M.P. Institute of Social Science Research, Ujjain

Madhya Pradesh Journal of Social Sciences

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Elections in Gujarat and Himachal Pradesh: A Postscript

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The paper analyses recently held assembly elections in Gujarat and Himachal Pradesh and found that caste's influence is dwindling to the development aspiration of the people. The paper critically unfolded the role of social science in understanding political processes in India and the role of political scientists in predicting election results. The paper posits that social science should focus on empirics of political processes rather than prediction of election results through surveys, which is scientifically difficult to rely upon.

Recently concluded poll exercise in Himachal Pradesh and in Gujarat engaged people of all shades. The outcome of the election process was regarded as provider of hints for the future of Indian polity. It was generally believed that the good days of the Congress party that ruled the country since independence – first as a single dominant party and then as leading coalition partner -- are gone for good. Rather than the other coalitional outfit with the BJP at the helm, the stage was set for BJP dominated rule for some time to come. However, those opposed to the

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[†] **This paper was send by Professor Atal for publication on 24th February 2018 and he left for heavely abode on 13th April 2018.**

present regime – that is, the ousted opposition leaders – accumulated stories of failure of the present regime in its three years of rule and became hopeful that these assembly elections will reopen their doors for a re-entry and ouster of the BJP.

Following thumping victory in 2014 elections at the national level – winning 51.93 per cent seats via 31 per cent of total votes, BJP became, for the first time, any other Party than the Congress to have a clear-cut one-party majority. Compared to this, the Congress Party earned only 19.3 per cent of voter support to return to the Lok Sabha only on 8.10 per cent seats – a humiliating percentage that was lower than the qualifying percentage to earn the leadership of the opposition, in the real sense of the term. With continuing expansion of the sphere of influence of the Bharatiya Janata Party in subsequent elections held in various state assemblies, there was a clear signal of the changing character of Indian polity.

It is in this context that people regarded BJP victory in the states of Himachal Pradesh and in Gujarat as a foregone conclusion. The hardline followers of the Congress Party, and their media colleagues, however, predicted a downfall for the Congress once again, the growing popularity of the BJP notwithstanding. That despite some vote gain by the opposition, and noisy criticism of the new policy initiatives, BJP wave swept voter support is understandable. An analyst does not have to be a BJPwala to make such a prediction. And yet, allegations were raised and neutral analysts were dubbed as changers – swimming with the waves.

II

Let us make a brief sojourn in India's independent past. With the attainment of freedom from the British Raj India became a democratic polity of a distinct sort where the leaders of the freedom movement joined a combined political force under the banner of the Congress. Disregarding Mahatma Gandhi's sane advice to distinguish between a 'movement' and 'a political party', the workers of the movement went ahead to taste power. This decision ushered in an era of One-Party dominance, as if to express gratitude to the Movement leaders for all they did to earn Swaraj. It is interesting to note that the kith and kin of Mahatma Gandhi were not party to the bounty. It all went to Nehru and his kids; the word Gandhi, in this regard, refers to Indira – Nehru's daughter – who changed her surname to reflect her marital status. Of course, Gandhi preferred for himself an apolitical role after the attainment of freedom. There is a story that Lord Mountbatten asked the names of the inheritors soon after independence to

save chaos. It was the Jinnah who staked his name as the first ruler of Pakistan whereas Gandhi told that, indisputably, Earl Mountbatten should be the first Governor-General of independent India. That was the difference between Jinnah and Gandhi.

While the ritual of elections was performed in time to constantly remind us of our flourishing democracy, initial elections were a nominal reminder that all is well, and that the outcome of the elections had nothing to shake the routine. It was until the fourth elections, held in 1967, that the Indian electorate demonstrated full confidence in the one-party dominant system with the Congress party at the helm. However, the scenario began to change at the level of the states. The fourth General elections (1967) were held concurrently for the Lok Sabha and the State level Vidhan Sabhas, but the Indian polity catapulted by sweepingly defeating the ruling Congress party state-after-the-state, and yet letting the Congress party rule at the Centre. 1967 General Elections were, thus, a major landmark in the Indian polity signifying a more articulate electorate.

It was a sheer coincidence that while the social sciences in India first jumped into the fray in 1967, it confronted the divided house which did not oblige the fortune-tellers. The settled pattern was disturbed. The Congress party was shocked with the defeat and was shaken from its complacence. The political pundits suffered a setback as fortune tellers.

It is interesting to note that the new-found discipline of psephology–the word used by a British journal while reviewing my book on 1967 elections, titled Local Communities and National Politics – gained its entry in the political analysis of Indian elections precisely at this time. The tenor of election studies developed in 1967 when several studies carried out under the auspices of the Planning Commission by the departments of not only political science, but also of sociology-anthropology, psychology, and public administration changed in subsequent electoral events. Taking clues from the market research, elections were studied in terms of possible outcome. Of course, some scholars followed the technique of panel study in the manner that I did and tried to analyse changing vote preferences. It was then realised that Indian electorate is more 'open' than 'committed' – a pattern unlike the USA which allowed poll predictions based on Gallop poll covering the floating population. Rather than studying the political process associated with electioneering, Indian researchers became pollsters and predictors of final outcome of the process of voting.

