 1987 and 1988 respectively. The inherent flaws in land record and its management persuaded the state to bring about efficiency and transparency in revenue administration. The use of information and communication technology (ICT) in the 1980s became one of the key imperatives to ensure 'good governance' in revenue administration. Thus, Ministry of Rural Development (MoRD) initiated the enactment of Strengthening Revenue Administration and Updating of Revenue Records (SRA and ULR) and Computerisation of Land Records (CLR) in 1987 and 1988 respectively. These schemes aimed to computerise land records with 100 per cent financial assistance to states to bring about reforms in the existing land records and bring about a robust land information system. Computerisation of Land Records (CLR) was launched as a pilot project in eight districts of India namely; Rangareddy (Andhra Pradesh), Sonitpur (Assam), Singhbhum (Bihar), Gandhinagar (Gujarat), Morena (Madhya Pradesh), Wardha (Maharashtra), Mayurbhanj (Orissa) and Dungarpur (Rajasthan).

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There was a consensus among the policy makers that computerisation of the existing system of land records will ward off much corruption and discrepancies in the textual and spatial records of the country. As per the study conducted by Saxena, it has been estimated that “the government has spent more than Rs. 300 crore on computerisation of land records in the last 10 years, but incorrect and out-of-date entries have been made without field verification” (Saxena, 2005, 313). The inaccuracies involved in land records has resulted in excessive litigation as there is no law that guarantees land title in India. The absence of up-to-date land record in the country has led to numerous land disputes and led to dissatisfaction of the interests of landholders in both urban and rural areas. According to Saxena, discrepancy in land records have affected tribal communities to a large extent as it has deprived a large number of tribal households of rights over land under their occupation in almost all the hilly tracts of the scheduled areas” (Saxena, 2005, 314). Lack of ‘good governance’ at the administrative level is the main factor behind poor management of land records. There is no accountability or transparency at the level of patwari/tehsildar who is instructed with the task of maintenance and updation of land records.

The gravity of the problem of land records was realised in 1987 and the then, Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission Dr. Manmohan Singh constituted a one-man committee under the stewardship of Prof. D.C. Wadhwa to study the problem of record-of-rights in the country and suggest measures to reform it. The committee recommended that the only solution to ensure a robust land information system in the country is to shift from the present system of presumptive title to land in our country to conclusive title to land. The system of conclusive title to land also known as 'Torrens System', being practiced in Australia, New Zealand, Singapore, Thailand, Switzerland, United States and United Kingdom etc., which guarantees validity to the records maintained by the government. As per this system, the records maintained by the government shows the actual position on the ground as there is no trade-off between the spatial and textual records. Unlike the presumptive system, where the registration of land takes place without consequential mutation in the land records this system does away with this practice because under the conclusive system of guaranteeing land title there is no registration without mutation. As per the report submitted by Prof. Wadhwa:

*The adoption of torrens system would not only correct an important lacuna in our legal framework concerning ownership of land but would also have the*

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*potential of radically reforming the existing system of land registration, survey and settlement operations and land records management* (Ministry of Rural Development and Land Records, 2005).

This system has the potential to ward off uncertainties relating to title to land and is expected to overcome land disputes and reduce litigation in courts. In rural areas land is used as a collateral to obtain credit from banking institutions and the biggest distress in rural areas is to obtain credit as there is no clarity regarding title of land, therefore this system of conclusive title to land will help in expedition of credit in rural areas as there will be state validation of title to land.

The recommendations suggested by Wadhwa Committee were finally incorporated in the plan of National Land Records Modernisation Programme (NLRMP) that came up in 2008. The objectives of Strengthening Revenue Administration and Updating of Land Records (SRA and ULR) and Computerisation of Land Records (CLR) were not able to address the problems of land record management in the country as there remained ambiguity in land related data at both textual and spatial level. Therefore, in 2008 National Land Records Modernisation Programme came into existence by merging the existing schemes on land records namely, Strengthening Revenue Administration and Updating of Land Records (SRA and ULR) Computerisation of Land Records (CLR). The NLRMP has major components such as computerisation of land records including mutations, digitalisation of maps and integration of textual and spatial data, survey/re-survey and updation of all survey and settlement records including creation of original cadastral records wherever necessary, computerisation of registration and its integration with the land records maintenance system, computerisation of registration process and training and capacity building (Digital India Land Records. Modernisation Programme <http://nlrmp.nic.in>). The aim of the programme is to modernise management of land records, minimise scope of land/property disputes, enhance transparency in the land records maintenance system, and facilitate moving eventually towards guaranteed conclusive titles to immovable properties in the country.

The National Land Record Modernisation Programme (NLRMP) marked a watershed in the history of land reforms in the country as it aimed to move away from the system of presumptive title to conclusive title. The underlying principle of conclusive title is based on the system of providing clear property title to landowners, thus guaranteeing title of the land. The conclusive land-titling system is based on the structure of four basic principles, i.e.,

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- Single window to handle land records which includes maintenance and updating of textual records, maps, survey and settlement operations and registration of immovable property.
- Mirror principle which says that cadastral records should match the ground reality, that is, there should be no ambiguity between spatial and textual records.
- Curtain principle says that record of title should be a true depiction of the ownership status and reference to past records is not necessary.
- Title Insurance, which is an assurance to the land owner that the property belongs to him/her and indemnifies the title holder against any loss arising on account of any dispute. (NLRMP, 2008 <http://nlrmp.nic.in>)

After the implementation of NLRMP in 2008, there was a great deal of determination and zeal among the states to follow the components of NLRMP as illustrated above and make a shift towards the conclusive system of title to land. The data provided on the website of Department of Land Resources (Table 2) clearly illustrates that while the states have really come forward in terms of digitalising and computerising land records and at the same time most states barring North-East and Jammu and Kashmir have started with the process of giving legal sanctity to computerised record of rights. There still remains certain areas where the work is lagging behind, first of all there has been no initiative at the centre as well at the state level to integrate the process of registration and mutation of land at the time of transfer; second, digitalisation of records is taking place without knowing the authenticity of records at the ground level because there has been no attempt by the states to undertake the process of survey/re-survey of land. The survey/re-survey of land is a cumbersome process but survey has to be followed before land records are digitalised to find out discrepancy between textual and spatial records. Entries in the records are made without even knowing whether the entries which are made reflect the reality on the ground situation. If we look at the status of survey/re-survey undertaken by the states in rural and urban areas, it highlights the fact that in areas such as North-East, the data is not available and where data is available survey/re-survey of land in states has only been confined to urban areas. The status of survey/re-survey in rural areas which is the boon for land disputes and alienation of land remains in a marred state of nature.

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**Table 2**  
**State-wise Data of Land Records after the Implementation of**  
**NLRMP in 2008**

S. No.	States	Whether Hand Written Records Discontinued	Whether Legal Sanctity given to Computerised ROR	Whether ROR Available on Web	Whether Maps Available on Web	Status of Survey/ Re-survey Urban	Status of Survey/ Re-survey Rural
1	Andhra Pradesh	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	115384.71 (87.65%)	128.22 (0.1%)
2	Arunachal Pradesh	No	No	No	No		
3	Assam	Yes	Yes	Yes	No		
4	Bihar	No	Yes	Yes	No	4159.978 (100%)	0 (0%)
5	Chattisgarh	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	7633423.13 (93.34%)	274885.551 (3.36%)
6	Goa	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		
7	Gujarat	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	206501.852 (93.72%)	2304.213 (1.05%)
8	Haryana	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	282078.87 (35.16%)	260034.74 (32.42%)
9	Himachal Pradesh	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	40862 (73.18%)	263 (0.47%)
10	Jammu & Kashmir	No	No	No	No		
11	Jharkhand	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	245083.752 (83.28%)	6280.359 (2.13%)
12	Karnataka	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		
13	Kerala	No	No	Yes	No	35942.93 (100%)	0 (0%)
14	Madhya Pradesh	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	244433.47 (85.7%)	9975.5 (3.5%)
15	Maharashtra	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	249727.976 (81%)	16341.841 (5.3%)
16	Manipur	Yes	Yes	Yes	No		
17	Meghalaya	No	No	No	No		
18	Mizoram	No	No	No	No		
19	Nagaland	No	No	No	No		
20	Odisha	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	520.396 (94.79%)	19.196 (3.5%)
21	Punjab	Yes	Yes	Yes	No		
22	Rajasthan	No	No	Yes	No	7610670.069 (70.72%)	58188.139 (0.54%)
23	Sikkim	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	1791.968 (100%)	0 (0%)
24	Tamilnadu	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	126381.899 (88.55%)	2938.862 (2.06%)
25	Telangana	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	135399.879 (88.07%)	2066.682 (1.34%)
26	Tripura	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	1482.134 (14%)	3498.783 (33.05%)
27	Uttarakhand	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	92179.226 (75.35%)	2892.208 (2.36%)
28	Uttar Pradesh	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	854961.146 (94.67%)	33065.068 (3.66%)
29	West Bengal	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	75911.437 (90.02%)	2779.067 (3.3%)

Source: Digital India Land Records Modernisation Programme <http://nlrmp.nic.in/faces/common/home.xhtml>

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### **Can Digitalisation and ICT be a Substitute to 'Good Governance'?**

After a close analysis of various reforms undertaken by the state in the area of land records, the article finally delves into the question whether digitalisation and ICT can be a substitute to 'good governance' which is the main concern of this study. Digitalisation of records can be seen as necessary but not as a significant step in ensuring the idea of 'good governance'. Digitalisation has helped in reducing the time taken to obtain record of rights from the revenue department but still it has not been able to overcome the problems of land grabbing, alienation of tribal land and land disputes arising out of discrepancies in land records maintained by the state. For instance, in Karnataka's Bhoomi project the use of IT could not trace the fraud in the primary data that was digitalised.

Even after the introduction of digitalisation of maps, introduction of ICT, remote sensing technologies, Geographical Information System (GIS) and Global Positioning System (GPS) the situation of land records still remains the same as the communities still have to encounter the same bureaucracy, land *mafias* and powerful land lobbies who are still circumventing the environmental and community based demands of the habitats at the rural and urban level. The introduction of digitalisation of maps and use of ICT and various technologies such as GIS and GPS cannot act as a substitute to 'good governance'. Good Governance can be defined in terms of how policies are formulated and decisions are implemented in a holistic manner which not only includes government as we often equate 'governance' with government but rather should encompass the role of communities to a large extent and become a platform to address land based issues faced by the communities. Even NASSCOM, the highest organisation of Information Technology and Business Process Outsourcing (BPO) has admitted that IT in isolation cannot bring the projected changes in governance, it has to be accompanied with removing administrative, social and political constraints from the system only then the idea of good governance can be adhered to (Saxena 2005).

Zasloff in his work on 'India's Land Title Crisis: The Unanswered Questions' has questioned the land reform policy initiative of Government of India's National Land Record Modernisation Programme. According to Zasloff, the NLRMP focuses only on the technical aspects of the land record modernisation like computerisation of records, surveying and updating of settlement records, data entry, scanning of old documents, use of GIS and GPS technology and ensuring technical know-how to revenue official and building capacity and infrastructure for ensuring efficiency and



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transparency. However, the document has nothing to say on how this shift from presumptive system of land to conclusive system will be implemented and how this programme aims to protect the interests of the disadvantaged sections of the society who have hitherto been subjected to land grabbing and land alienation (Zasloff, 2011). Instead of shifting to the torrens system, it would be better if the state adhere to the current system of registration and update the current system of registration act that empowers the people and ensure their land rights.

### **Conclusion and Recommendations: Way Ahead**

The need for up-to-date and accurate land records has arisen in recent past as land as a resource has become scarce, exiting legal framework is no longer able to cope with the inefficiencies associated with land markets in India, to overcome credit distress in rural areas where land is used as a collateral for obtaining credit and to act as a system of guaranteeing individual proprietary rights. The conclusive system of guaranteeing title to land is a significant step of ensuring 'good governance' in land records but this reform should be accompanied with bringing out structural changes into the legal framework of how land and revenue administration has being hitherto governed in the country. Therefore, there is a need to bring out structural reforms in the way land is being governed since decades before initiating the process of digitalisation of land records. First of all, the existence of multiple agencies (survey and settlement department, the revenue department and the registration department) at the level of revenue administration should be done away with and should be replaced by one single agency to handle registration, mutation and survey/re-survey of land to avoid overlapping and complication of information. Second, there is under-reporting and incorrect updating of property transactions in the country due to the high rate of stamp duty being levied by the states, therefore the Registration Act of 1908 should be amended to bring a uniform rate of registering property with the government across all the states. Third, computerisation should be preceded by mutation of entries in land records in order to remove the inconsistencies between the textual and spatial records. Lastly, in many cases land records are either not available or are in a dilapidated state, so how will digitalisation help in such cases. In such cases, survey/re-survey of the land should be conducted to bring about a transparent and accurate delineation of land records in the country. Therefore, to realise the idea of 'good governance' in land records management, the use of e-governance initiatives can only act as a drop of

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water in the vast ocean. Good governance in land records can only be achieved by bringing out structural changes in the way land is being governed in the country and also nature and demands of different communities should be incorporated in the governance model followed by the state.

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## Political Vision of Gandhi: An Overview

Ajmeera Shankar\*

*Mahatma Gandhi had challenged the foundations of modern civilisation; and this doctrine has great relevance today. The leviathanic, technological and materialistic aspect of the modern Western civilisation repelled him. This industrial and post-industrial civilisation of the Occident is based on the exploitation of the weaker peoples. Its implicated material life is inconsistent with high thinking. The modern civilisation, therefore, according to Gandhi, is equivalent to darkness and disease. Hence he pleaded a return to nature like Rousseau and Tolstoy, and said that true civilisation consists not in the accumulation of commodities but in deliberate and voluntary reduction of wants. He prophesied the decline and doom of Western civilisation but had tremendous faith in the rejuvenating power of the human spirit and firmly held that non-violence could provide a healing tonic to modern civilisation.*

Gandhiji's ideas cover a very vast canvas and it is virtually impossible for anyone to do justice to them in a limited space. I shall therefore focus my attention on his philosophy of non-violence, as it attracted the attention of the entire world as also to the unique way in which he led India's freedom movement. People invariably ask the question as to whether then non-violent method would solve the political problems. My counter question to them would be this: 'Has violence solved our political

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problems?' The history of the world bears testimony to the fact that it has not.

Gandhi was not only very widely read (Iyer, 2000) but what is perhaps more important, he had assimilated all that he had read. I am here reminded of a rather enigmatic statement made by Thomas Hobbes, the 17th century English Political Philosopher. Hobbes once said "if I had read as much as others are." If reading does not lessen ignorance, then there would be a strong case for closing down all the libraries in the world; probably what Hobbes had in his mind was that reading by itself was not enough and that what was read should be deeply pondered over, so that it might result in new and original ideas. Gandhiji had certainly assimilated the ideas that different books come out with and in consequence succeeded in producing original ideas on a variety of subjects.

Any attempt to understand the nature of leadership Gandhiji provided would prove futile unless we bear in mind the vital fact that Gandhiji was essentially a man of religion and that participation in political activity was for him almost a part of his religious duty. In one of the issues of 'Young India', Gandhiji had written: 'At the back of every word that I have uttered since I have known what public life is and of every act that I have done, there has been a religious consciousness and a downright religious motive' (Suda, 1964). Gandhiji had once told Mr. Polak, one of his friends and associates in South Africa that he (Gandhiji) knew many persons in the domain of religion who were politicians at heart whereas he was a man of religion and yet was in the domain of politics as he considered it his religious duty to work in the domain of politics.

The starting point of Gandhiji's political philosophy as also that of the theory and practice of *Satyagraha* was the belief (unlike that of Marx) that the universe of which each one of us was an integral part was spiritually constituted. This in turn also implied that there was an element of divinity in each one of us, which would respond to the moral approach.

#### Mean and Ends in Politics

Gandhiji's religious frame of mind prompted him to attach very great importance to the purity of means in the political domain. Gandhiji thought that the Machiavellian dictum that the ends justify the means was wrong ethically and harmful from a pragmatic point of view. He felt that any end, however good it might be, could not but get vitiated if bad means were adopted to reach that end. His reason for believing this to be wholly and always true was his metaphysical conviction that the whole world is

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governed by the law of Karma, that there is a moral order (rta) at the heart of the cosmos (Iyer, 2000). Thus, for Gandhiji means and ends were convertible terms and as such equally important. He likened the means to a seed and the end to a tree and took the view that there was the same inviolable connection between the seed and the tree (Gandhi, 1938). Hence Gandhiji felt that if one took care of the means the end would take care of itself. Jawarharlal Nehru, in his address to the Columbia University in October 1949, endorsed the Gandhian approach vis-à-vis the purity of means, when he stated that there was always a close and intimate relationship between the end that was aimed at and the means that were adopted for its attainment, as it was just not possible to separate the means from the ends, since they were connected very intimately and inextricably (Nehru, 1954).

For Gandhiji, human life constituted an integral whole and as such incapable of being divided into water tight compartments. Thus he could never agree with the view that political activity should be governed by principles other than ethical. In fact, he took the view that all domains of human activity should be governed by the religious spirit. According to Gandhiji: the whole gamut of man's activities constitutes an indivisible whole; you cannot divide social, economic, political and purely religious work into water tight compartments I do not know religion apart from human activity. It provides a moral basis to all activities which would otherwise lack, reducing life to a maze of sound and fury, signifying nothing (Mukherjee, 1939).

It was not as if people did not talk about the moral approach to politics but they rarely practiced what they preached. Frederick the Great of Prussia published a pamphlet in which he condemned Machiavelli for justifying the adoption of any means, moral or immoral to reach political objectives. Machiavelli in fact had put forward the thesis that politics was neither moral, nor immoral, but amoral. For Machiavelli, moral principles were irrelevant in politics. Ironically enough, while Frederick the Great criticised Machiavelli for his approach to political problems, and considered it as immoral, in his own political life, he hardly followed the ethical approach. Another example is that of one Mr. Fox, known for his oratorical powers, who was present at the historic impeachment of Warren Hastings for his mis-deeds in India. While admitting the charge that he was guilty of taking recourse to immoral practices, when he was the Governor General of India, Warren Hastings stated that his motives were pure and lofty they being to strengthen the British rule in India and that the deviations from the basic principles of morality were dictated by considerations of political

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expediency. In other words, he was defending himself on the basis of the Machiavelli dictum that in politics the ends justify the means. As soon as Warren Hastings offered this defense in support of his questionable actions, Mr. Fox stood up and said dramatically: 'What is morally wrong can never be politically right'. However, like Frederick the Great, the political actions of Mr. Fox were never in conformity with his pronouncements.

Gandhiji adhered to the ethical approach to political problems to such a degree that we hardly find any parallel to it in the history of the world. He was one of the very few who proved through their political actions that there was no dichotomy between what they proclaimed and what they practiced.

I had stated a little earlier that according to Gandhiji the relationship between the means and the end was analogous to the relationship between the seed and the tree. On yet another occasion, while emphasizing the inseparability between the ends and the means, Gandhiji had stated that they were the two sides of the same coin. During his visit to Saudi Arabia in 1956, Jawaharlal Nehru almost spoke in the Gandhian idiom when he stated that the greatest victory was that in which no one was defeated. Obviously, such a victory would only be a result of a great concern for the purity of means.

### **Satyagraha**

The technique of mass action so effectively adopted by Gandhiji, in the form of Swadeshi, non-cooperation and boycott was followed by Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Aurobindo during the Swadeshi movement of 1905. It must however be borne in mind that Tilak and Aurobindo were governed by pragmatic considerations when they followed the technique of passive resistance. They were not against the use of violence as such. In other words, it means that non-violence was not a principle with them, whereas with Gandhiji, it was. The various forms of Satyagraha, such a non-cooperation, civil disobedience etc., were according to Gandhiji, basically different from passive resistance. He brings out the distinction between Satyagraha and passive resistance in the following words: 'Passive resistance is often looked upon as a preparation for the use of force, while Satyagraha can never be utilised as such. Passive resistance may be offered side by side with the use of arms. Satyagraha and brute force being such a negation of the other, can never go together. Satyagraha may be offered to one's nearest and dearest; passive resistance can never be thus offered unless of course they have ceased to be dear and become an object of hatred to us. In passive resistance

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there is always present an idea of harassing the other party and there is simultaneous readiness to undergo any hardship entailed upon us by such activity; while in Satyagraha there is not the slightest idea of injuring the opponent. Satyagraha there is not the slightest idea of injuring the opponent. Satyagraha postulates the conquest of the adversary by suffering in one's person (Gandhi, 1968).

#### **Gandhi as a Leader**

Gandhiji returned to India for good in January 1915. He went to Pune as soon as he got back to India and met his political guru Gopal Krishna Gokhale. Gandhiji was advised by Gokhale to keep himself away from politics for a year and devote that time to a study of Indian conditions-social, economic and political. As ill-luck would have it, Gandhiji's mentor-Gopal Krishna Gokhale passed away on the 19th of the next month.

Gandhiji attended the Lucknow session of the Congress in December 1916. It is interesting to find out as to what Jawaharlal Nehru's (the political heir of Gandhiji) impressions were, when he met Gandhiji for the first time. In his Autobiography Nehru writes: 'My first meeting with Gandhiji was about the time of the Lucknow Congress during Christmas 1916. All of us admired him for his heroic fight in South Africa, but he seemed very distant and different and unpolitical to many of us young men (Jawaharlal Nehru).

Barring the fact that his work in South Africa had made him famous, Gandhiji had hardly any assets, when he returned to India. There was nothing very impressive about his physical appearance and he was far from an orator. The Indian political scene was dominated by powerful speakers and well established leaders. And yet, in less than five years, this very distant, different and apolitical person became the top most leader of India, a riddle which needs to be solved and this could be done in no better way than by finding out as to how Nehru's views underwent a gradual change about this frail man, underwent a sea of change in the subsequent few years, for similar reasons.

Nehru points out in his book 'Glimpses of World History', as to how Gandhiji made the Congress a dynamic organisation and how he discouraged all empty and fruitless talk. Before his advent the Congress had indulged in merely talking and passing resolutions; whereas most of the other leaders of the day excelled only in platform platitudes and tall talk, Gandhiji was quiet and yet a man of action. Though he was always peaceful and courteous, he never submitted to anything that he considered evil. Gandhiji's approach was entirely different from the Congress approach upto

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that period of passing futile and ineffectiveness resolution, which were not taken very seriously by anybody (Nehru, 1954).

Nehru first came under Gandhiji spell when the latter started the Satyagraha Sabha as a sequel of his appeal to the Viceroy not to give his consent to the Rowlett Bills. The members of the Satyagraha Sabha were to disobey the Rowlatt Act as well as any other objectionable laws to be specified from time to time, that might be applied to them. Nehru's reaction to the formation of the Satyagraha Sabha was one of tremendous reliefs as at last action was taking the place of futile talk, and what was more the action seemed effective and one of open defiance.

Nehru's admiration for Gandhiji grew, when he worked as some kind of Secretary to Gandhiji, when the latter visited the Punjab soon after the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy. It was during this period that Nehru's faith grew in the wisdom and political insight of Gandhiji. Time and again, Nehru was surprised at the appraisal of the situation by Gandhiji and the directions that he gave in regard to what was to be done. The first reaction of Nehru and others was invariably un-favourably to Gandhiji's proposed action, but subsequently they found out that his was the right policy. It was because of this that Nehru (and others too) gradually started relying on Gandhiji's judgment apart from basic principles (Nehru, 1941).

Nehru makes a perceptive observation in his Autobiography when he states: 'What I admired was the moral and ethical side of our movement of Satyagraha. I did not give an absolute allegiance to it or accept it forever but it attracted me more and more, and the belief grew upon me that situated as we were in India and with our background and traditions, it was the right policy for us (Nehru, 1941).

Gandhiji immediately brought a complete change in the constitution of the Congress organisation. He made it democratic and a mass organisation. Democratic it had been previously also, but it had so far been limited in franchise and restricted to the upper classes. Now the peasants rolled in, and in its garb it began to assume the look of a vast agrarian organisation with a strong sprinkling of the middle classes. This agrarian character was to grow. Industrial workers also came in, but as individuals and not in their separate, organised capacity (Nehru, 1942).

Gandhiji had his own way of saying, writing and doing things, which in addition to being ethically oriented and fair to others provide effective too. A Khilafat deputation was going to wait for the Viceroy, sometime in early 1920 and Gandhiji was to join it. 'Before he reached Delhi, however, a draft of the proposed address was, according to custom, sent to



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the Viceroy. When Gandhiji arrived and read this draft, he strongly disapproved of it and even said that he could not be a party to the deputation, if this draft was not materially altered. His objection was that the draft was vague and wordy and there was no clear indication in it of the absolute minimum demands which the Muslims must have. He said that this was not fair to the Viceroy and the British Government, or to the people, or to themselves. They must not make exaggerated demands which they were not going to press, but should state the minimum clearly and without possibility of doubt, and stand by it to the death. If they were serious this was the only right course to adopt.

This argument was a novel one in political or other circles in India. We were used to vague exaggerations and flowery language and always there was an idea of a bargain in our minds. Gandhiji, however, carried his point and he wrote to the private secretary of the Viceroy, pointing out the defects and vagueness of the draft address sent, and forwarding a few additional paragraphs to be added to it. These paragraphs gave the minimum demands. The Viceroy's reply was interesting. He refused to accept the new paragraphs and said that previous draft was, in his opinion, quite proper (Nehru, 1941).

Gandhiji won over the top leaders of the Congress through the great qualities of leadership that he possessed. Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, C.R. Das, Rajendra Prasad, Abul Kalam Azad, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Rajaji, Vallabhai Patel, and several other important leaders, belonging to different parts of India, got gradually converted to his point of view and his approach to political problems. And then in his own unique way, he succeeded in establishing rapport with the masses by making their cause his own.

How the top leaders of the Congress fell for Gandhiji could be revealed through an interesting anecdote. C.R. Das, the great leader from Bengal arrived at the Nagpur session of the Congress (1920) with a strong contingent of delegates, with the avowed intention of 'crushing Gandhiji'. The delegates from Bengal were told by C.R. Das to oppose Gandhiji's resolution the next day. Late in the night that day, Gandhiji requested C.R. Das to see him for a few minutes. C.R. Das entered Gandhiji's tent like a lion only to come out of it like a lamb, a few minutes later. When Gandhiji convinced C.R. Das about the correctness of his (Gandhiji's) stand, during the course of the conversation, C.R. Das thumped his fist on the table and said: Damn it Gandhi, you are always right and we are always wrong'. The next day C.R. Das supported Gandhiji's resolution.

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In his very interesting autobiography in Urdu entitled 'Yadon Ki Barat', the great Urdu poet, Josh Malihabadi, makes a mention of his first meeting with Gandhiji. He tells the readers as to how he was greatly disappointed when he saw Gandhiji in one of the sessions of the Congress around 1920 and how he wondered as to how such an un-impressive and ordinary looking person could ever be their leader. However, he went into Gandhiji's tent a little later, along with Maulana Azad, Mohemmed Ali and Maulana Shaukat Ali. He confesses to his readers that he came out of the tent half an hour later with a feeling that India just could not have a better person than Gandhiji to lead the national movement.

The movement that Gandhiji launched, from time to time, was multi dimensional in nature. They had not only a political dimension but social and economic dimensions too. The crusade against untouchability was the social dimension of the movement, whereas the cause of the rural uplift through the encouragement of cottage industries was the economic dimension. And of course as a humanist, he fought a relentless war against parochial and religious prejudices and faced martyrdom for the cause of communal amity.

It is widely believed that Gandhiji took his idea of Satyagraha from Henry David Thoreau. Gandhiji himself had gone on record that the Satyagraha movement started by him in South Africa had already made progress when he came across Thoreau's book on Civil Disobedience.

At the beginning I referred to the fact that the Gandhiji was essentially a man of religion. It would be appropriate to end with an anecdote which has bearing on his religious and spiritual background. The biography of Winston Churchill, written by his Physician, incorporates these anecdotes. Once, Field Marshall Smuts who was the Governor General of South Africa, during Gandhiji's sojourn in that country, said to Churchill: Winston, you can't win against Gandhi'. Churchill, the proud imperialist who had once referred to Gandhi as a half-naked *fakir*, asked somewhat aggressively, 'why can't I win against Gandhi? What is so extra-ordinary about him?' Smuts quietly replied: You don't understand Winston, Gandhi is a man of God, you and I are not'.

To conclude it can be inferred that the present generation which was profoundly influenced by the personality and ideas of Gandhi, as also by the unique manner in which he led India's movement for freedom. On the day of his assassination Albert Einstein paid his unique tributes saying: Future generation would not believe that "a person like this, in flesh and blood, ever moved on this earth". Great leader Gandhiji as their mentor and tried to follow his footsteps in the political domain.

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## **Changes in Demographic Nature in the Fringe of Kolkata City: A Case Study of Pujali Municipality**

**Sushobhan Majumdar\***

*Urbanisation refers to the increase in the proportion of people living in urban areas and it leads to the urban expansion. Urban expansion is the direct manifestation of urbanisation and greatly affects economic growth and the decision making process for urban development policies. Kolkata Metropolitan Area (KMA) is one of the largest metropolitan areas in the eastern part of India which is under the jurisdiction of Kolkata Metropolitan Development Authority (KMDA). The rate of land use change in the 'City of Joy' is less in city core areas and it is much high in the periphery of city. Kolkata city is now growing towards south-west direction as seen through the analysis of satellite images. Pujali municipality is one of the newest municipalities in the south western fringes of KMA and also in West Bengal which plays a leading role for the southward expansion. In this article an attempt has been made to find out the demographic trends and scenarios of Pujali municipality between the year 2001 and 2011 and its influence on the surrounding areas. Studying sphere of urban influence helps the municipal authorities and other researchers to understand the relationship between city and its fringe. This study reveals that accessibility from the other areas and availability of vacant land are the major causes for the rapid growth and development of this municipality.*

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All cities around the world have its own sphere of influence. Sphere of urban influence is associated with the identification of urban agglomeration, the improvement of comprehensive competitiveness of core cities, and the development of urban hierarchy and supportive policies (Pan, Shi, and Xiaofeng, 2008). Previous related theories regarding sphere of influence were Central Place Theory (Christaller, 1933), Breaking Point Theory (Reilly, 1929), Field Theory (Guiyuan and Meiwu, 2004). First definition of sphere of influence was put forward through the Central Place Theory. After the 1980s different theories were developed regarding sphere of influence. Those were World City Theory (Friedmann, 1986), Network Cities Theory (David, 1955), Heartland and Hinterland Theory (McCaan, 1982) and Nation State Theory (Ohmae, 1995).

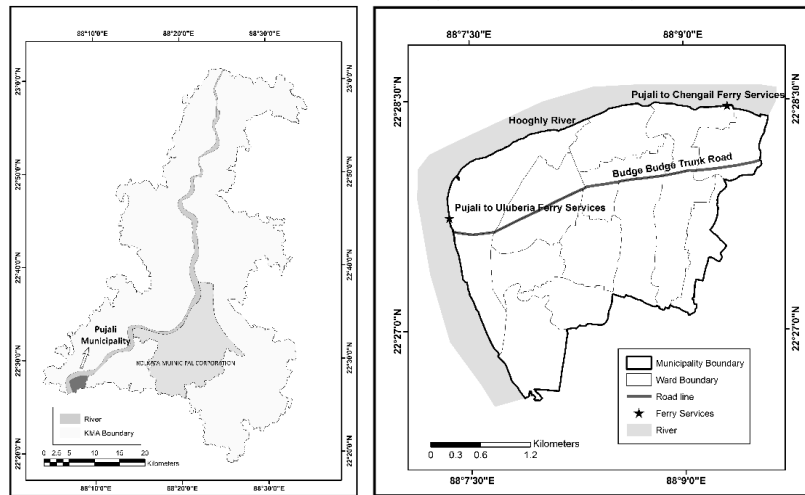
Urbanisation refers to the increase in the proportion of people towards the semi-urban areas and it leads to the urban expansion. Urban expansion is the direct manifestation of urbanisation and greatly affects economic growth and the decision making process for urban development policies. To develop various planning policies various types of urban and regional planning become more and more important and are formulated in India. Among of those, it is critical to identify the urban spheres of influence scientifically and to promote the integrated development of cities and their hinterlands. In particular, the identification of urban sphere of influence is of great significance to the improvement of central city's synthesised competitiveness, the building of a reasonable urban system and the establishment of supporting policies. The urban sphere of influence refers to surrounding areas whose social and economic development depends on the attraction and radiation force of the city (Wang and Zhao, 2000; Kong, 2007). The concept of urban sphere of influence came from the central place theory initiated by Christaller in 1933. City is an important node in regional development, in which both node-to-node link and node-to-hinterland link occur (Mulligan, 1984).