As said earlier, the pattern of tandem voting suffered a serious setback in 1967 elections where the Indian voter allowed the Congress rule to

prevail at the Centre but snatched the power of the Congress Party at the level of Vidhan Sabhas. Since this was a virgin victory for the opposition, the wishes of the people were falsified and the Congress party staged a return at the state level either as a majority party or a coalition leader. The opposition group copied the same vile tactics which were the cause of Congress downfall. They wanted to make the hay while the sun shined. And that is where they were wrong. And that became the cause of decay of the opposition.

It was post-emergency movement led by Jai Prakash Narain -- who preferred to remain away from the seat of power – that all the opposition groups decided to join hands as a National Democratic Alliance [NDA] that forced Congress also to form its own coalition group called United Democratic Alliance [UDA]. When Atal Behari Vajpayee won a hands down election, I described it as a MANDATE for Political Transition. The title subtly mentions NDA, to indicate that the new two coalition groups may be renamed as NDA and UPA.

It was, thus, Jai Prakash's movement that changed the scenario with a serious setback to the Congress Party and to the one-party dominance model, which I named '*Ek Dal Mahaprabal*' system -- as a literal translation for the phrase One Party Dominant System coined by Rajni Kothari of the Centre for the Study of the Developing Societies.

The new group, which had a collection of all small and big parties, pursuing different ideological stances that uprooted the Congress Party. But the enthusiasm soon vanished and the Bhartiya Jan Sangh took rebirth as Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP); the Janata Dal also got divided, and Laloo's outfit claimed its separate existence. The prospects of a two-party system, thus, got fractured in a small time. India then entered an era of coalitions, one led by the Congress and the other by the BJP. Other parties remained third parties relating themselves with either of the big alliances UPA or NDA depending on the interpretation of the situation by leaders of regional parties.

We entered into an era of coalitions defeating the prospects of a two - party system. However, today's politics is broadly functioning in two camps. For the first time in Indian history, BJP—the real rival of the Congress party -- has been able to annex power at the Centre all on its own, and the Congress is dressed down to a level where it does not constitutionally have the right to display the medal of opposition leader.

Gujarat and Himachal Pradesh elections should be seen in this perspective. In both these states, the elections were held only for the

Assembly. While there is every reason to argue that tandem voting is not expected, it was already clear that in Gujarat, it was BJP that sought for continuance of the BJP; only in Himachal Pradesh, change of guards was subjected to test. The opposition activated its search engines in Gujarat to find BJP 'mis governance' and shortages in the fulfilment of the promises. It even encouraged caste politics, putting aside 'secularism slogan'. It is through its tactics that a little-known Patel boy named Hardik was anointed as a caste hero and made widely known. Caste became the key weapon for the Congress which had been singing songs of secularism, implying the impending death of casteism. Even Rahul Gandhi, whose patriliny relates him to the Parsee group, came loudly proclaiming Hindu lineage (!) and went to the temple of Somnath with all fanfare. Once that temple was visited, he found other occasions to display his Hinduism through visits to other temples not only in Gujarat, but also in Amethi in Uttar Pradesh – his own constituency. These gimmicks earned a wide publicity but weakened his secular image – a latent function in sociological jargon.

III

With the Congress dwindling, and becoming weak after the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, fortune telling in terms of election outcome in India has really become hard. No one can now say with certainty about the electoral behaviour. In this regard, several points need to be noted. At the time of attainment of independence, India's total literacy was around 16 per cent including all sections -- from those who could sign their names to those who have attained higher degrees. Today, our literacy rate has jumped into the percentage arena of 70s. This is a huge difference. This factor alone suggests that one cannot take the electorate for granted. With rising literacy, there are fractures emerging in caste or minority consolidations. In day-to day behaviour in the urbanised sector of the Indian populace, caste has become a non-factor. Nobody asks the caste of an applicant for domestic chores. Nursing population – all kinds taken together ranging from the nurses to patient attendants, cooks, people looking for jobs in the domestic domain, drivers, restaurant boys, educated people in the non-governmental sector, and people in unorganised sector come from various parts of the country as temporary migrants. They become the pull factor for their kith and kin still residing in the rural areas. In the urban areas caste is hotchpotch as there is no way to assess the claim. Generic terms such as Yadav, Jat, and Gujar may have the caste character at the sub-regional level that may define the endogamous circle, but they do not have the wherewithal to supervise

the entry or exit, or to certify caste membership. Sociologically, caste is defined by its endogamous territory. Now that marriages across castes are increasingly becoming the norm, the suffix name has become defunct for day-to-day transactions. Modi no longer represents any caste. It is a title that is used by the people ranging from diamond dealers to oilpressers. Even those who relinquish their traditional family vocation and start selling tea can deploy the term as a surname. Incidentally, I opted for Atal as my pen-name to get rid of caste referrent only to find that in Kashmir it is a family designation.

Family Planning is another good example to demonstrate the irrelevance of caste or a minority status. The rising classes undermine community consciousness and play safe game of matrimonial bliss to ensure pleasure without additional numbers to feed and populate. The rising classes, practice family planning. No doubt, they do play minority politics, but not at the cost of their family well-being. The proposition that minority politics promotes neglect of family planning is increasingly being falsified. There is universal rise in adoption rate of the mechanisms of family planning. This fact is supported by several studies on the practice of family planning.

The mass upsurge in India's urban areas is yet another factor. While India's urban population in the 1950s was a meagre 10-12 per cent, today it is in the vicinage of 32 per cent. This excludes those who are urban commuters, and also those who go for earning in urban areas for a few months. This is a huge number and these migrants influence village opinion considerably, as they are also literate ones – practically every rural migrant now has a mobile, so also the families left behind. This communication revolution has facilitated circulation of ideas and opinions so much so that the village voter also exercises his/her mind. While Congress had earlier a monopolistic hold over the rural populace, it is now being fractured by a variety of factors. Interestingly, the Congress Party is now taking steps to increase its urban support; contrarily, the BJP is dashing towards the rural populace. As a consequence, the Vote Bank strategy is getting defeated; although it was a falsity and people like me have cautioned while examining the associated concept of the Dominant Caste. Already the impractical alliance between the Muslim minority and the numerically large caste cluster is exposed in the state of Uttar Pradesh where such coalition, as also the Mayawati recipe, have miserably failed. The demonetisation move had subtly snatched power from the hands of those leaders who had amassed wealth in the name of the poor and have become multi-millionaires.

People are becoming very sensitive to several overtures. One such strategy is using a rude language for the opponents. For lack of any other suitable term, let me call one such strategy as the Aiyar factor. People have begun to say that you do not need any strategist to ensure victory in election, if you have an Aiyar in the opposite camp. His ruthless diatribe over the opponents requires just one word. In 2014, it was reference to tea concoction '*chaiwallah*' that worked for thousand slogans. Without worrying about the consequences, Aiyar demonstrated his loyalty to the erstwhile royalty by dismissing the claim of a childhood tea vendor to defeat the Congress with such huge margin. BJP picked up that characterisation and catapulted it as a useful slogan. It threw the message that in a democracy, it is not always the dynasty, but even the menial job of vending tea can be a powerful pull factor. The unrepentant producer of this tea vendor '*gaali*' (dirty word of address), again had the slip of tongue and expressed his wrath over the present incumbent of the prestigious position of power by thoughtlessly calling him '*neech*' (one belonging to a menial caste, down-trodden).

The dirty word encompassed all the filth against the Prime Minister. People's response to such abuse not only damaged the Congress Party's image, but paved the way for the ouster of Aiyar from the Congress party. Later, observant eyes of the people saw Aiyar hosting a party with one of the Pakistan diplomats as the guest. The party provided an occasion to this Pakistani diplomat to have private discussion session with ex-Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and other high officials of the era of Congress regime. Congress would have saved all the money in the already defeated election in Gujarat had Aiyar entered the scene a little earlier. Of course, Aiyar would not have got the credit for the defeat that was already in the pocket of the Congress chief – Rahul. Rahul was thus saved of all the ignominy and Aiyar got undue currency. He is back in media, and officially ousted from the Congress Party. Aiyar's recipe for the defeat of the Congress Party has become a new diatribe of ugly variety.

In Gujarat, despite a long BJP regime, anti-incumbency wave was not visible thanks to Modi's upward mobility to the Centre and his bold reformist actions. Gujarat will not like the national command to go out of Modi's hands. Thus, while there is growing dissatisfaction over the central rule of BJP, particularly in the urban areas, the electorate took advantage for articulating its concerns but not to defeat it. The defeat of BJP in Gujarat was viewed by the voters as counter-productive. No political pundit was, in fact, needed to predict victory of the BJP there despite the incumbency factor. Aiyar's diatribe had come at an appropriate time to further boost the

prospects of BJP victory. His one weapon has done the dual damage – objectively speaking. Despite a long-term incumbency of BJP – but not of any particular Chief Minister—Gujarat brought back the present ruling party. The huge mass movement led by Hardik Patel, with support from the Congress, failed to turn the table.

IV

Himachal Pradesh, in contrast, offered no serious challenge where a native ruler was blamed for creating all kinds of mess. Witnessing the extending hands of the BJP, and experiencing the slow rate of growth in the State, the people in Himachal Pradesh also thought pragmatically. That is why, they did not vote for the former BJP Chief Minister – Prem Kumar Dhumal, and yet voted in majority for BJP. As an aside, it may be said that the Aiyar abuse may facilitate ouster of the Congress regime in Karnataka. Aiyar's spade has chiseled the chances of the ruling Congress.

V

The Gujarat and Himachal Pradesh episodes provide following points by way of conclusion.

1.   It should be noted that the number of votes polled is not automatically translated into the number of seats won. Of course, it makes effect on the outcome if the vote difference is too great.