Kolkata Metropolitan Area (KMA) is one of the largest metropolitan areas in the eastern part of India. Its population is nearly 15.90 million (according to Census, 2011) with a decadal growth rate of 10.30, which is relatively higher than any other major cities in India. The rate of increase in population and the development in urban areas leads to a migratory movement of the people from rural areas to the cities; the demand for serviced land perpetually outstrips its supply leading to ever rising price of land (TCPO, 2008). KMA is under the jurisdiction of Kolkata Metropolitan Development Authority (KMDA). After the journey of nearly 50 years,

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KMDA still plays a vital role for all types of planning and developmental activities within KMA. Kolkata city is now growing towards south-west direction as seen through the analysis of satellite images. Pujali Municipality is one of the major municipalities in the south western fringes of KMA and also in West Bengal which plays a leading role for this southward expansion.

**Figure 1 and 2**  
**Showing Location of Pujali Municipality in Kolkata Metropolitan Area**  
**and Ward Map of Pujali Municipality**



### Study Area

Pujali municipality is one of the smallest municipalities by the eastern bank of river Hooghly (located at 22.47°N 88.15°E with an average elevation of 6 meters), which is located on the south western part of the Kolkata Metropolitan Area. It is under the jurisdiction of Budge Budge Police Station under the Alipore Sadar Sub-division, in South 24 Parganas District, West Bengal. Rapid transformation of land and its development has been seen in the Pujali municipality. Led by the establishment of a gigantic Thermal Power Station by the CESC in 1993, Pujali has only been expanding its horizons further. Total population of the municipality according to Census 2011 was 37,047 with a decadal growth rate of 9.42 per cent from 2001 to 2011, comprising 15 numbers of wards. Total area of the municipality is 8.32 sq.km. All types of planning in this municipality is directed by the West Bengal Municipal Act 1993 (u/s 297 amended in 1998), which was planned by the authorities of the municipality by the participation of local inhabitants.

### Objective of the Study

In this paper census data for the census years of 2001 and 2011 has been used to scrutinise the demographic characteristics, trends and scenarios of Pujali municipality. Firstly, an attempt has been made to analyse the demographic nature of Pujali municipality for the year 2001 and 2011. Alongside emphasis has been given on the occupational structure of municipality since 2001 and lastly the area of influence of this municipality on the surrounding areas within KMA have been identified. The purpose of this paper is to address the following questions: (i) What is the recent trend of demographic growth of this municipality? (ii) What is recent occupational structure of this municipality? and (iii) What is the area of influence on the surrounding areas? The sphere of influence has been calculated within the area of KMA. So the area outside the KMA has not been considered in this study. This is the limitation of this research paper.

### Database and Methodology

Demographic data for the census year 2001 and 2011 have been used to scrutinise the demographic characteristics of the area. To visualise the demographic trend of the area different cartographic techniques have been used. To find out the occupational structure of different wards in this municipality, various statistical techniques has been used. To delineate the influence zone from urban centre, following steps have been used.

- A. **Mean Population Threshold** for a particular category of facility is the ratio between total population and number of facilities belonging to the category (Hagget and Gunwardena, 1965). This can be expressed as:

$$mT = P/NFi$$

Where, mT = mean population threshold, P = total population, and Nfi = total number of facilities under functional category 'I'.

- B. **Mean Population Threshold (mT)** value for each facility type available in a geographical unit (district, urban centre etc.) is employed in the following equation to derive the Functional Weightage of the facility category (Bhatt, 1976):

$$Wfi = mTi / mTI$$

Where, Wfi = estimated weightage of facility „i□, mTi = mean population threshold of facility „i□, and mTI =lowest mean population threshold.

- C. The **Wfi** values for all facilities are summed up to derive Composite Functional Score of a geographical unit, which is given by:

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$$CFs = \sum_{i=1} Wfi$$

Where, CFs = Composite Functional score, n= number of facilities and i=1.

- D. Now the **Proportional Composite Functional Score** of an urban centre with respect to that of the district is multiplied by the area of the district to receive Sphere of Urban Influence for the urban centre in question (Rao, 1964):

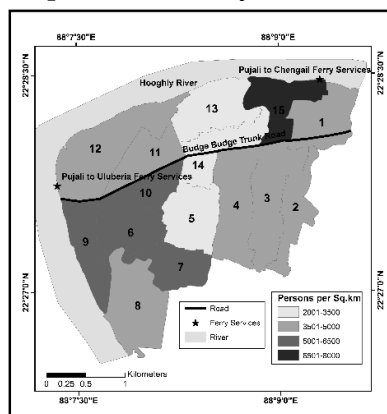
$$S.I. = CFs \text{ Urban centre} / CFs \text{ District} \times A \text{ District}$$

Where, S.I. = Sphere of Urban Influence (sq. km.), CFs Urban centre = Composite Functional Score of Urban Centre, CFs District = Composite Functional Score of District and A District = Area of district.

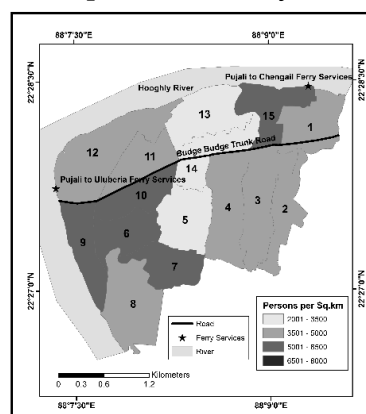
### Analysis and Results

Pujali Municipality is one of the newest and smallest municipalities in West Bengal and also in KMA. After the partition of India, a large number of migrants from Bangladesh and people from the rural areas of South 24 Parganas district chose this area as their home. This is the main causes behind the establishment of this municipality and huge population growth. First census of this municipality was taken in the year 2001. Then its population was 33,858. From the year 2001-2011 the growth rate of population increased nearly 9.42 per cent because of the availability open or vacant land mainly towards the river side areas, employment opportunities and good infrastructural facility.

**Figure 3**  
Population Density of 2001



**Figure 4**  
Population Density of 2011

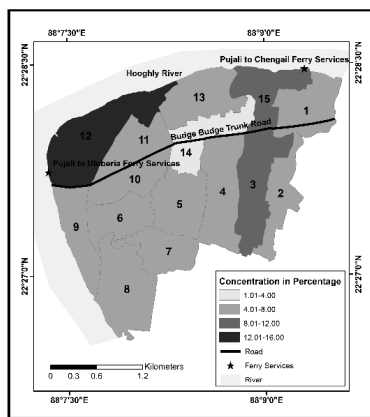




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Figure 3 and Figure 4 shows the population density of Pujali municipality for the year 2001 and 2011 respectively. In the year 2001, northern portion of the municipality shows high density because of its easy accessibility through ferry services from Pujali to Chengail area. It can be seen that eastern portion of the municipality has experienced relatively high density of population over the years because of short distance from the Kolkata city. But the population density in the western side of this municipality is high because of infrastructural facilities like bank, post office, school and especially of ferry services between Pujali and Uluberia.

**Figure 5**  
**Concentration of population 2001**



**Figure 6**  
**Concentration of population 2011**

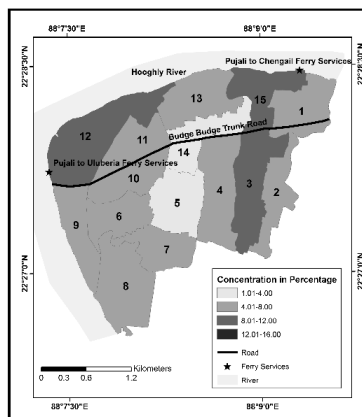
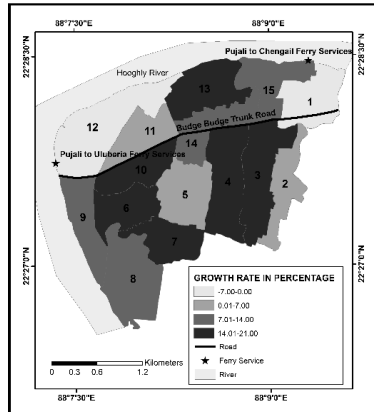


Figure 5 and 6 describes the concentration of population of Pujali Municipality for the years 2001 and 2011. In recent years, the concentration of population is high both in the eastern side and western side of the municipality area. In the eastern side the concentration of population is high because of easy accessibility through Budge Budge Trunk road and ferry services between Chengail and Pujali. But in the western side the concentration of population is high because of the availability of ferry services between Pujali and Uluberia.

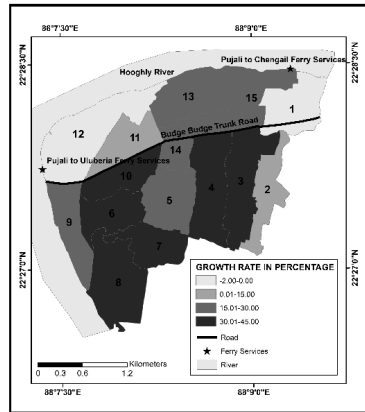
Figure 7 and 8 describes the growth rate of household and growth rate of population of Pujali Municipality between the year 2001 and 2011. The growth rate of population and household are high in ward number 3, 4, 6, 7, 10 and 13 which is because of availability of vacant land. It encourages the people from the other areas to move into these areas.

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**Figure 7**  
Growth rate of household  
from 2001-11



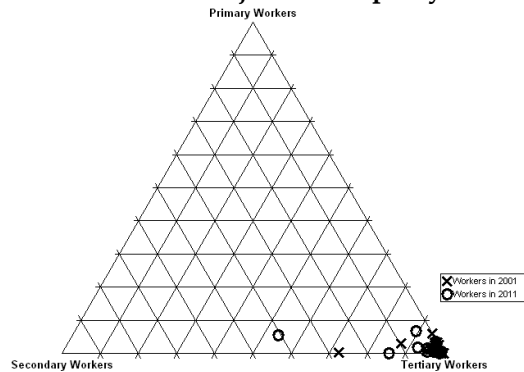
**Figure 8**  
Growth rate of population  
from 2001-11



**Occupational Pattern**

To visualise the shift in the pattern of occupational structure Ternary Diagram (Figure 9) has been used. In the year 2001, among the total workers are 1.88 per cent are engaged in primary activities and 2.64 per cent and 95.48 per cent of the workers were engaged in secondary and tertiary activities respectively. But in the year 2011, among the total workers 1.59 per cent workers were engaged in primary activities along with 5.36 and 95.04 workers are engaged secondary and tertiary activities respectively. The percentage of tertiary activities has decreased by nearly 1.5 per cent. The concentration of secondary activities increased slightly. From the field verification it has been seen that workers prefers in binding kites, making of crackers type of activities rather than tertiary activities.

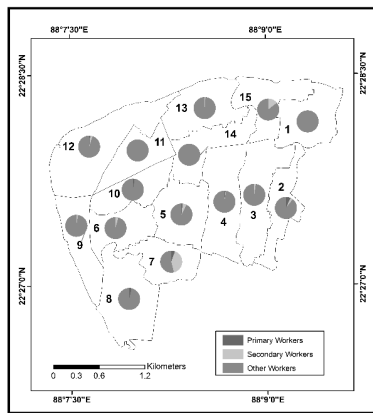
**Figure 9**  
Occupational structure of Pujali municipality of 2001 and 2011



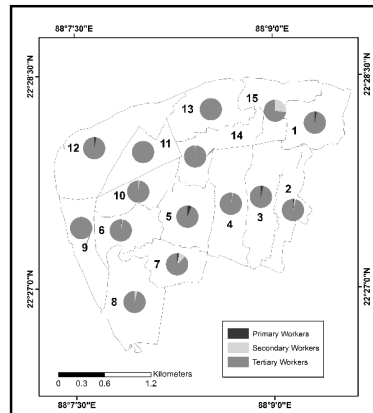
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To show the nature of the occupational structure of this area, Nelson’s Dominant and Distinctive Function Technique has been used. The order of distinctiveness has been calculated from the mean and standard deviation of the data. Numbers of workers of this municipality has been classified into three categories i.e., primary, secondary and tertiary. Percentages of workers (Figure 10 and Figure 11) in different wards of Pujali municipality have been visualised by the proportional pie diagrams.

**Figure 10**  
Occupational Categories of 2001



**Figure 11**  
Occupational Categories of 2011



**Table 1**  
Distinctiveness with Parameters

Categories of workers	2011				2001			
	Zone I	Zone II	Zone III	Zone IV	Zone I	Zone II	Zone III	Zone IV
	Mean+1SD	Mean+2SD	Mean+3SD	Mean+4SD	Mean+1SD	Mean+2SD	Mean+3SD	Mean+4SD
Primary workers	1.74-3.78	3.79-5.82	5.83-7.86	-	1.62-3.23	3.24-4.84	4.85-6.45	-
Secondary workers	5.47-15.87	15.88-26.27	26.28-36.67	36.68-47.07	3.54-10.56	10.57-17.58	17.59-24.60	24.61-31.62
Tertiary workers	92.81-100	-	-	-	94.84-100			

Source: Compiled by the Author

Table 1 shows the distinctiveness parameters and Table 2 shows distinctiveness with functions of Pujali municipality of the year 2001 and 2011. Figure 10 and Figure 11 describes the functional categories of Pujali municipality of 2001 and 2011 respectively. From the Figure 10, it has been seen that nearly 6 per cent of the workers are engaged as primary workers in ward no 5. So it is under the Zone III of distinctiveness. The people engaged

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in secondary activities is maximum in Ward No. 15. So it is under the Zone IV zone of distinctiveness. In 2011, it has been seen that all the wards of this municipality has experienced a maximum number of tertiary workers like the previous year except Ward No. 7 and 15. The people of those areas are relatively less engaged in tertiary activities than the other wards.

**Table 2**  
**Distinctiveness with functions**

Categories of workers	2011				2001			
	Zone I	Zone II	Zone III	Zone IV	Zone I	Zone II	Zone III	Zone IV
Primary workers in wards	5,8,10	7	2	-	1,2,3,7,12	-	5	-
Secondary workers in wards	5,15	-	-	7	7,8	-	-	15
Tertiary workers in wards	1,3,4,6,8,9,10,11,12,13,14	-	-	-	1,2,3,4,5,6,8,9,10,11,12,13,14			

Source: Compiled by the Author

**Table 3**  
**Mean Population Threshold and Functional Weightage of Facilities of South 24 Parganas District**

Category of Facilities	Name of the Facility	2011		2001	
		Mean Population Threshold	Functional Weightage	Mean Population Threshold	Functional Weightage
Educational Facility	Primary Schools	819	1.79	2287	1.87
	Middle/ Junior Schools	6004	13.14	9529	7.79
	Secondary Schools	18011	39.41	16335	13.36
	Senior Secondary Schools	25216	55.18	457390	373.99
	Degree Colleges	189118	413.82	457390	373.99
	Technical Colleges	63039	137.94	457390	373.99
	Technical Schools	378235	827.65	152463	124.66
Health Facility	Primary Health Centres	5562	12.17	30493	24.93
	Family welfare Centres	12201	26.70	76232	62.33
	Allopathic Hospitals	75647	165.53	-	0.00
	Veterinary Hospitals	126078	275.88	-	0.00
Financial and Commercial Centre	Nationalised or Non-Nationalised banks	5819	12.73	20790	17.00
Recreational Facility	Cinemas	94559	206.91	114348	93.50
	Public Libraries	42026	91.96	50821	41.55
Communication Facility	Post Offices	5910	12.93	16335	13.36
	State Highway	189118	413.82	228695	187.00
	National Highway	378235	827.65	457390	373.99
Administrative facility	Police Stations	75647	165.53	91478	74.80
Composite Functional Score (CFs)			3701.75	CFs	2159.11

Source: Compiled by the Author

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**Table 4**  
**Mean Population Threshold and Functional Weightage of**  
**Facilities of Pujali Municipality**

Category of Facilities	Name of the Facility	2011		2001	
		Mean Population Threshold	Functional Weightage	Mean Population Threshold	Functional Weightage
Educational Facility	Primary Schools	18524	4.00	3078	0.73
	Middle/ Junior Schools	12349	2.67	16929	4.02
	Secondary Schools	12349	2.67	16929	4.02
	Senior Secondary Schools	12349	2.67	0	0.00
	Degree Colleges	0	0.00	0	0.00
	Technical Colleges	18524	4.00	0	0.00
	Technical Schools	0	0.00	0	0.00
Health Facility	Primary Health Centres	37047	8.00	4232	1.01
	Family welfare Centres	0	0.00	0	0.00
	Allopathic Hospitals	18524	4.00	0	0.00
	Veterinary Hospitals	0	0.00	0	0.00
Financial and Commercial Centre	Nationalised or Non-Nationalised banks	18524	4.00	16929	4.02
Recreational Facility	Cinemas	12349	2.67	0	0.00
	Public Libraries	4631	1.00	0	0.00
Communication Facility	Post Offices	37047	8.00	33858	8.04
	State Highway	37047	8.00	33858	8.04
	National Highway	0	0.00	0	0.00
Administrative facility	Police Stations	0	0.00	0	0.00
Composite Functional Score (CFs)			51.67		29.89

Source: Compiled by the Author

**Table 5**  
**Composite and Proportional Composite Functional Score**  
**and its Sphere and Radius of Influence**

Year	CFC's	Population	Area (Sq.Km)	Proportional CFC's	Sphere of Influence (Sq.Km)	Radius of Influence in km.
2011	51.67	37047	8.32	0.01	3.304	0.92
2001	29.89	33858	8.32	0.01	2.918	1.35

Source: Compiled by the Author

**Mean Population Threshold and Functional Weightage**

Mean Population Threshold (MPT) for a particular category of facility of an area is considered, the best way to determine the ratio between the total number of population and number of facilities of the category (Hagget and Gunwardena, 1965). MPT is simply the average population served by each facility. Functional weightage of each facility has been estimated by MPT of a particular category divided by the minimum number of MPT of among the all facilities. In the year 2011, among the facilities in the

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district of South 24 Parganas, both the technical school, good communication facility through National Highway has experienced functional weightage of 827.65. Degree College and Veterinary hospital from the health facilities have experienced relatively higher population threshold than other facilities and their functional weightage are 413.82 and 275.88 respectively (Table 3). In the year 2011, in case of Pujali municipality it has been found that both primary health centre, post offices and state highway have been experienced high functional weightage (i.e. 8.00) than the other facilities (Table 4).