2.   Even with reduced voter percentage a party can win larger number of seats. In effect, change of vote structure in a few constituencies may alert but it may not turn the table.

3.   If the number of seats won by a party remains the same from one election to the other it should not be interpreted as continuance of the support structure. Any party may lose some of the existing seats but gain other seats previously occupied by the opponent. In such cases, support loss is balanced by support gain in another constituency. Losing a seat here, and winning a new seat there can keep the number constant and yet reflect the change in the sphere of influence.

4.   Indian polity has large number of floating vote; the size of committed voters for Congress or BJP is small compared to the number of non-committed voters. It is this floating vote that punishes or rewards the candidature of the various parties. Independents also have a vital role to play.

5.   Party loyalty may provide stability to the political outfit but it deprives independent voter from the power to punish.

6.   Like the US, change of power depends on the floating vote and not on party loyalty.

VI

Analysts of Indian elections introduced the technique of exit poll. A small questionnaire or a schedule is administered on the people coming out of the polling booths to record the statement of the respondent regarding the party he/she voted. This was named exit poll.

There are different explanations for the importance of the exit poll. When social sciences were struggling for a gainful entry within the academic sphere as a 'science' one of the criteria for granting that status was the 'predictability' of their findings. Surely, there are some phenomena in nature whose occurrence can be correctly predicted; there are others that can only be partially predicted; still others that are beyond prediction. Such unanswered phenomena were always put in the realm of the unknowable and the unknown; and were not given the status of a science. Social phenomena remained beyond the scope of a science on this criterion for long. Instead, all new sciences began with objective description of the reality and were not given the status of a predictable specialty. But psephology tried at prediction with the help of exit poll. Regarding the sample of respondents as representative, the responses were quickly tabulated and generalisations offered. Where the situation was predictable the science of elections gained credibility. Different agencies engaged in electoral analysis succeeded differently in terms of predictability of the outcome. Where they failed, they engaged in the post-mortem to identify the spots where they went wrong. Today, while predictions remain a desired goal, the government has put a ban on disclosure of the findings for fear of the outcome affecting voting behaviour of the people who were yet to cast their votes.

Another strategy that is being adopted is hypothetical. The tone of the question was suppositional: If the elections were held today whom would you vote? Technically, this is also a value loaded question, and critics have argued that disclosure of findings of such hypothetical situations does influence choice making.

Obviously, predictability has the utility for the corrective action. Prediction is needed to get alert and do the needful in time to face the occurrence. Heavy rainfall, or an incumbent dry season, drought or

affluence, if arrive suddenly, as if unannounced, disturb the routine and cause blunder. In regard to election, prediction is mainly to satiate curiosity, but the pre-poll surveys may provide the leads and alert the competing parties to take the needed corrective action to falsify the prediction. In logic, there is a hint to distinguish between 'self-fulfilling' and 'self-cancelling' prophesies.

But exit polls are different. Once the votes are polled, the result is sealed. Any prophesy based on exit poll satiates only curiosity; ofcourse, it may cause public dissension, allege irregularity, and question the very process -- for example, bad EVM machines, or corrupt officialdom.

In the initial phase of psephological research, say in India, the inability to predict the outcome perhaps discouraged scholars to do election research. When I, as a sociologist, decided to study 1967 elections, I knew my limitations both as a political analyst, and as a pundit in prediction. My study, so also several other studies, were carried out as exploratory studies of the 1967 elections – the first such year when several studies of elections were undertaken with funding support from the Planning Commission. Practitioners of Psychology, Sociology - Anthropology, Political Science, and Public Administration came together for the first time to explore this new terrain. Strangely, none of the participants was keen on poll predictions. It was almost taken for granted that there was no challenge to the One-Party Dominant System. But that election turned out to be a departure from the existing model. While Congress enlisted support for ruling the Centre from almost all the states, it got defeated in separate State Assembly elections held in tandem with the Parliamentary elections. India's political culture experienced a jolt. Since then, the scholarship suddenly shifted towards the election outcome – as the Congress victory no longer remained 'given'. The interest in outcome of elections became a new concern. The science of psephology changed its focus from electioneering to election outcome. That gave rise to election pundits and entry of market research in psephological studies. Today there are many agencies that undertake voting research to make poll predictions and enter the race for supremacy in election predictions.

With the breakdown of one-party dominant system in 1967, interest grew in poll predictions. From the analysis of political process, relative to election, political analysts moved to making predictions, adopting the culture of market research. As a consequence, techniques related to exit polls came to the fore, and research on elections became part of market research. Today, there are several agencies engaged in such research and are vying

with each other in making 'accurate' poll predictions. Sometimes a given agency succeeds or fails. Moreover, the political parties also employ manoeuvering tactics to make false assertions in the hope of building up a favourite vote bank.

It must, however, be admitted that making prophesies is not the forte of social sciences. In the previous years, predictions have taken central position in psephological research. But that is marketing in which different agencies conducting voting research vie with each other to make predictions. Those whose predictions somehow come out to be closer to the outcome take credit and re-enter the market to engage in such research in future.