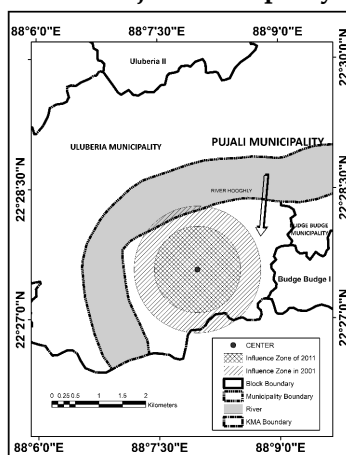
### Proportional Composite Functional Score (PCFS)

PCFS is the relative ratio of CFs of a particular urban centre and CFs of district as a whole. The PCFS of Pujali Municipality is 0.92 (Table 5) which indicates that the probability for future expansion of this municipality is very low. This is because it is bounded by western side and northern side by the Hooghly river, eastern side by the Budge Budge I Community Development Block and Budge Budge Municipality and southern side by Bishnupur Community Development Block.

### Sphere of Influence

Figure 12 depicts the Zone or Sphere of Influence of this municipality on the surrounding areas within the KMA. In case of this municipality Mean Population Threshold of primary health centre within the health facilities, recreational facilities and Post offices, highway among the communication facilities are highest. It indicates that these facilities attract the people of surrounding areas than the other facilities.

**Figure 12**  
**Sphere of influence of Pujali Municipality of 2001 and 2011**



### **Salient Features of Influence Zone between 2001 and 2011**

The sphere of influence of Pujali Municipality has slightly decreased from the 2001 to 2011 i.e., 0.43 km. One of the main reasons behind this is that Gram Panchayats of South 24 Parganas i.e., Joka I and Joka II which has been added with the Kolkata Municipal Corporation after September, 2012. The impact of KMC is greater than Pujali Municipality. Because most of the people from this municipality area used to come to Kolkata city for their jobs. They work in the private sector, hotel and restaurant etc. in the Kolkata city. Another reason is that most of the rural areas in the KMA which are under the South 24 Parganas have been converted into Census Town in recent years. As a result the urban areas under the South 24 Parganas has increased nearly 51.19 km. between the year 2001 to 2011 and the number of Census Town of South 24 Parganas under the jurisdiction of KMA has increased from 5 to 27. These Census Towns influence is much more over the inhabitants of the Pujali Municipality.

### **Conclusion**

Therefore, it is clear that influence zone of this urban centre is directly related to socio-economic development of this region. But abnormal pressure of population growth is the main constraint of this town. This abnormal demographic growth has created many problems like land use problem, sewerage and drainage, traffic control, and in proper land utilisation in this area. Budge Budge Trunk Road is the important road in the Pujali Municipality area. Many of the people avoid this road because of high traffic congestion during office time. Most of the areas of this municipality are completely waterlogged in rainy season. Another problem is that there is no master plan for the development of this area. If the master plan is developed then the problem regarding land use and influx of migration can be controlled properly for the better livelihood of the inhabitants of this municipality.

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## Perceiving Women Security in Neo-Liberal State: Indian Context

Bharti Sehta \*

*The discourse of 'Security' in the minds of men has traditionally been dominated by international relations, creating the largest public sphere, defined as 'external threats from outside the border' to the state. Since the last decade of twentieth century, non-traditional security has been perceived (from the masculine glass) as 'threats from within borders' to the 'state' and 'people'. Women, due to their anatomy and socio-cultural positing, view security/insecurity differently. A recent survey by 'Trust Law Women' has ranked India as the fourth most dangerous country for women in the world. It has posed a challenge in front of the Indian Neo-liberal state whose 'minimal function' is to ensure law and the security of its citizens. But, how far the neo-liberal state provides women security or we need a 'post-neo-liberal state'? In the search for answer, this paper discusses the concept of 'women security' and simultaneously examines the role of neo-liberal state in it. It is not aimed at providing a panacea rather highlighting the issue of 'women security' in academic discourse and creates a space to put forth questions on state through the feminine glass. The questions that have surfaced in this attempt need serious thinking.*

The foremost function of neo-liberal state is to ensure law and security for its citizens. But, the Indian neo-liberal state seems to be questioned when we analyse 'women security'. Global Thomson Reuters Foundation Survey ranked India the fourth most dangerous country to be born as a woman. The first three before India are Afghanistan, The

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### **Perceiving Women Security in Neo-Liberal State: Indian Context**

Democratic Republic Congo, and Pakistan. Afghanistan is the world's most dangerous country in which to be born as woman due to targeted violence against female public official, dismal health, desperate poverty, continuing conflict, NATO strikes and cultural practices. The Democratic Republic of Congo is placed second because of the staggering level of sexual violence. The UN has called Congo the rape capital of world on the basis of cultural, tribal and religious practices like acid attack, child and forced marriage, retribution by stoning and other physical abuse. Pakistan is ranked third and Somalia is ranked fifth due to high levels of maternal mortality, rape, female genital mutilation and limited access to education and health.<sup>1</sup> Somali minister was also surprised that her country stood just after India. It is a shocking reality for an 'incredible' and 'rising economic super-power'.<sup>2</sup> India is ranked as extremely hazardous because of the high levels of female infanticide and sex trafficking.<sup>3</sup> Forced marriage and forced labour trafficking add to the dangers for women. India's Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) estimated that in 2009 about 90 per cent of trafficking took place within the country and that there were some 3 million prostitutes, of which about 40 per cent were children. "Up to 50 million girls are thought to be 'missing' over the past century due to female infanticide and feticide"<sup>4</sup> as parents prefer to have boys rather than girls. Half a million girls a year are being aborted in India, equal to the total number of girls born in the United Kingdom. The scale of sex selection in Asia is extraordinary, yet it has not attracted the attention it deserves. This is the age of 'missing women' – an estimated 30 to 70 million of them. The number of girls born has dropped significantly because of sex selective abortions, and the sex imbalance has been aggravated by higher mortality rates as boys receive better care.<sup>5</sup>

Another recent survey by Nielsen has revealed that Indian women are the most stressed out in the world: 87 per cent of our women feel stressed out most of the time while even in advance and workaholic America, only 53 per cent of women feel stressed. This is how a large section of population in India, a land of spiritual people, treats them. At an extreme, they abort girls before they are born, neglect them in their upbringing, torture them, molest them, sell them, rape them and honour-kill them. Of course, these criminal acts are performed by a tiny minority. However, a majority of us are involved in lesser level of crimes. The society judges, expects too much, does not give space and suffocate women's individuality. Imagine if you did this to men, won't they be stressed out?"<sup>6</sup> The threats cut across caste, class and culture in women's life.

### Perceiving Women Security

One framing matter must be clearly understood in the outset that 'women' has to be taken as 'a category of analyses' by the government. Two main causes can be put for methodologically using 'women as a category of analysis.' First, being women symbolises a particular sex or body and reproductive role which they experience similarly. The common ground of feminism is the body of the woman and the violence committed against it, including violations of women's right to reproductive health, the universality of rape, and the allegation that women are universally locked out of public and into private spheres. Second, patriarchy is omnipresent in multiple shades cutting inter-sectionality of caste, culture, and class. Feminism's authority rests on its claims to speak from women's experience. That very experience, however, demands attention to the diversity in women's circumstances. There is no 'generic woman,'<sup>7</sup> gender is always mediated by other forces that structure identity such as race, ethnicity, class, and sexual orientation. Recognition of this diversity complicates the search for theoretical coherence and political cohesion.<sup>8</sup> Yet, if this paradox cannot be escaped, at least it can be reformulated. The factors that divide women also can be bases for enriching analysis and building coalitions. If feminism is to make good on its commitment to speak for all women, its concerns must extend beyond the specific sex-based injustices that gave it birth. Any ethical and political framework adequate to challenge gender inequality must similarly challenge the other structures of subordination with which gender intersects. Such a framework, informed by various postmodern, pragmatic, and critical race perspectives, rests not on some single standpoint of woman but on affinities and alliances among women.<sup>9</sup> It clarifies that it does not mean all women are insecure or all women are placed in position of subordination.

'Security', in its strictest sense, is a psychological feeling implying freedom from dangerous threats. All threats cannot be included in definition of security as human existence and life of a state are full of different threats. Therefore, 'security' relates only to extremely dangerous threats - threats that could so endanger core values that those values would be damaged beyond repair if we did not do something to deal with the situation.<sup>10</sup> The concept of security can be understood in traditional and non-traditional ways in political discourse. In the traditional conception of security, the greatest danger of a state is from military threats which come from outside its borders. The source of danger is another state which by threatening military actions endangers the core value of sovereignty, independence and

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territorial integrity. But, does not security depend also on internal peace and order? Beyond military threats, there are wide ranges of threats and dangers affecting the conditions of human existence; these have been conceptualised in the orbit of non-traditional security. Protecting citizens from foreign attack may be a necessary condition for the security of an individual but it is certainly not sufficient. Indeed, during the last hundred years, more people have been killed by their own governments than by foreign armies. It opens the question 'security for whom'? Proponents of non-traditional security reply that it is for 'not just the state but also individuals or communities or indeed all the humankind'. Non-traditional view of security has given birth to 'Human Security' or 'Global Security' popularised by the UNDP Human Development Report, 1994. The identified broad categories of Human Security are economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political. Its primary goal is the protection of individuals. As there is a belief that frontiers are important but not as long as the frontiers of human dignity. However, there are disagreements about precisely what threats individual should be protected from. Narrow views focus on protection from violent threats while the broad concept focuses on agenda like hunger, disease, poverty, genocide, terrorism, and environmental threats. Human security policy views that the people should be protected from these threats as well as violence. The broadest formula for this has been 'freedom from want' and 'freedom from fear'.

While speaking the term 'human security' do we really count 'women' or is it just synonymous to 'men'? Humanity share one planet but it is the planet where two worlds are shared – world of men and the world of women. Men and women are different in reference to anatomy, socio-economic settings and conditionings due to the patriarchal nature of society. The concept of women security should be seen in the light of 'difference' between men and women. After human security, the notion of 'gender security' also is not suitable for analysis as it maintains masculine and feminine gender constructs as well as identities in society. Whereas women's experiences suggest that gender identities are also responsible for insecurities in their lives. Challenging the notion of 'gender security', here, the concern is to develop the concept of 'women security'. Women security, in its broadest sense, implies freedom from all dangerous threats to women dignity. The nature of threats can be classified into two types – physical and structural.

### Physical Insecurities

Why women's physical survival and safety must be viewed as a security issue and why violence against women is as much a social concern as war, famine or terrorism?<sup>11</sup> Physical insecurities are the most prevalent for women. Violence like rape, infanticide, feticide, sexual molestation and genital mutations are not only dangerous to women's body rather minds too. These threats, prevalent in both public and private domains, begin before the birth of the girl child. The four major physical threats to women's lives to be considered are - feticide/infanticide, rape, sex trafficking, and domestic violence.

### *Feticide/Infanticide*

The increasing adverse sex ratio is the symbol of persistent insecurities and patriarchal social thinking. The all-India sex ratio has been consistently declining since 1961 when it was 976/1000 to the current all-time low of only 914/1000. A recently concluded study in Haryana by the Centre for Social Research says that the increasing violence towards women in public spaces has contributed to an increase in female feticide as many would-be parents fear security of a girl child. Many affluent young couples said that 'it would be much easier for them to leave a boy alone at home as compared to a girl'. "In villages, too, they believe that though dowry is a one-time payment, the burden of 'maintaining chastity' is immense".<sup>12</sup> 'Right to be born' has become greatest challenge. Annie Raja notes that the right is much related to economy and neo-liberalism.<sup>13</sup>

Neo-liberalism led private clinic has illegally availed increasing prenatal screening to determine a baby's sex. The capitalist thinking has captured our mind categorising our thinking towards profit or loss in all sphere of life. To become parent of a son is profitable, and then, preferable. It is the son who inherits land, passes on the family name, financially provide for parents in old age and perform rituals for deceased parents. Daughters, as they leave the parental home after marriage, are '*Paraya Dhan*' and a piece of *daan* (*Kanyadaan*). Parents choose to abort female fetuses not because they do not want or love their daughters, but because they feel they must have sons (usually for social reasons). They also want smaller families which results into a generation of unborn daughters ensured by the ultrasound technology for sex detection. Sex selection, therefore, tends to increase with education and income: wealthier, better educated people are more likely to want fewer children and can more easily afford the scans. One interesting fact is that sex selection has no link with poverty. States like Punjab, Gujarat,

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and Haryana are among the richest with adverse sex ratio. Indeed, as the average family size drops in India, the preference for sons only intensifies. Therefore, the greatest insecurity for women is 'to get born' in a neo-liberal world now.

#### ***Rape***

It is the extreme form of sexual violence and lifetime tragedy for women as wounds of body can be healed with span of time but rape always affects her mind and soul. "Rape is one of the most violent forms of crime against women, which not only impacts her body but in the long run impairs her capacity to develop meaningful personal and social relationships, and affects her life and livelihood".<sup>14</sup> There has been over 30 per cent increase in incest rape cases in 2009 over the previous year. According to a report released by National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB), cases of incest rape have "increased by 30.7 per cent from 309 cases in 2008 to 404 cases in 2009". Also, out of total 21,397 rape cases 94.9 per cent involved offenders who were known to the victim.<sup>15</sup>

Age and class is no barrier. The rich, the educated, woman has no safety either. These are only the rapes one notices because it becomes public in some unexpected way. Even these cases are hushed up and the victim herself pretty well understands the consequences of outing the criminal. Rapists are often family members or acquaintances—brothers, uncles, cousins. These cases are almost always treated as a matter of family honour and token punishment (the rapist may get slapped or sent out of town) is meted out to the rapist. In rapes that occur in Indian families, the males and females are equally to be blamed as everyone supports each other and the rapist for the sake of family honour. It is only the rape victim who has no chance of justice. In a cruel way, this often forces the victim to accept rape as an unfortunate occasional occurrence within all families and she herself may acquiesce in hushing up another incident tomorrow.

But, why do women get raped? Rape happens in all cultures and societies world over. The society's gender based unequal approach encourages crime against women, only the perceptions will differ. A psychoanalyst may find reason for criminal tendencies in the upbringing of the rapist or in the lack of his education while a religious person may accuse women for provocation.

How violence takes place in our mind? It is the manifestation of 'self assertive identities' and manufactured unprecedented consumerist attitude in the liberal capitalist world. Gradually, we are losing our culture of respect.

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Nowadays, a person is treated as an object, not as someone with intrinsic value of dignity. The growing sense of objectification is sometimes legitimised by women themselves.

Apart from liberal capitalist attitude, violence is nurtured in human mind while upbringing. Families generally nurture into boys a sense of male ego for victory over women. They do not nurture human mind to be a sensitive human being rather than an egoistic male. With the passage of time, women become prisoners of their own efforts. Of course, education/learning happens not only in family. Now new modes of learning through media and internet teach all values.

### ***Sex Trafficking***

India is a source, destination, and transit country for men, women, and children trafficked for the purposes of forced labour and commercial sexual exploitation; internal forced labour may constitute India's largest trafficking problem; men, women, and children are held in debt bondage and face forced labour working in brick kilns, rice mills, agriculture, and embroidery factories. Women and girls are trafficked within the country for the purposes of commercial sexual exploitation and forced marriage; children are subjected to forced labour as factory workers, domestic servants, beggars, and agriculture workers, and have been used as armed combatants by some terrorist and insurgent groups. India is also a destination for women and girls from Nepal and Bangladesh trafficked for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation. Indian women are trafficked to the Middle East for commercial sexual exploitation; men and women from Bangladesh and Nepal are also trafficked through India for forced labour and commercial sexual exploitation in the Middle East. A total of 3991, 3029 and 2848 cases were reported in the country in 2007, 2008 and 2009 respectively, under various crime heads relating to human trafficking such as Procurement of Minor Girls (Sec 366-A Indian Penal Code (IPC)), Importation of Girls (Sec 366-B IPC), Selling of Girls for Prostitution (Sec 373 IPC) and Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act. The then Minister of Women and Child Development Smt. Krishna Tirath placed this data in response to a question in Rajya Sabha. The Minister cited the National Crime Records Bureau for this information.<sup>16</sup> India's Central Bureau of Investigation estimated that in 2009 about 90 per cent of trafficking took place within the country and that there were some three million prostitutes, of which about 40 per cent were children. The underlined reality for high rate of sex trafficking is the fact that the girl is

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sellable again and again without any depreciative cost, and even if they are saved, families are not ready to accept them.

#### ***Domestic Violence***

The issue of domestic violence has been one of the major campaigns for feminists in India. Both Indian and western feminists have considered dowry related violence as a specific form of 'Indian' domestic violence which has been seen as being accompanied by dowry demands. Feminists have defined domestic violence as including violence perpetuated against a married woman by members of her marital family with or without accompanying demands of dowry. Domestic violence remains the basis of activity conducted by several feminist centres in India. The response of the Indian State in the 1980s was to strengthen laws that prohibited dowry and to pass new law that criminalised domestic violence. There seems a degree of overlap between the state and feminist discourses on dowry and on domestic violence which has been challenged within the movement.

#### **Structural Insecurities**

Apart from physical insecurities, structural insecurities can be understood both in private and public sphere which are actually interlinked. In India, the state responded by commissioning 'towards equality', a Govt. of India Report, on the status of women to a group of feminist researchers and activists which acknowledged that women in India suffered from a range of structural inequalities and injustices. The main unit of social system is family. The role of women is very important in family/private structure but the dichotomies of public and private sphere gives birth to insecurities. The seeds of insecurities commence from the early age upbringing when a girl is nurtured for becoming a woman with 'constructed feminine identity'. A full trail is practiced for making her 'submissive' and 'feminine.' She becomes an unskilled, unnatural, and sometimes frustrated and is considered 'typical'. Her perspective remains narrow towards all matters. The 'gender' constructs makes her insecure as she is not allowed to pursue life freely and develop her latent potential fully. The ideal image of women is to become 'Mother', 'Bahu' and 'Ghar ki Ijjat'. A daughter becomes an object of *Daan* and it is named as '*Kanyadaan*'. She is always treated as '*Paraya Dhan*'. All these never let a daughter feel a part of the family. A pious ritual of marriage many a times becomes life threatening for Indian daughter as marriage comes in various ways like arranged marriage, forced marriage, child marriage, honour marriage. The centre of life becomes the husband –



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his insecurities like joblessness, accident not only provide emotional insecurity but insecurity for life of his woman as such.

Human virtues like proper education, health care for secure life are similar for any sex but women is free to get education and attain skill only till the patriarchal norms demand. This is the main reason for little numbers of women in technical field. The full training of women is for making her a 'feminine woman'. 'Discrimination in matters of nutrition, healthcare and schooling apart, girls in situations of poverty are at risk of trafficking and early marriage. A majority of girls become victims of trafficking at a very early age, and about 35 per cent of them blamed their families for their fate. Families are also responsible for forcing girls into early marriages. More than half of India's girls marry before 18 and experience much greater risk of pregnancy-related complications as well as domestic violence. Add to this the threat of child sexual abuse, mostly at the hands of family members, and Indian girls do not seem to lead very secure lives. Marriage is seen as a solution to the problem of protecting a girl from the dangers of the public arena. Dowry, however, is one of the core causes of male-child preference. The practice of demanding and giving dowries has been spreading to communities where it was hitherto unknown. Dissatisfaction and avarice have combined to create social conditions where, according to the NCRB, over 6,000 girls lose their lives annually in dowry-related deaths. Strict laws do not seem to deter families from demanding nor from feeling like their prestige is attached to giving.'<sup>17</sup>

Apart from private sphere, neo-liberal market has given space to enough securities and insecurities in public life. In the name of economic growth women have joined MNC jobs. But the corporate life is little unsuitable with the family role. Long working hours, deadlines, competition, lesser holidays, negligible number of leaves, frequent tours, job transfers make women's life harder. "The impact of globalisation on women has been the focus of feminist debate, with some arguing that these economic changes have led to increased hardships for working class and lower caste women, both economically and socially. Feminists have noted the ways in which multi-national companies in India, as in other parts of the world exploit the labour of 'young, underpaid and disadvantaged women' in free trade zones and sweat shops; and call-centres use 'young lower middle class, educated women' with few effective labour rights, or limited rights for collective action."<sup>18</sup> Market driven neo-liberal state policies may have enhanced opportunities to earn but they have not given suitable environment to work. Rather, entry of women in market has worked as reserve army of workers

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for the corporate sector. It has threatened all sorts of traditional knowledge, culture and life style.

In addition, multinational corporations attempt to homogenise a universal image of the body of the ideal women through advertisements, leading to increased commodification of women's bodies. This is manifested in nationalist pride vested in the bodies of Indian women winning international beauty pageants. While some feminists feel that these developments have led to women enjoying greater sexual autonomy, and increased control over their own bodies others fear that these developments are reflections of consumerism, and contribute to increased commodification of the female body that serves male fantasies. Thus, insecurities are prevalent in all structures whether the domain is public or private. Neo-liberal state has come to add new collaboration and dynamism between public and private patriarchies. The need is to analyse functions of state through feminist perspective.

### **Women and Changing Role of State**

Though Catherine Mackinnon has observed, "[f]eminism has no theory of the state"<sup>19</sup>, there are two general feminist perspectives on state— one is of 'radical feminists' who want to overthrow every institution as it is a reflection of men's attitude, men's interest and need. It reflects deeper structure of oppression in the form of patriarchy. Another is of 'liberal feminists' who believe that sexual or gender equality can be brought about through incremental reforms have tended to accept state neutrality reflects in the belief that all bias can and will be overcome by a process of reform. The remedy of women issues in India generally have adopted the process of incremental reforms.

Understanding the importance of economic growth for a developing country, India has adopted the policy of liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation (LPG). The neo-liberal ideology argues that economic and social matters should be left entirely free in the hands of individuals or private businessmen and the role of state is limited to ensuring law and security. The neo-liberal state has been challenged from women's perspective as it seems to be failing in its minimal function.

A shift in the role of state from neo-liberal to post neo-liberal state has also been observed in general. The principal neo-liberal goal is to 'roll back the frontiers of state' in the belief that unregulated market capitalism will deliver efficiency, growth and widespread prosperity. However, there is a general tendency that the states progressively expand in response to the

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electoral pressures for economic management, global competition and the need to develop public services. For many, this reflects a shift from government to 'governance'. The 'governance turn' in politics has been characterised by what has been called the 'reinvention' of government, reflected in particular in a move away from direct service provision by the state to the adoption of an 'enabling' or 'regulating state'. This is termed as 'post neo-liberalism' or 'after neo-liberalism'. These terms are associated with the forms of governance that emerged in the late 1990s with the third way and social investment states in the UK, Canada, and Actearoa/New Zealand. The 'post neo-liberal' state combines the features of both neo-liberal and socio-liberal democratic policies; significantly, it has introduced changes in areas conventionally noted by feminist scholars as having bearing on the lives of women, such as, in public-funded childcare, and women-centered approaches to governance. It has been named "Social Investment State," the "Third Way State," or the "Inclusive State".<sup>20</sup>

### Women Security in Neo-liberal India

While it is perceived that violence against women has increased in India there are various other observations signifying that violence was always present in the society only its manifestations have grown up. However, data suggest that women insecurity has increased. A phenomenal fall in the sex ratio in neo-liberal India has been experienced. "Nature provides that slightly more boys are born than girls: the normal sex ratio for children aged 0-6 is about 952 girls per 1,000 boys."<sup>21</sup> Falling continuously since 1981, the sex ratio has come below this normal. The girl/boy ratio was 945/1000 in 1991 which fell down to 927 girls per 1000 boys in 2001. The results of 2011 census of India show that the already skewed infant sex ratio is getting worsened. India counted only 914 girls aged six and under for every 1,000 boys or 75.8m girls and 82.9m boys. This sex ratio is the worst in the recorded history of modern India signifying increasing cases of violence against women in the neo-liberal regime. The rapid economic growth, urbanisation and increasing literacy have not been able to influence the ratio positively.<sup>22</sup> Rather the result is contrary to the expectations. The long standing traditional Indian reasons for the preference of son to daughter still stand but the accelerating neo-liberal phenomenon and consciousness in the Indian society has compounded the problem. One of the underlying reasons for rising insecurity is the 'neo-liberal subjectivity man' who is a rational being thinking on economic lines only as 'one dimensional man'. People from the earlier generations still fear from abortion. But, the neo-liberal

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pattern of thinking calculates only profit or loss. There is an increasing tendency in neo-liberal India to consider having a daughter unprofitable so not preferable and to have a son profitable so preferable in the course of life. The neo-liberal subjectivity leading to a consumer culture has further increased the pressure on family-economy. The families, especially familiar with advances of medical sciences, with all their cost-benefit analyses are opting for sex selections to have a son.

Against this background, cases of women specific violence like rape sexual harassment are more visible in the time of globalisation, information technology and the rise of international feminism.<sup>23</sup> The rise of international feminism has given birth to rising women's consciousness about their rights. She has come out of her traditional limits and has started 'speaking'. The ascending level of women education has enhanced her power to speak and women studies have given her the language to present her problems. Role of media is also very profound which has presented all cases and created a sort of consciousness in the society. However, the search for making a secure world for women in contemporary state system still continues in the commodification of women in neo-liberal society.

### **Conclusion**

The passage of the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005 by the Indian Parliament is an important step towards women security in India. By the Act the Indian state has recognised the need to be proactive for women security. However, it is limited to the private sphere. With the further liberalising Indian society and state conscious of gender equity more and more women are joining the work force in public sphere. Potential threats to women due to gender prejudice, gender differences and perceptions in the Indian society loom along. Locke, the father of liberalism, puts it where there is no law, there is no freedom. What women need, in this background, is an 'enabling' or 'post-neo-liberal state' ensuring women-friendly policies in the public as well as corporate sphere to realise their freedom.

Apart from post neo-liberal state, the idea is to highlight as well as broaden the notion of women security. Conceptualising 'women security' in the holistic sense includes psychological, physical, structural, economic and political aspects. The state can influence by legislating for the protection of women primarily in the aspects of physical, economic and political security. 'Women Reservation Bill' will be a help for women to get a political space in the Indian democratic system. The steps will, in the long term, lead to

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greater structural and emotional security. Further, in the paradigm of Human Security, there are seven categories—economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political—and women security must be added as a separate category for analysis.

One can perceive a new trend of thinking on ‘economic lines’ in women as they are concerned only about ‘economic security’. Truly, economic security is one essential aspect of women security and it must be attained through skill, labour and righteous means. But, women have largely perceived her as a sexual object and commodity rather than focus on skill and virtues to attain this. Barren career will not provide holistic peace and psychological security. Life needs a balance and righteousness. Feminism needs to broaden her goals instead of reducing itself to liberal economic rationality.

At one level, women themselves have greater responsibility to secure their life. Women are the first teachers to their children and have the responsibility for its upbringing. The state can strengthen women through law but their own sincere efforts will lessen violence against them. Women through her love, care and humane force as a mother, sister, wife, friend, can nurture human virtues righteously.

At another level, studies show that women security is not only a female concern rather it matters for men too. Therefore, men and women can ‘share common space of understanding’. It needs transformation in men’s patriarchal attitude. Though the more fundamental ramification of the ‘women security’ lies in the changing landscape of gender relations, the state can actively provide ‘women security’ by providing women ‘freedom from want’ and ‘freedom from fear’.

State, Law, Media, Civil Society, Academicians, Women Studies, Research Centers, Women Self Help Groups all need to take part in best of their capacity. Neither markets (which cater to self-centered activities of individuals and groups) nor purely private social action can be expected to stand in for the state and provide secure environment. State has legitimate coercion power which makes it responsible to make and implement policies to their best. Empowering women tackles the very roots of insecurity which cannot happen without effective state support of law, welfare policies and their proper implementation.

### **Notes**

1. The survey has been compiled by the Thomson Reuters Foundation to mark the launch of a website, Trust Law Woman, aimed at providing free legal advice for women's groups around the world.

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## **Ladli Laxmi Yojana in Madhya Pradesh: An Assessment**

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*Madhya Pradesh is still struggling with female infanticide, discrimination and violence against women, low level of women participation in decision making, gender gap in literacy, a high school dropout of girls, and economic deprivation of women. There is a need to recognise the critical issues, challenges, factors and problem areas which create constraints to women empowerment, wellbeing and equality. State has taken a number of initiatives for the betterment of weaker sections of society. This research was commissioned by Planning and Policy Support Unit (PPSU) within Madhya Pradesh State Planning Commission (MPSPC) as a contribution to the state under the strengthening the accountability mechanism of government departments. The study provides an overview of the Ladli Laxmi Yojana (LLY) which is most popular women welfare intervention in the state. The overall objective of the paper is to assess the levels of achievement of LLY, reasons for not delivering required outcomes, constraints and suggestion for possible ways to have desired outcomes.*

It has been noted that despite granting of equal rights and opportunities by the Constitution even after six decades of our independence, discrimination against women and girl children could not be

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eliminated. In societies, a woman's and man's roles are socially constructed and frequently gender biased. In this process women are at a disadvantageous position which obstructs their participation in development process. Women and girls face a range of discrimination which are embedded in the social relations and economic realities of present society. Discrimination against women and girls exist in many forms as social and economic discrimination, reproductive health, inequalities, child marriage, dowry, female feticide and infanticide including gender based violence. The harsh reality is that women still face a pervasive and persistent form of inequality even today.

Over the last decade, the Government of Madhya Pradesh spent both financial and human resources on women empowerment schemes/ programmes. Nevertheless, there is little information on the performance and outcomes of such schemes and programmes with respect to their particular objectives and achievements. Madhya Pradesh is still struggling with female infanticide, discrimination and violence against women, low level of women participation in decision making, gender gap in literacy, a high school dropout of girls, and economic deprivation of women. There is a need to recognise the critical issues, which create constraints to women empowerment, wellbeing and equality. Thus, it is crucial to undertake an evaluation of selected schemes and programmes to study the impact on the target population.

The Government of Madhya Pradesh and the Government of India have taken a number of initiatives for reducing discrimination and inequality amongst women and men. The state of Madhya Pradesh has in addition to Centrally Sponsored Schemes initiated a number of schemes/ programmes in primary and secondary education, higher and technical education, nutrition, skill development, self-employment and social security for the empowerment of women of different age groups. Some of the key schemes are *Ladli Laxmi Yojana*, *Mukhyamantri Kanyadan/Nikah Yojana*, *Ushakiran Yojana* etc.