VII

It is important to emphasise that the strength of the social sciences lies in collecting empirical data and in objectively processing them. Post-factum analysis of what worked, and what went wrong in the employment of different strategies, is certainly the special terrain for the social scientist.

The nation is currently engaged in the process of selecting people for the various state assemblies that are preparing for the polls. And the environment is charged with all kind of predictions. Obviously, the contending parties are vying with each other in getting the majority support and are hilariously asserting their impending victory. On the other, market agencies who earn their butter through poll predictions are carrying out all types of exercises – mostly sample surveys – to assess the mood of the electorate at the different phases of the electoral process. We now know that in the case of Gujarat exit polls were secretively conducted.

The fact is that predictions are a matter of chance. In the Gujarat case, the situation was peculiar. This state has been ruled for more than two decades by BJP. Thus, it has given enough material to the opposition to enlist the shortcomings, and to highlight the incumbency factor. But the party was elevated to be the ruling party of the country and the former Chief Minister now adorns the national throne. It is important for the party to win the home state of the Prime Minister. At the same time, the State has seen the regime of two Chief Ministers of the ruling party and obviously the charisma of these CMs is not exactly comparable to that of the Prime Minister. But this being the state of the PM, it is evident that it must have received full support of the Prime Minister in running the affairs. And its agenda could not have been different than that of the Centre. It is, therefore, important that the State gives verdict in favour of the BJP. It was also obvious that the opposition party – Congress – had nothing positive to show in terms of the

development of the Gujarat state in the past; and being handicapped by not being in the power at the Centre, its promises can turn out to be hollow. People realised that it would be in the interest of the State to support BJP while expressing its dissatisfaction over some past policies that did not perhaps favour the interest of the state.

The word VIKAS that assumed such significance is a term that cannot be voted against. Congress party cannot find a suitable argument against the development initiatives. While the BJP candidates that were in race for Chief Ministership were not as charismatic as their mentor, but their loyalty was unquestionable. As against this, Congress did not have a leader to compete. The candidature of Ahmed Patel was no serious threat. He is not a crowd catcher – his 'Patel' legacy notwithstanding. And Hardik Patel was not yet ready.

VIII

Since the country is engaged in state level elections – after Gujarat and Himachal Pradesh, now the states of the North-east, and then Rajasthan and Karnataka—interest is shown in the likely victor. The General Elections for the Lok Sabha in 2019 have also encouraged people to assess the prospects of BJP and the Congress. And the environment is charged with all kind of predictions. Obviously, the contending parties are vying with each other in getting the majority support and are hilariously asserting their impending victory. On the other, market agencies who earn their butter through poll predictions are carrying out all types of exercises – mostly sample surveys – to assess the mood of the electorate at the different phases of the electoral process, and are also making exit polls secretively as the official policy demands. Obviously, there are differing data and different predictions; the agencies whose predictions would come closer to the final outcome will certainly boast of their quality research. Those who would fall short of numbers will concoct their own explanations.

The fact is that predictions are a matter of chance. In the Gujarat case, the situation was peculiar. This state had been ruled for more than two decades by BJP, and it was hoped that the opposition had collected enough material to blame the present regime for all the shortcomings. The Patel movement brought in the caste factor, and in addition, the incumbency factor was highlighted. Granted that the charisma of the two Chief Ministers of the ruling party was not exactly comparable to that of the Prime Minister, the state electorate found merit in supporting BJP rather than being on the side of a dwindling Congress Party. Of course, the articulate voters took

advantage of the situation in conveying their grievances, but not at the cost of losing central patronage. It is also obvious that the opposition party – Congress – has nothing positive to show in terms of the development of the Gujarat state in the past; and being handicapped by not being in the power at the Centre, its promises appeared to be hollow. The business community of Gujarat weighed all the points and put back BJP to the throne. The little loss of vote affected the support structure of the individual constituencies, but decided to give BJP a chance once more.

In these circumstances, there seems to be no other alternative. Only a miracle can change this scenario.

Performance Contracting: Enhancing Employee Performance in Goa Shipyard Ltd.

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The competitive global economy has created awareness and need for the governments across the world to adopt various mechanisms to enhance the productivity and transparency of the public sector. The Government of India has also introduced various New Public Administration concepts such as 'performance contracting' to increase the effectiveness of the public sector. This article looks at the performance contracting process and its applicability in enhancing the employee productivity in India. The employee performance is also analysed with the chosen public sectors namely Goa Shipyard Limited. The study also looks at the correlation of clarity in goal setting and its impact on employee performance.

Introduction

With the dawn of independence, the Indian economy was plagued by several problems. Its industrial base was destroyed by an exploitative colonial rule[1] (Bagchi, 2014; Bairoch, 1982; Clingingsmith and Williamson, 2004). Agriculture productivity was low and partition deprived it of crucial food growing areas. Standards of living and per capita income was low, along with unemployment and poverty being very high. The financial

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institutions were limited and there was high degree of inequality in wealth and income.