An assessment of *Ladli Laxmi Yojana* in Madhya Pradesh was initiated to understand the level of implementation of scheme, make a detailed field evaluation of LLY, study their efficacy and focus on overall welfare of women. The study was designed to achieve this through questionnaires which covered qualitative data collection and compilation of the secondary data.

The Poverty Monitoring and Policy Support Unit Society (PMPSUS) anchored within Madhya Pradesh State Planning Commission (MPSPC) as

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the technical support unit for various matters pertaining to the development of state which had proposed to appoint a consultancy firm through an open bidding process for undertaking the Impact Evaluation study for LLY in the state. The overall objective was to assess the levels of actual achievement of LLY, reasons for not delivering required outcomes, constraints and suggestions for possible ways to have desired outcomes from each of the programme. The scope of the study was to ascertain the community perception towards girl child, sex ratio of children, enrichment in the education and health status of the girl child, reduction of child marriage cases, prevention of female infanticide and family planning.

#### ***Ladli Laxmi Yojana (LLY)***

LLY signifies a policy intervention by Government of Madhya Pradesh in favour of a class of girl child born after first January 2006. This is a conditional cash transfer scheme in which a provision for substantial cash transfer to the beneficiary girl child is made when she attains the age of 21 years.

The specific objectives of LLY is to bring a positive change towards the birth of a girl child and to discourage child marriages and encourage marriages at or after the legally prescribed minimum age. Scheme supports the girl's child education, health, and to improve the sex ratio. The scheme also aims to encourage family planning.

Specific benefits for targeted users under the scheme is to transfer cash in the following manner -

- At the time of admission in Standard 6 - Rs 2000
- At the time of admission in Standard 9 - Rs 4000
- At the time of admission in Standard 11 - Rs 7500
- For Standards 11 and 12 - Rs. 200 per month for two years
- On completion of 21 years she would receive the remaining amount, which would be more than Rs 1 lakh. Altogether the girl will get Rs 1,18,300 under the scheme.

Recent amendments substituted the National Saving Certificate with a certificate worth Rs 1.18 lakhs (including below benefits) from the State Government.

- Rs 2000 at the time of admission in class 6th.
- Rs 4000 at the time of admission in class 9th.
- Rs 6000 at the time of admission in class 11th.
- Rs 6000 at the time of appearing in the examination of 12th.

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- On completion of 21 years, a girl will get approximately Rs 1.00 lakh if she is unmarried till she achieves legally marriageable age and has been enrolled for the class 12th.

**Methodology for the Study**

Quantitative and Qualitative evaluation instruments have been employed to objectively assess and examine the relevance, efficiency, effectiveness, impact, sustainability and outreach of the schemes. The detailed evaluation methodologies employed by the evaluation team include a household survey covering over 23,000 households consisting of beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries under the specified seven schemes; Focussed Group Discussions with 32 groups comprising of different segments of the society; and 42 interviews with relevant key stakeholders such as PRIs, NGOs, beneficiaries, functionaries at different administrative levels and a thorough review of secondary information/data to complement the findings of both quantitative and qualitative surveys. The questionnaire is evaluated and districts positioned highest and lowest under each category where state level response is more than 25 per cent have been listed for all the responses.

**Table 1**  
**Social Classification of the Respondents**

Religion	Rural %	Urban %	Total %
Hindu	94.52	86.92	90.79
Muslim	5.09	12.48	8.72
Other	0.39	0.60	0.49
Caste	Rural %	Urban %	Total %
General	18.40	22.70	20.50
Other Backward Class (OBC)	35.90	35.70	35.80
Scheduled Caste (SC)	29.50	32.70	31.10
Scheduled Tribe (ST)	16.20	8.95	12.60
Economic Strata	Rural %	Urban %	Total %
APL	42.38	50.25	46.25
BPL	57.62	49.75	53.75

**Table 2**  
**Dwelling Details of Respondents**

Type of House	Rural %	Urban %	Total %
Kuchha	26.10	12.00	19.20
Pucca	30.20	47.80	38.90
SemiPucca	30.30	30.90	30.60
Temporary/hut	13.40	9.20	4.30
Toilet Facility	Rural %	Urban %	Total %
Open Defecation	54.45	25.40	40.18
Private	32.91	59.43	45.94
Public	12.64	15.17	13.88

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**Table 3  
Economic Details of Respondents**

<b>Economic Activity</b>	<b>Rural %</b>	<b>Urban %</b>	<b>Total %</b>
Dependent	24.00	16.20	20.00
Housewife	69.20	77.70	73.50
Pensioner	0.10	0.12	0.10
Working	6.69	5.98	6.33
No Response	35.01	29.38	32.25
<b>Monthly income</b>	<b>Rural %</b>	<b>Urban %</b>	<b>Total %</b>
0-1000	62.44	58.50	60.43
1001-3000	20.90	18.70	19.80
3001-5000	11.00	10.10	10.12
5001-10000	4.70	10.00	7.40
>10000	1.30	2.67	2.01
No Response	88.82	87.97	88.40
<b>Bank Accounts</b>	<b>Rural %</b>	<b>Urban %</b>	<b>Total %</b>
Group	20.50	17.80	19.03
Personal	79.45	82.21	80.97
No Response	63.60	53.47	58.62

**Key Findings**

*Coverage - Class, Caste*

The primary data reveals that majority of the Hindu families have availed benefit of the LLY with 91 per cent of the beneficiary families being of Hindu religion and 9 per cent families of Muslims by faith. Comparatively lesser percentage of Hindus have been covered in urban than in the rural areas. The picture is, however different in case of Muslim community where the coverage is more in the urban than in rural areas.

From the point of view of caste categories the highest acceptance of the scheme is from OBC families who have accepted the scheme in equal numbers in both urban and rural areas at 35 per cent, followed by SC with 31 per cent (with rural 29 per cent and urban 33 per cent). Families belonging to the general caste represent 20.5 per cent of the total number of respondents and the ST category have a slightly less number of beneficiaries which is 12.6 per cent. There is a major difference in rural and urban areas in the ST category, that is 16 per cent and 9 per cent respectively. This perhaps indicates that there is numerically less population of STs in urban areas.

54 per cent of the families who have availed the LLY benefit for their first or second girl child are from the BPL category and 46 per cent are APL families. This is a clear reflection that the scheme is still equally attractive for above poverty line families and BPL families. In rural areas there is a little more acceptance of the scheme among BPL families with 58 per cent of the respondents as against 42 per cent of the respondents being from APL

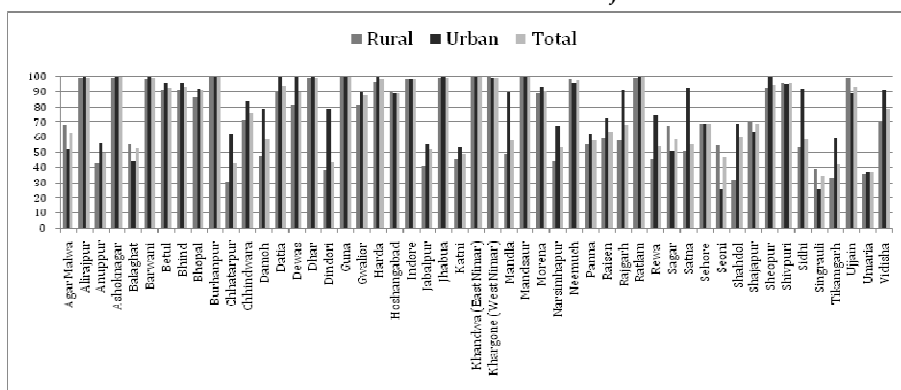
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category. In urban areas both the categories have accepted in more or less equal numbers with ratio of 48:50 per cent of BPL and APL category.

**Awareness on LLY**

It is found that 77.6 per cent of the respondents are aware about the scheme. There is only marginal variation across rural and urban area regarding awareness. In rural area percentage of awareness is 73 per cent against 83.4 per cent in urban areas.

**Figure 1**  
**Awareness of Ladli Laxmi Yojana**



Out of 51 districts in the state, 26 districts have above average awareness of the scheme whereas 25 districts are below average in awareness. The rural areas of three districts and urban areas of 14 districts have 100 per cent awareness about this scheme. This shows that the governmental machinery has succeeded in getting the information being percolated to the potential beneficiaries especially, in urban areas of the state. As per the data, the five districts having the highest knowledge and awareness and the five districts having the lowest information about Ladli Laxmi Yojana are as follow:

**Table 4**  
**Level of Awareness for LLY (Total)**

Districts having Least Awareness (Total)		Districts where Awareness is Highest (Total)	
District Name	Percentage	District Name	Percentage
Singrauli	34.64	Burhanpur	100.00
Umaria	36.48	Guna	100.00
Tikamgarh	41.57	Khandwa (East Nimar)	100.00
Chhatarpur	42.13	Mandsaur	99.76
Dindori	43.23	Ratlam	99.60
		Ashoknagar	99.60

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It is observed that the districts with highest awareness of the LLY are Burhanpur, Guna, Khandwa where all the respondents knew about the scheme with Mandsaur and Ratlam having almost information among the respondents. The districts where there is poor awareness are Umaria, Singrauli, Tikamgarh, Chhatarpur and Dindori. It is further heartening to note that the district having higher awareness level have a similar picture for their rural area where other than Ratlam which is replaced by Khargone district have high awareness in their rural pockets about LLY. The representation is similar for the least aware districts of Chhatarpur, Shahdol, Tikamgarh, Umaria, and Dindori. In all of them 30-40 per cent of the respondents were aware of the scheme. In urban areas, Dewas, Datia, Sheopur, Harda, Barwani, Alirajpur, Dhar, Jhabua, Ashoknagar, Ratlam, Mandsaur, Burhanpur, Guna and Khandwa have all the respondents with knowledge and information about the scheme. The districts with urban pockets having less awareness are Singrauli, Seoni, Umaria, Balaghat and Sagar districts. All these data establish the institutional arrangement has succeeded in creating awareness about the scheme among the parents or guardians of girl child to be covered under the scheme.

**Table 5**  
**Level of Awareness for LLY (Rural and Urban)**

Districts where Awareness is Lowest (Rural)		Districts having Highest Awareness (Rural)	
District Name	Percentage	District Name	Percentage
Chhatarpur	30.99	Burhanpur	100.00
Shahdol	31.25	Guna	100.00
Tikamgarh	32.60	Khandwa(EastNimar)	100.00
Umaria	36.00	Mandsaur	99.64
Dindori	38.24	Khargone (West Nimar)	99.62
Districts where Awareness is Lowest (Urban)		Districts having Highest Awareness (Urban)	
DistrictName	Percentage	DistrictName	Percentage
Singrauli	25.64	Dewas, Datia, Sheopur, Harda, Barwani, Alirajpur, Dhar, Jhabua, Ashoknagar, Ratlam, Mandsaur, Burhanpur, Guna, Khandwa (East Nimar)	100.00
Seoni	25.93		
Umaria	36.84		
Balaghat	44.35		

This long term Conditional Cash Transfer scheme for the girl child was introduced to protect a girl's fundamental rights relating to life, health, education, physical wellbeing and economic empowerment. It is operational since January 2006. The Department of Women and Child Development is the nodal department for implementation of the scheme and Aanganwadi is

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the field level agency to carry on the initial work envisaged under the scheme such as registration of the girl child under the scheme, providing pre-primary education, delivery of nutritious food, vaccination, delivery of NSC/Promissory note indicating the entitlement of the girl child.

Analysis of secondary data, do not suggest any reduction in child marriage or any significant improvement in the sex ratio, the two major goals of LLY. The reasons for such a perception are elaborated with reference to specific data collected from the published accounts of Department of Census and the Annual Health Survey Reports.

Most of the persons participating in a FGD have indicated that they have developed a positive attitude towards the girl child. More than 90 per cent of the participants in the FGDs have stated that there is a reduction in child marriage. They complain about the length of the form for registration of girl child under LLY and the number of supporting documents asked for the scheme. Data collected in the primary survey has been studied for eliciting the socio- economic profile of the respondents, administrative efficiency in delivering the promises of LLY, creating awareness about the scheme and receipt or non-receipt of the National Saving Certificate (NSC)/ Promissory note, documenting entitlement to the ultimately transferred cash of the girl child are some of the issues that were examined. Empowerment and achieving a better standard of living being covered under the scheme are also looked into. Apart from these, the survey has also collected data relating to the general perception of the scheme as well as suggestions of amendments to the scheme from the respondent's perception/ experience.

The socio-economic profile shows that the maximum number of beneficiaries belonging to the Hindu Community followed by Muslims. 78 per cent of the respondents were aware of the scheme and the major source of information is the Aanganwadi (95 per cent). Thirty eight per cent of the respondents could get their forms filled in within a period of a month and 37 per cent within a period of two months. For 15 per cent of the respondents, it took more than three months to fill in the form. The respondents have some problem regarding the receipt of NSC. The main problem, as articulated by the respondents, is the length of the understanding the process. 58 per cent of the respondents had voiced this complaint. About 5 per cent of the respondents have complaints about the non-cooperation of the officials.

The overall perception on the LLY is positive. Seventy nine per cent of the respondents stated that it was difficult to take care of the girl child before implementation of LLY. LLY has ensured better health conditions. It has also enhanced their financial condition. The respondents related this to

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family planning, which they asserted, can give a better living standard. Ninety five per cent of the respondents highlighted the role of Aanganwadi in providing nutritious food (75 per cent), vaccination (86 per cent) and pre-primary education (59 per cent).

Regarding main suggestion for improvement of scheme relates to the application form. 68 per cent of the respondents want the application form to be made easy. Some respondents expressed their apprehension about the continuation of this long term policy. It should be recalled here that a girl child will get maximum amount only after reaching the age of 21 years. Beneficiaries who were registered in January 2006 at the time of inception of LLY will only get this amount in 2027. This long stretch of time has brought doubt in the minds of some of the beneficiaries about the possibility of discontinuance of the scheme in the mod way before maturity.

To achieve an objective to which other tools tend to elicit a tardy response, C.C.T. has been introduced for protection of a girl child and for getting women or the daughters of destitute families married. There are other types of interventions by the state. The interventions have contributed to increasing household income of the beneficiaries. In addition, there has been a substantial improvement in their social standing, saving habits, financial security and self-esteem. The schemes have been relatively successful in reaching the target group and improving livelihood of the poor, contributing to poverty reduction in households and effectively provided for some addition to their livelihood. Over all the delivery mechanism in schemes aiming at self-employment of the poor through micro finance lacked efficiency in terms of banking, market linkages, training, monitoring, and evaluation. They also failed to provide income related data to the evaluators about profits, monthly savings and repayment rates.