Development economists like Rodan (1943) theorised that for an economy to break out of this condition and industrialise, a 'big push' to industrialisation and simultaneous investment in several industries was needed. It was obvious that the state would have to play a dominant role at least in the initial stages. An important ideological factor that influenced the role of the state and public sector in the Indian economy was the Indian National Congress's commitment to 'socialism'. The setting up of the Planning Commission[2], the commencement of the five year plans with a specific setting of targets for the public sector were all indicators of the same.

The 1956 Industrial Policy Resolution (IPR) was the first document to outlay a comprehensive approach to the industrial development of India. Also known as the 'economic constitution of India', it concluded that the public sector had to play a larger role to achieve the goals set forth in the Preamble and the Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSP)[3]. To achieve a socialist pattern of society and rapid development, all basic and strategic industries, public utility services and, those industries in which large scale investment was required were to be the exclusive domain of the public sector.

This essentially meant that the Public Sector would encompass a broad range of industries. This was partly due to the fact that private sector was limited in its capacities and initiatives to undertake sufficient investments in capital intensive sectors. This inability to make large capital investments was also due to an underdeveloped capital markets and banking system. The public sector role was all the more important in those areas where the private sector would have undersupplied due to market failures such as 'monopoly' or 'public goods' nature of a product/service. Public utilities were an important area for public sector. By and large the Public Sector Enterprises (PSE's) in India were expected to play an important role in achieving rapid economic growth, industrialisation and development, generation of employment opportunities, balanced regional development, promote growth of ancillary and small industries, promote exports and import substitution and also contribute to the exchequer.

During the 1980's, particularly during the latter half under Rajiv Gandhi's Prime Ministership, India witnessed a halfhearted attempt at liberalisation. In the industrial sector several industries were delicensed, MRTP restrictions on larger firms were relaxed. Price and distribution controls on manufactures such as cement and aluminium were removed[4].

Attempts were being made to unshackle the private sector which was now seen as ready and no longer 'infants'. Simultaneously the government was attempting to give the PSE's greater functional autonomy to improve their efficiency as commercial enterprises. PSE's were governed by a numerous dated regulations and normal business decisions needed government approvals creating delays[5].

Several studies had begun to question the performance of the PSE's in India. From providing a 'big push' to the economy they had transited to becoming a 'big drag' (Trivedi, 1986), internal resources which were supposed to finance at least two-thirds of CPSE's investment barely crossed 40 per cent up to the 7th plan and return on capital was around 3.7 per cent in 1985-86 with three-fourths of the profits coming from the Oil CPSE's (Gupta, 1988). CPSU's started making profits only after 1981-82. Many were incurring losses. The top 10 loss making firms out of 102 contributed to 56.4 per cent of the total losses (Agarwal and Agarwal, 1994). At the state level the situation was worse as 514 of the 843 enterprises had accumulated substantial losses with state transport enterprises and power generation and distribution enterprises emerging as the biggest culprits (Tummala, 1994).

Yet, the assessment of PSE's has to be made not just from their profitability but from their contribution to socio-economic objectives of planning. They played a large role in creating an industrial base. In 1990-91 CPSE's had generated internal resources to the tune of Rs.183.5 billion, contributed 194.7 billion by way of tax revenue, Rs.70.9 billion in exports and a further Rs.3.2 billion by way of dividends (Tummala, 1994). They were the only or most significant producers in several crucial sectors like petroleum, copper, lead and lignite (100 per cent), coal (92.2 per cent), zinc (97.8 per cent), steel ingot (59 per cent) and nitrogenous fertilisers (41 per cent) (Tummala, 1994). Collectively they employed 2.3 million people in 1990-91 (Tummala, 1994). To some extent they helped India achieve self-reliance in crucial technology and also achieve import substitution in the area of pharmaceuticals (Hindustan Antibiotics Ltd), petroleum products (Oil and Natural Gas Commission – ONGC), heavy machinery (BHEL Ltd.) and defence related products (Bharat Electronics Ltd) (Gupta, 1994). The share of PSE's in the Net Domestic Product was 14.9 per cent in 1990-91 (Central statistical Organisation, 2007).

To address the problems of the CPSE's a Committee (1984) was constituted under the chairmanship of Arjun Sengupta. This Committee called for striking a balance between autonomy and accountability to the government and other stakeholders. It recommended 'operational

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autonomy' for better investment decisions and managerial practices. The Committee recommended 'Memorandum of Understanding' (MoU) system to provide for an organisational structure which spelled out the areas of government intervention, without compromising on its right to information, for evaluating performance.[6]

The Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) is a negotiated agreement covering certain predefined objectives/goals to be met by the Central Public Sector Enterprises (CPSEs) and the government. The 'management' of the enterprise is made accountable to the government through this 'performance contract'. Performance evaluation is done based on the comparison between the actual achievements and the annual goals agreed upon between the government and the CPSE. The goals/targets constitute both financial and non-financial parameters with different weights assigned to each.

Goal setting is important for an organisation as it helps in providing clarity towards the goals which the organisation should look at and also helps in formulation of appropriate strategies. It can also help in motivating employees to perform better as the targets are clear and the performance is quantified. The setting of goals is arguably one of the most important aspects of defining performance within an organisation as it assists the organisation to move towards results and a service oriented culture. Each level in the organisation becomes responsible for setting its goals which are simultaneously in sync with the larger vision of the organisation. These goals should clearly define the performance expected and should also give direction concerning what needs to be achieved. Public sectors are increasingly adopting a performance management system that includes goal setting, coaching and the evaluation of an employee on goal attainment. The goal setting theory is just as relevant for motivating public sector employees as it is for the private sector.

The Harvard University Executive Session on Public Sector Performance Management (2001) outlines traits that constitute an effective performance management system such as: outcome focused goals, clear identification of responsibilities, few and simple but strategic goals, challenging but realistic targets, frequently updated fact based and easily accessible performance data[7]. A survey of literature on performance points out the lack of discussion related worker motivation in PSE's (Wright, 2001). This study re-emphasises 'goal content' (specificity and difficulty of goals) as important motivational factors. Motivated employees are found to be more self-driven and more autonomy oriented. However, the specificity of a goal

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for motivating as well as evaluating the employee effectiveness is much easier to define and quantify with a private sector employee than with the employees in a government enterprise.

The main objective of any performance management system (PMS) is to clarify and align broader organisational, departmental, team and individual efforts and expectations at achieving the organisation's strategic goals. Consequently, Organisations need to find out various strategies for identifying, encouraging, measuring, evaluating and motivating employees at work as employee's performance plays the most important role for organisational performance. While there are various models of performance management, the main purpose of the PMS is to ensure that the employee's performance is aligned to the organisations operational and strategic goals (mission and vision of the organisation). The quality of work is evaluated through the PMS and information on performance is passed on to the employees. Poor performance needs to be addressed and good performance has to be rewarded.

The first stage of PMS is setting goals by planning. At this stage, PSE's need to set goals and clarify individual responsibility and duty. When employees are a part of the goal setting activity and goals have clarity, they are motivated. Each phase within the performance management system is influencing the employee performance and the starting point is setting up an accurate goal. This brings awareness to employees on the organisation mission and vision which in turn improves employee's initiatives and commitment to the job.

Performance review provides the feedback to employees, which could reflect upon the problems and also bring in solutions to the employees. In the PMS, training and development plays a vital role and communication during the evaluation should be documented so that Human Resources Department can take care of the training and development needs. Continuous communication and coaching between the employees and managers not only solve problems faced by employees but also create good leadership practices within the organisation. Coaching sessions within the organisation helps employees equip themselves with better knowledge and skills and also there is development of team work. Collecting feedback from the employees also helps to understand the organisations support and transparency which the employees perceive. This can lead to further development from the organisations end.

This case study analysed the Goa Shipyard Ltd (GSYL). It belongs to the defence sector of Government of India and the study examines how

performance contracting (MoU) has brought clarity in goal setting and measurement of performance in the PSE.

Goa Ship Yard Limited

Keen on developing an indigenous capability to build warships, independent India chose Goa by starting, initially, a small shipyard called 'Estaleiros Navais de Goa' in 1947.[8] This was later renamed as Goa Shipyard Limited (September 17, 1967) and is today country's premier defence shipbuilding hub on the western coast.[9] GSYL operates under the administrative control of Ministry of Defence, Department of Defence Production and Supplies, Government of India, as a central public sector undertaking.[10]

Today Goa Shipyard Limited (GSYL) serves the country's naval defence sector and also builds vessels for the private sector. While developing its ship building activities it has also diversified into various other products such as training simulators for the Indian Navy and Oil and Natural Gas Corporation[11], Interceptor boats for Coastal State Police[12] damage control simulator for the Indian Navy[13], a sea training facility for ONGC personnel[14] and a shore based training facility to train air force pilots[15]. GSYL also caters to international clients like the Government of Iran, Government of Yemen, Government of Mozambique and the Royal Navy of Oman[16] with a significant portion of its turnover coming from these external sources.[17] After a sharp fall in Gross revenue and PAT, it has registered a good turnaround in the last few years.

During this study, a questionnaire was administered to the officers of different departments of Goa Shipyard. As per the HR policies of GSYL on performance management the key result area of each executive is identified by appraisal in an open discussion. The performance appraisal happens once in six months and the achievements and areas of development are discussed. GSYL follows the management by objective based performance system. The performance management of the entire organisation is driven by the MoU signed with the Defence Ministry.

The MoU score is an important parameter to understand the performance of the organisation. The MoU parameters are the goals which the organisation sets for itself for the particular financial year. In order to understand the goals of GSYL and the way performance is looked at, respondents from various departments were chosen to capture the flavour of overall perceptions.

As per the parameters laid down in the MoU for the year 2014-2015, GSYL has scored an `excellent` rating after achieving `good` for three years. Though this is a definite movement forward, GSYL has several areas of improvement.