### Suggestions

**Table 6**  
**Modification in Scheme Suggested - Make Application Easier**

Rural				Urban			
Lowest	%	Highest	%	Lowest	%	Highest	%
Sagar	0.00	Sheopur	100.00	Umaria	8.33	Morena	100.00
Panna	14.29	Rajgarh	100.00	Burhanpur	10.00	Katni	100.00
Betul	20.00	Narsimhapur	100.00	Damoh	12.50	Alirajpur	100.00
Gwalior	20.00	Dindori	100.00	Chhatarpur	20.00	Rajgarh	100.00
Shahdol	25.00	Alirajpur	95.45	Tikamgarh	25.00	Guna	100.00
Bhind	28.57	Tikamgarh	86.67			Ratlam	94.34
Barwani	29.63	Jhabua	85.71			Barwani	91.67
		Vidisha	85.00			Jhabua	90.63
						Ujjain	89.41



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The other most important improvement suggested is increase in subsidy or financial aid, 52 per cent respondents have expressed their view that government grant should be increased whereas 47 per cent have said financial help should be increased i.e., Overall 100 per cent respondents believe that financial aid should be increased. This is always true in any cash transfer scheme. Beneficiaries will always ask to raise the amount of help or subsidy. It is surprising that many districts have very low percentage of respondents who have presented this demand. The five districts with the highest and the lowest numbers of such respondent perceptions are given below

**Table 7**  
**Modification in Scheme Suggested - Increase CCT Amount**

Rural				Urban			
Lowest	%	Highest	%	Lowest	%	Highest	%
Satna	4.23	Neemuch	100.00	Rewa	2.38	Rajgarh	100.00
Vidisha	5.00	Sheopur	100.00	Shahdol	3.57	Barwani	100.00
Dewas	7.69	Dindori	100.00	Damoh	4.17	Alirajpur	100.00
Shahdol	8.33	Barwani	96.30	Shajapur	9.09	Khargone (West Nimar)	100.00
Shajapur	9.09	Jhabua	95.92	Jabalpur	17.65	Mandla	100.00
		Alirajpur	95.45			Morena	100.00
		Khargone (West Nimar)	91.67			Ratlam	96.23
						Ujjain	95.29
						Neemuch	94.12
						Mandsaur	90.91

**Table 8**  
**Modification in Scheme Suggested - Increase Cash Grants**

Rural				Urban			
Lowest	%	Highest	%	Lowest	%	Highest	%
Tikamgarh	6.67	Sagar	100.00	Rewa	2.38	Rajgarh	100.00
Dewas	7.69	Sheopur	100.00	Jabalpur	5.88	Morena	100.00
Sidhi	8.70	Alirajpur	95.45	Shahdol	7.14	Mandla	100.00
Shajapur	9.09	Jhabua	87.76	Shajapur	9.09	Betul	100.00
Vidisha	10.00	Mandsaur	84.21	Burhanpur	10.00	Dhar	100.00
		Harda	84.21			Alirajpur	100.00
		Khandwa (East Nimar)	82.76			Ratlam	94.34
						Barwani	91.67
						Jhabua	90.63
						Ujjain	87.06

There is another perception which has serious implications as far as the government's credibility is concerned. 22 per cent of the respondents have shown no trust in government representatives and 17 per cent have expressed their lack of belief in this long term cash transfer policy. In this

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scheme, financial help is at different stages of life of the girl child and major amount is going to be received after 21 years. So many people have raised doubts about the continuity of government policies over a long period of time. Recently, the State government has changed the policy and now instead of NSC they have decided to give a certificate wherein it is stated that after 21 years Rs. 1,00,000 will be given. Such changes generate apprehension of more possible changes in future. Similarly government representatives have also lost the faith of the public in general as comes out from the statements of the respondents. The five districts with the highest and the lowest numbers of such respondent perceptions as below:

**Table 9**  
**Apprehensions for Policy Change on LLY**

Rural				Urban			
Lowest	%	Highest	%	Lowest	%	Highest	%
Neemuch	4.17	Khandwa (East Nimar)	89.66	Hoshangabad	7.14	Harda	71.43
Shahdol	8.33	Burhanpur	84.62	Umaria	8.33	Khargone (West Nimar)	57.14
Sehore	11.11	Khargone (West Nimar)	83.33	Satna	11.11	Sidhi	50.00
Panna	14.29	Harda	76.32	Jabalpur	15.69	Khandwa (East Nimar)	42.86
Rajgarh	14.29	Balaghat	66.67	Rewa	16.67	Damoh	41.67
Barwani	14.81	Shivpuri	66.67				

**Table 10**  
**Composite Index for LLY**

Composite Index for	Parameters taken	No. of Parameters
Effectiveness	Awareness (access of the scheme), Source of Information, Role of Aanganwadi and different PRI, Reasons for going to Aanganwadi, Reasons for not going to Aanganwadi	10
Efficiency	Delivery Mechanism, Time taken for Application, Difficulty in Application, Time taken for NSC, Security aspects of NSC, Reasons for not/late receiving NSC, General perception of the beneficiaries about the scheme etc.	31
Empowerment	Financial help, birth registered, regular vaccination, less dropout from school, Higher education for girls, Marriage after legal age, etc.	19
Modification	Application process to be made easier and less time consuming, Form should be simple, Attitude of the officer should be improved, increase in financial help	6

### Key Learnings

The LLY has the potential to become an effective of channelising limited resources to the poor and socially disadvantaged sections, more specifically to the girl child and women. What comes out both in the primary survey and the secondary data is the persisting gender inequality in MP- the girl child is at a disadvantage and faces disadvantage and faces discrimination at every stage of her life - sex selection, infanticide, little or no access to education, lack of healthcare and nutrition, child marriage, and teenage pregnancy. The conditionality linked cash transfer attempts to correct such discriminations. This programme represents a shift in the government's approach of focusing on the supply-side to a demand driven approach. A look at each of the objectives and the present assessment brings out the true picture:

- ***Bring a positive change towards the birth of the girl child:*** There is no marked improvement or realisation of this objective, indeed, the worsening trend in child sex ratio (CSR) and the Census reveals that the situation is alarming in some districts. The dwindling number of girl children on account of increasing incidences of female foeticide is a matter of great concern in this state and the LLY has not contributed to reversing this trend. There is also concern over the urban child sex ratio which is increasing which shows that improvement in lifestyle, housing and information does not necessarily bring about a change in the perception of the birth of a girl child.
- ***Discourage child marriages and encourage marriages at or after the legally prescribed minimum age for marriage:*** In Madhya Pradesh, the secondary data does not show a reversal in this trend either. During the primary survey, respondents informed that marriages take place at the legally prescribed age but the secondary data has shown this to be untrue, This is in spite of the fact that there is legal enactment to ensure marriages only after the minimum age prescribed.
- ***Improve girls' education and health, and improve the sex ratio:*** While the primary survey and the Census data both bring out an improvement in the primary education enrollment of the girl child, there is an immediate reversal of this in secondary school enrollment data as well as the survey, Hence, it may be said that this objective is met with only partially. Of greater concern is the fate of girl children belonging to families of contract construction labour, agricultural

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labour or migrant labour, the girl child in such a family is deprived of both education and health/immunisation facilities since she is not registered with an Aanganwadi or a school. In such cases it is recommended that a camp Aanganwadi or school be setup for vaccinations, nutrition supplements and learning for such people.

- ***Create a conclusive environment to prevent female infanticide:*** The survey brings out a changing perception and attitudinal change in girl child's birth and life. The secondary data does not substantiate this attitudinal change but it is still too early to make an assessment of this objective. It is evident that before attempting any condemnation of the act of female infanticide, or sitting in moral judgment, we need to consider and understand the practice of female infanticide from a structural viewpoint, and place it in the wider historical, social and economic circumstances from which it has emerged noting that it is a practice in OBCs who form a large group in Madhya Pradesh.
- ***Ensure education for the girl child:*** This objective is being fulfilled as seen in both the primary survey and the secondary data but it must be extended to informal schooling and education of the girl child born in families who do not meet the eligibility criteria e.g., for girl children of labourers who migrate of agricultural operations or building constructions.
- ***Bring about convergence in the Departments' of Health, Education, WCD, Register of Births and Deaths to work together:*** It is important to mention here that this scheme is implemented through the vast network of Aanganwadis and the Integrated Child Development Service (ICDS) machinery. Successful implementation of the scheme also requires support and cooperation from other departments such as education, health, Panchayats, etc. The official responsible for implementing the scheme spoke about not receiving the necessary support from other government departments, resulting in delays and difficulties. For example, if the birth certificate is not received on time, it delays the financial incentive to be received by the family following the birth of a girl. Lack of coordination between departments and financial institutions has led to unnecessary delays in promissory note/NSC in some districts. In some instances the lack of convergence has resulted in unnecessary delay in providing financial assistance.

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- ***Protect the girl child's fundamental rights relating to life, health, education, psychological well-being and economic empowerment:*** This objective has not been met. The scheme's eligibility criteria needs reconsideration as it may actually work against daughters, forcing families to choose between the schemes (daughters) or sons. If the basic philosophy of the scheme is to promote birth and survival of girl children particularly from poor families, why restrict the benefits to only one or two girls?
- ***Many of the beneficiaries are attracted who do not have a strong son preference:*** Most of the schemes are mainly focused on poor households, whereas son preference and daughter elimination are widespread across low economic categories. The girl child promotion incentive schemes can potentially have far reaching implications if the stereotype is not reinforced that is, making a family choose between the life and health of a daughter over the life of a future son.
- ***To encourage family planning:*** The acceptance of the terminal method of family planning is one of the eligibility criterias in the LLY, It is only partially successful and the survey came across many instances of couples backing out of the scheme when their second daughter was born, thus denying the girl the right of LLY, since the terminal method of family planning is a precondition. It also raises a larger question - why is family planning linked with a girl child promotion scheme? It is possible that many poor families with strong son preference and who have only daughters are unlikely to be enrolled under the scheme.

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## **Police in India: A Case Study of Constabulary of Jhalawar District in Rajasthan**

**Anupama Kaushik\* and Govind Singh Kasana†**

*Police in India is not seen as friend of common public but as an oppressor. It is blamed often for corruption, misuse of power, misbehaviour, lack of work culture etc. But the lower level personnel in police force complain of long working hours, exploitation by seniors, lack of basic facilities and leisure etc. This paper tries to take a look at the problems faced by police personnel especially the constabulary through an empirical study carried out in Jhalawar district of Rajasthan.*

The term 'police' is derived from the Greek word 'polics' and according to the Oxford dictionary it means a system of regulation for preservation of order and enforcement of law (Sharma, 1977, 1). It includes a body of civil servants whose duties are preservation of order, preventing and detection of crime and enforcement of laws. In a democratic - welfare state it has to perform its duties keeping welfare of citizens in mind. It enforces the rule of law so that people can live safely and go freely about their lawful business (Begum, 1996, 2-3). Its powers include the legitimised use of force (Police, 2017).

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### **Historical Background**

The organisation of police department was one of the important aspects of administration in ancient India as it helped the state in maintenance of public order and protection of persons and their property (Mishra, 1987, 7). Existence of police can be traced back in India to Vedic period. Kautilya gives detailed description of police in his book Arthashastra (Sengupta, 1995, 5). Kautilya in Arthashastra gives detailed description of the use of spies in the criminal administration (Curry, 1977, 19). It was also in a well developed form during medieval period. Some of these positions were retained by the British colonial regime e.g., post of '*Thanedar*' and it exists even today (Begum, 1996, 25). However the present form of policing found in India was established by the colonial British regime. When British took over from Mughals, police administration was in bad shape. They retained some officers e.g., that of *Darogas, Kotwal, Fauzdar, Chaukidar* but gradually changed the system to suit their colonial needs (Begum, 1996, 26). The process inculcated a long series of often unsuccessful experiments (Curry, 1977, 23).

Independent India adopted democratic and welfare system of governance and aimed to create an egalitarian social and economic order. This required a change in the functioning of police in India. It needed to reorient itself from a colonial force to a welfare oriented service force. But that did not happen. It continued behaving like a colonial force. It also suffered from mal-administration, inefficiency at subordinate levels, crowd fear, meager working equipment and infrastructure, poor and insufficient pay structure, insufficient promotions, frequent transfers, punishments, insecurity of self and kith and kin (Begum, 1996, 36).

### **Structure**

India is a federal country with division of powers between centre and states and Article 246 of the Constitution of India places the police, public order, courts, prisons, reformatories, borstal and other allied institutions in the State List. Superintendence over the police force in the state is exercised by the State Government. The head of the police force in the state is the Director General of Police (DGP), who is responsible to the state government for the administration of the police force in the state and for advising the government on police matters. States are divided territorially into administrative units known as districts. An officer of the rank of Superintendent of Police heads the district police force. A group of districts form a range, which is looked after by an officer of the rank of Deputy

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Inspector General of Police. Some states have zones comprising two or more ranges, under the charge of an officer of the rank of an Inspector General of Police. Every district is divided into sub-divisions. A sub-division is under the charge of an officer of the rank of Assistant Superintendent of Police/ Deputy Superintendent of Police. Every sub-division is further divided into a number of police stations, depending on its area, population and volume of crime. Between the police station and the sub-division, there are police circles in some states - each circle headed generally by an Inspector of Police. The police station is the basic unit of police administration in a district. Under the Criminal Procedure Code, all crime has to be recorded at the police station and all preventive, investigative and law and order work is done from there. A police station is divided into a number of beats, which are assigned to constables for patrolling, surveillance, collection of intelligence etc. The officer in charge of a police station is an Inspector of Police, particularly in cities and metropolitan areas. Even in other places, the bigger police stations, in terms of area, population, crime or law and order problems, are placed under the charge of an Inspector of Police. In rural areas or smaller police stations, the officer in charge is usually a Sub-Inspector of Police (Police Organization in India, 2016).

#### **Constabulary**

Originally, in Roman Empire, the constable was the officer responsible for keeping the horses of a lord or monarch. The title was imported to the monarchies of medieval Europe and in many countries developed into a high military rank and great officer of state. Most constables in modern jurisdictions are law enforcement officers. In the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth Nations a constable is the lowest rank of police officer. Police Constable is the lowest police rank in India followed by Head Constable. General law and order being a state subject in India, each state government recruits police constables. A Police Constable has no shoulder insignia while a Head Constable has one strip or one Chevron depending upon the state. Since each state has its own police force, the uniforms and insignia of the police varies, though the rank structure is same. All the police constable wear (*khaki*) coloured uniform which indicate that he/she is a police officer. Police Constables in India have been seen in possession of guns but their ability to use them is known to be subjected to authorisation passed by the chain of command in the police force (Constable, 2017). The police constabulary are delegated the patrolling, surveillance, guard duties, and law and order work while senior officers drawn, by and



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large, from The Indian Police Service (IPS) do the supervisory work and the "upper subordinates" (inspectors, sub-inspectors, and asst. sub-inspectors) who work generally at the police station level. The constabulary accounts for almost 88 per cent of total police strength. Constables are recruited through direct recruitment and appointment to the Head constable is done only through promotion (Begum, 1996, 123).

#### **Case Study**

An empirical study was conducted which included 200 police officers and constabulary members from the Jhalawar district of Rajasthan. The data collection tools used for the study were interview schedule, observation and informal interview.

#### **Profile of Respondents**

Of the 200 respondents 180 i.e., 90 per cent were men and 20 i.e., 10 per cent were women. 86 i.e., 43 per cent respondents were in between the age of 18 to 35 and 114 i.e., 57 per cent respondents were in between 36 to 60 years of age. 173 i.e., 86.5 per cent respondents were constables or head constables and 27 i.e., 13.5 per cent were Assistant Superintendent of Police/ Deputy Superintendent of Police. Eighty one officials i.e., 40.5 per cent were from general category, 62 i.e., 31 per cent were from other backward castes, 29 i.e., 14.5 per cent were SC and 28 i.e., 14 per cent were ST. Thirty three i.e., 16.5 per cent were post graduates, 88 i.e., 44 per cent were under graduates and 79 i.e., 39.5 per cent had schooling. For 19 i.e., 9.5 per cent monthly income was between Rs 5000 and 10,000; for 95 i.e., 47.5 per cent monthly income was in between Rs 10,000 and 20,000; for 73 i.e., 36.5 per cent monthly income was in between Rs 20,000 and 30,000 and for 13 i.e., 6.5 per cent monthly income was above Rs 30,000. Spouses of 163 i.e., 81.5 per cent respondents were homemakers, 21 i.e., 10.5 per cent were in jobs, eight i.e., 4 per cent were in agriculture and eight i.e., 4 per cent were in other occupations. One hundred eighty i.e., 90 per cent respondents were Hindus, 19 i.e., 9.5 per cent were Muslims and one i.e., 0.5 per cent was Sikh. One hundred eighty six i.e., 93 per cent respondents were married and 14 i.e., 7 per cent were unmarried.

#### **Service Conditions**

All respondents knew about the constabulary. They knew that constable is the lowest level non-gazette member of police force. 76.5 per cent said they felt good after joining police service while 23.5 per cent said they felt bad after joining police service. 4.5 per cent respondents said they

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joined police force to serve the public while 6.5 per cent said they joined police force to stop crime and 89 per cent said they joined police force for both the above reasons. 67 per cent said they achieved their objective while 33 per cent said they could not achieve their objective. 92.5 per cent respondents said that they do not get leave easily while 7.5 per cent said they do get leave easily. 36 per cent said they can give time for the family but 64 per cent said they are not able to give time to family. 22 per cent said salary is enough to take care of expenses but 9 per cent said that salary is not enough to take care of the expenses and 69 per cent said they face difficulty in running the expenses on salary. 38.5 per cent said that police does accept bribe while 61.5 per cent said that police does not take bribes. 91.5 per cent said constabulary is under dictatorship of higher officials while 8.5 per cent said there is no dictatorship. 16.5 per cent respondents said constabulary gets inappropriate orders from higher authorities, 1.5 per cent said constabulary gets appropriate orders from higher authorities and 81.5 per cent officials said constabulary gets both appropriate and inappropriate orders from higher authorities. 83.5 per cent respondents said that constabulary is harassed in the name of discipline while 16.5 per cent said constabulary is not harassed during their duties.

### **Police and Public**

36 per cent said police gets respect from public while 64 per cent said that police does not get respect from public. 17 per cent said that police resolves problems of public on time but 83 per cent said that police does not resolve the problems of public in time. 98 per cent respondents said that public should give information about criminals to the police and should cooperate with police and should not help antisocial elements.

### **Daily Diary**

Daily diary of police also known as '*rojnamacha aam*' records all the activities of 24 hours per day in the police line, police station, police chowki, control room and police training center and remains under Chauki In-charge, Thana In-charge and superintendent. 28 per cent said daily diary should be written but 72 per cent said it should not be written. Those who said that daily diary should not be written said that the entries done are not done on time and both correct and incorrect entries are done and entries are done without consent from the constables. Due to routine entries constables are put under undue pressure and if they make any complain or share their problem than adverse entry is made. 22 per cent said their experience as

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security guard has been good and 77 per cent officials said that their experience has been bad and 1 per cent did not give any answer. Those who said the experience was bad, complained of tents, dirty drains, lack of toilets and lack of proper check post during their services.

#### **Problems**

23 per cent said that police works under political pressure while 1 per cent said police does not work under political pressure and 76 per cent did not respond. All respondents believed that police is always busy because of shortage of staff, multiple duties and increase in crimes. 10.5 per cent said that police department has been successful in fulfilling its objectives, 10 per cent said it has not been able to fulfill its objectives while 79.5 per cent believed that it has been able to fulfill its objectives to some extent. 6 per cent said that constabulary is given time to think while 79.5 per cent said constabulary gets some time to think. 91 per cent said that constabulary obeys wrong orders of the seniors because they are threatened with transfer, suspension and disciplinary action and because they do not have right to speak. 97 per cent said that public wants removal of its problems and safety of life and property by the police. 96.5 per cent respondents said that police has to work with old arms, lack of enough rest, 24 hour duty, low salary, lack of resources, corruption, political pressure and mental stress.

#### **Suggestions**

Respondents suggested that daily diary should be written with consent of the constables; they should be given eight hours duty in a day; they should get weekly holiday; they should get more salary; they should get promotions; they should get free transportation in government buses; they should be allowed to have association; they should get good residential accommodation and they should be given modern arms. They opined that use of science and technology should increase in policing; there should be decentralisation of rights; they should get good training; online work should increase; there should be transparency in administration and work; political pressure must come to an end; and higher officials should behave well with constabulary.

#### **Complains of Constables**

On the basis of information gathered from respondents following issues came to light:

- Constabulary remains largely a male force.
- Constabulary complains of lack of resting time.

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- Constabulary complains of inadequate salary.
- Constabulary acknowledges existence of corruption and bribery in police force.
- Constabulary complains of dictatorship of higher officials.
- Constabulary complains of inappropriate orders from higher authorities.
- Constabulary complains of harassment in the name of discipline.
- Constabulary complains that they do not get respect from public.
- Constabulary complains that public does not give information about criminals to the police and does not cooperate with police.
- Constabulary complains that entries in the daily diary are not done on time and incorrect entries are done in daily diary.
- Constabulary complains of political pressure.
- Constabulary complains of shortage of staff and multiple duties.
- Constabulary complains of increase in crimes.
- Constabulary complains of threat of transfer, suspension and disciplinary action.
- Constabulary complains of lack of right to speak. Constabulary complains of old arms, lack of enough mandays, 24 hour duty, low salary, lack of resources, corruption, political pressure and mental stress during their services.

The above analysis shows that constabulary does not have favourable or comfortable working condition and unless their working conditions improve they will not be able to deliver on preservation of law and order, preventing and detection of crime and enforcement of laws. These conditions exist because of following reasons:

#### ***Continuance of Colonial System***

The advent of Indian independence transformed the political system, but the police system retained its colonial underpinnings. The Police Act of 1861 was not replaced. Political control over the police remained intact after independence. Implanting mechanisms to assure accountability of the police to the public did not become a priority, as it should have. The managerial philosophy, value system, and ethos of the police remained militaristic in design, and suppressive in practice. This is the reason why the respondents complained that the public does not respect them and also that public does not cooperate with police. The attitude of police remains that of a master over the public. Police force is distrusted and considered distant from citizens.

***Political Interference and Priority of Needs of Powerful Over Citizens***

The political party in power uses the police as its own tool to further its own interest. Politicians in power look at police with political spectacles hence police finds it difficult to enforce the law impartially. Politicians take revenge if police does not toe their party line or interest. The control, administration and direction of police should be removed from political influence to control crime and corruption (Ghosh, 1975, 17-18). Appointments, promotions and postings are made for political expediency rather than merit which discourages good workers (Ghosh, 1975, 8). Thus police has become a plaything of party hacks (Ghosh, 1975, 12). The police system in India can be characterised as a regime force, which places the needs of politicians or powerful individuals over the demands of the rule of law and the needs of citizens. Politicians are given guards while routine police work suffers due to lack of personnel.

***Inefficiency, Indiscipline and Negativism due to Political Interference, Maladministration and Corruption***

Police in India does not initiate and act in areas which are not punitive and prohibitive. Its professional work consists of dealing with law breakers, criminals and offenders. It does not get involved in the positive side of citizen by assisting the needy and inspiring the confidence among people by helping them (Sharma, 1977, 26). The reason being that the administration of police is not aggressively honest, rigorous in enforcing the laws, and absolutely fair in making promotions, assignment and transfers on merit and for public reason only and hence the dishonest find favour. Hence policemen dodge and shirk their duty by cringing and cowering before everyone that they think has a pull instead of executing the law (Ghosh, 1975, 18). Politics has permeated in the rank and file of the police and it has paralysed the police arm for the enforcement of the law and it has put merit to the rear and incompetency and dishonesty to the front (Ghosh, 1975, 33). Politicians in power intervene in police work and order that criminals (their followers) be left alone without benefit of judicial process (Ghosh, 1975, 88).

***Supremacy of Civil Administration***

Police chiefs put up proposals before the government for purchase of equipment, creation of new posts etc. These are examined by an assistant than it goes to under secretary to deputy secretary to secretary and finally the police get a fraction of what they had asked for. Rejecting police proposal is seen as an achievement by the civil administration. The sad part is that as a

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result of this financial prudence when police fails to perform and army is called out maintain order and the expenses are even bigger. Civil administration even interference in promotions, appointments, transfers, assignments, punishments and as a result authority of police chief is eroded and discipline, efficiency and morale suffers (Ghosh, 1975, 27-30).

#### ***Lack of Infrastructure and Funds***

Policemen are confronted with long hours, inadequate pay, inadequate staff, lack of sophisticated equipment, inadequate funds etc. (Ghosh, 1975, 6-7). Police are asking, begging, pleading and justifying their legitimate expenses. As a result they fail to maintain law and order in times of crisis (Ghosh, 1975, 15). Police cannot wage a successful campaign against the criminal forces when inadequately equipped. It requires sufficient funds, equipment and facilities to uphold law and order. Policemen do not get their travelling allowance for months on grounds of financial restrictions. This causes frustration among policemen (Ghosh, 1975, 27).

#### ***Domination of Leftist and Antinational Ideologies***

Ghosh analyses in his book that after independence several ideologies were busy fomenting class struggle. Instead of encouraging young men to increase their technical skills they were encouraging indiscipline among them (Ghosh, 1975, 42). Students could be easily misled because they were disillusioned by country's political leadership and employment scenario (Ghosh, 1975, 45). When such students became unruly the government would use police force to contain them. Similar situations occurred with labour/trade unions. Ultimately such ideologies led to spread of Naxalism and Maoism, which has become a menace in a large part of India. It was and is difficult for police to deal with such forces and the government had to deploy other forces like CRPF to deal with them when police failed to contain them (Ghosh, 1975, 90-91).

#### ***Bad Living Condition and Low Pay***

Large numbers of policemen live in slums alongside criminals and anti-social elements (Ghosh, 1975, 25). There is reluctance to send money on police due to socialist ideology as it is believed that police should not get more than the common man (Ghosh, 1975, 26). The pay of rank and file is incommensurate with their responsibilities. Lack of accommodation and modern amenities affect their efficiency and morale. Police stations are often in bad condition with dirty and cracked walls, blackened ceilings, rough

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floor, old and rickety tables and chairs. The attached barracks are dingy, dirty and uncomfortable. They lack latrines and bathing facilities and bed cots are old, uncomfortable and primitive. The lockups attached are unsanitary and poorly ventilated (Ghosh, 1975, 66).

#### ***Continuous Revision of Laws and Attitude of Judiciary***

Legislatures keep enacting new laws and Courts keep on interpreting and re-interpreting laws but the proposal of fund to equip police stations with books is looked at as waste of money (Ghosh, 1975, 26). Many courts assume that police are a lawless body and they break law at every opportunity and tell lies about it. Hence it is the policeman who is on trial instead of the culprit (Ghosh, 1975, 78).

#### ***Difficult Working***

Police are thrown directly into explosive situations like riots, arson, anarchy etc. and while policemen strive to restore order they are shot, assaulted and ridiculed. And in such situation they do not receive support from authorities (Ghosh, 1975, 4). Police are liable to be called to duty anytime and anywhere. Police hardly knows a Sunday or a holiday and the periods of festivals and festivities are generally periods of stress and strain for police (Ghosh, 1975, 63). Many years ago the National Police Commission or Dhram Vir Commission Report noticed that an average constable works 14 hours every day without any respite under extreme conditions of stress and strain (Mathur, 1994, 52).

#### ***Bad Command***

Constabulary blames their own bosses for being negligent, corrupt, inefficient and ineffective (Begum, 1996, 300). Dual control also creates confusion (Begum, 1996, 267).

#### ***Suggestions***

- The control, administration and direction of police should be removed from political interference and influence: Political neutrality must be effectively reinforced in the police system.
- Filling of all vacancy and creating more positions where required.
- Better training and refresher courses.
- Competitive salaries.
- Better living and working conditions.
- Increased police budget with good infrastructure and equipment.

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- Rewarding disciplined policemen.
- Punishing the corrupt and undisciplined policemen.
- Time bound transfers and rational transfer policy.
- Better supervision.
- Impartial promotions based on examination and performance.
- The procedural issues in the police need to be taken care of.
- Single command.
- Self control by police: Police cannot keep blaming others and circumstances all the time. They must accept some responsibility themselves too. Some scholars like David H. Barley claim that British police had in 1830s and later shown model behaviour despite appalling conditions of crime, vice, public insecurity, individual apathy, hostility, and indifference to law enforcement. However, the exemplary behaviour of police i.e., efficiency, incorruptibility and law abidingness made the British public respectful of law and order (Barley, 1969, 14).

### **Conclusion**

Constabulary comes into frequent and direct contact with public. Their behaviour, assistance, cooperation, support and conduct leave an indelible impression on various sections of the people about the police administration and its functioning. Even the development of the country depends upon the functioning of the police as for economic development and social cordiality order and security are essential conditions. However, if constabulary itself is dissatisfied as is clear from this study than they will not be able to satisfy the public and law and order will not be as it should be in the country.

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*Book Review*

**The Rohingya in South Asia:  
People without a State**

Sabyasachi Basu Ray Chaudhury and Ranabir Samadar (Eds.)

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**Tapas Kumar Dalapati\***

The office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees initiated a campaign in 2014 to end statelessness by 2024. Statelessness is a direct consequence of discrimination based on ethnicity, religion and gender perpetrated by the host state. The largest stateless population in the earth is originating from the Myanmar, where more than one million Rohingyas are refused nationality and facing persecution over citizenship. Rohingyas are therefore fleeing to East Asian countries including Australia for a safer living space. There are nearly one lakh Rohingyas residing in India, who had fled their country in a phased manner. Some Rohingya refugees have given identity cards by UNHCR but Government of India has not accepted their legal citizen and planning to send them back. The stateless Rohingyas are being kicked out of every country and facing persecution in every walks of their life.

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### **Dalapati**

The statelessness of Rohingya refugees has a long history. They have been migrating out from their origin place Rakhine state of Myanmar not only as asylum seekers but also as economic migrants from Bangladesh to South East Asian countries over the high seas in rickety boats. The Rohingyas have triggered attention of world media when nearly 6000 Rohingyas and Bangladeshis are stranded in the sea and denied entry to the Malaysia. In India Rohingyas are illegally living in Jammu and Kashmir, Andhra Pradesh, Delhi, Haryana, West Bengla, Rajsthan, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Maharashtra and Andaman and Nicobar Islands. As India is not a signatory of the two conventions of United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR 1954 and 1961), the Rohingyas in India are also living amidst insecurity and persecution.

The edited book under review is exclusively based on the persecution and plight on the Rohingya refugees in South Asia. The book has six full length chapters along with an introduction and an epilogue. The book has inculcated both macro and micro issues faced by the stateless people who originated from Rakhine province of Myanmar. A chapter by chapter review of this book is undertaken to comprehend issues taken by the authors in the edited volume.

The 'Introduction' of the book written by editors discusses the historical background of the Rohingyas and the processes leading to their statelessness. The chapter is a retrospect of Rohingyas encounter with statelessness starting from rule of MraukU dynasty in Arakan state to the current political regime of Myanmar.

Sucharita Sengupta in the first chapter captioned 'Stateless, Floating People: The Rohingya at Sea', traces out the evolution of the Rohingyas as boat people and the nature of their journey for a secure life. She analyses how the Rohingyas have been taking risk of sea voyage to find a secured territory. The chapter discusses in detail the reason for such perilous journeys into East Asian countries.

In the second chapter 'Where do I Belong? The stateless Rohingyas in India' by Sahana Basavapatna analyses various aspects of legal situation of Rohingya in India. She looked into the Rohingya migration from a legal perspective and recounted the precarious condition of the Rohingyas in Delhi, Jaipur, Jammu and Mewat in India. She analysed that Rohingyas are represented as foreigners, muslim, stateless and suspected Bangladeshi nationals and leading deplorable lives in unauthorised colonies in these cities.

### Book Review

In the third chapter 'The Stateless People: Rohingya in Hyderabad' Priyanca Mathur Velath and Kriti Chopra document the situation of stateless people in Hyderabad collected through interviews. The authors argue that the existing law like the Foreigners Act 1946 is completely outdated to deal with Rohingyas issues in India. According to authors, there is a lack of clarity across three broad category refugees in India. The chapter analyses the various facets of Rohingyas life structures and vulnerabilities in Hyderabad city.

'The Jailed Rohingya in West Bengal' by Suchismita Majumdar is the fourth chapter of this book which analyses conditions of the Rohingyas in the correctional homes in West Bengal through narratives and empirical data. The chapter documents the persecution of the Rohingyas which is surrounded by a feeling of hopelessness. She presented a desperate picture of Rohingyas life which reflects a desire for a secure life which hardly reflected in from their everyday life in correctional homes.

The fifth chapter, written by Madhura Chakravarti 'Rohingya in Bangladesh and India and the Media Planet' analyses how the media of Bangladesh and India depict stateless Rohingyas from information collected through primary data. The chapter also highlights the role of public opinion in shaping policies of the Bangladesh and India towards Rohingyas.

The sixth chapter titled 'Legal Brief on Statelessness Law in the Indian Context' by Charlotte-Anne Malischewski looks into laws relating to statelessness. She analyses concepts of citizenship and the illegal migrant and their legal implication in India.

Malischewski analyses who is 'illegal migrants' in India and how is citizenship is defined in India. She also elucidated what is the meaning of right to nationality in the purview of international law and how statelessness is engendered in different situation in this chapter.

In the last chapter 'Reducing Statelessness: A New Call for India' written by Shuvro Prosun Sarkar, laws on statelessness is analysed in the context of India. For his analyses he uses case laws and parliamentary debates in India. He also mentions the two UN conventions on statelessness (UNHCR 1954 and 1961) and argues that these conventions cannot compel India to follow their norms since India is not a signatory. He therefore, reiterates that the condition of *de-facto* stateless people in India is more precarious.

In the 'Epilogue' section Sabyasachi Basu Ray Chaudhary and Ranabir Samaddar comment on the regional policies to protecting the human rights of Rohingyas in the present context. The authors analyse the

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role of regional institutions and processes to solve the Rohingya crisis in South Asia and advocated for relook into the outdated UNHCR conventions which is lacking any effective roadmap to solve the crisis.

The book is very useful to the students of international politics, particularly who are dealing with transnational refugees. The book is a successful attempt to comprehend the micro realities of Rohigyas who are residing in India and Bangladesh amidst insecurity and persecution.

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