Table 1
MoU Score for Goa Shipyard

Year	Score	Rating
2011-2012	2.72	Good
2012-2013	3.33	Good
2013-2014	3.16	Good
2014-2015	4.32	Fair
2015-2016	1.32	Excellent

Source: Department of MoU – Public enterprises

Research Data and Analysis of Goa Shipyard Limited

Awareness, Perception of Value Addition, Role Clarity, Productivity, Correlation of Value Addition and Productivity

Respondents were asked about the awareness of goal setting mechanism at GSYL and seven of every 10 employees are aware of the goal setting while the remaining three of every 10 are not aware of the goal setting process. Awareness of goals leads to understanding the various value added factors such as clarity of role, effective use of resources, less usage of labour, motivation to work better, better understanding of the performance evaluation mechanism. All these in turn increase the productivity of the organisation. There is strong evidence, indicated by the Wood and Locke theory of 1990, which indicates that job performance increases due to goal setting as they have an important economic and practical value. So the basis on which the role of goals as determinants of performance in the organisational behaviour as proposed by Locke (1968) and also a core component of work motivation, GSYL has to strive to make all its employees aware of the goal setting mechanism. This also brings us to the critical understanding of the employees at GSYL pertaining to the value addition of goal setting. While over three fourths (combination of the agree (51 per cent) and strongly agree (23 per cent) scores) understand that goal setting can provide value addition, the remaining are unaware of the value addition. The situation is more like 'do your best' based on the tasks rather than task specific directed goals. GSYL employees have opined that goal setting exercise has brought in these value additions - decrease in labour (one thirds), clarity of role (close to two of every 10), better use of resources (close

to two of every 10) and better performance evaluation (less than one of every ten), while (nearly one fourth) believe that all the earlier said parameters can be considered. There are two things, which drew the researcher's attention - clarity in role and better performance evaluation. Specific goals have long-term performance impact. To perform one needs to know the goals clearly (role clarity). Once employees perform they are interested to know the feedback through evaluation mechanism. Productivity Measurement and Enhancement System (ProMES), which contains the goal setting components, include measurement and feedback system as well. At GSYL the performance evaluation form exists as per the guidelines provided by the Department of Heavy Industries and is also applied every year. Research has proven that ProMES emphasis on productivity measurement and improvement as long term processes with proper performance measurement mechanisms and feedback. While GSYL has adopted all the government directed procedures as performance management mechanism. The task ahead is to make all employees understand the impact of their contribution by actively engaging each one and making them aware of the importance of getting involved in the goal setting exercise.

Table 2
Awareness about Goal Setting Mechanism

GSYL	Per Cent of Awareness	Per Cent of Non-awareness		
Awarenss about Goal Setting Mechanism	70	30		
Value Addition due to Goal Setting Exercise	**Per Cent Agreeing**	**Per Cent Strongly Agreeing**	**Per Cent Undecided**	
	51	23	26	
Type of value addition that goal setting achieves	**Opinion in per cent**			
Effective use of resources	18			
Clarity of role	18			
Decrease of labour	33			
In better per formance evaluation	8			
Effective use of resources and clarity in role	13			
Effective use of resources and better performance evaluation	5			
Effective ue of resources, clarity in role and better performance evaluation	5			
Increase in Productivity (organisation) in the organisation	**Strongly Agree**	**Agree**	**Undecided**	**No Opinion**
	34	26	35	5

Source: Data derived from survey analysis

Goal Difficulty, Performance Impact, Employee Reasons for Non-achievement of Goals, (The Persistence, Priority)

When the respondents were asked about the difficulty of goals set in their respective departments eight of every 10 respondents (13 per cent strongly agreed and 69 per cent agreed) said that the goals set are difficult and it also affected their performance. The goal difficulty may be on account of several reasons. Improper communication of goal setting with the incumbents could make it difficult for the incumbent to perform. This is also reflected in the response to earlier questionnaire also wherein many respondents had very limited knowledge of the entire goal setting and performance management activity. Several studies mention that jointly determined goals, also decide the goal difficulty choices, which in turn has a huge impact on the attitude and performance of employees. Consistent findings have shown that when the difficulty levels of the goals are low, people tend to achieve them. However, the motivation and energy levels going forward typically appear low. Whereas difficult goals though generally create a desire to achieve by those who want to achieve.

Nothing breeds succeeds like success. Conversely, nothing causes feelings of despair like perpetual failure. A primary purpose of goal setting is to increase the motivation level of the individual. But goal setting can have precisely the opposite effect if it produces a yardstick that constantly makes the individual feel inadequate. Consequently, the supervisor must be on the lookout for unrealistic goals and be prepared to change them when necessary.

Table 3
Goal Difficulty and Non-Achievement of Goals

GSYL	Per Cent Agreeing	Per Cent Strongly Agreeing	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Difficult goals	13	69	13	3	2
Difficult goals affecting the performance	53	34	10	3	0
Respondents experiencing setback in goals	30	25	19	13	13
Stretch goals	57	0	3	40	0
Specific goals	68	0	0	0	0
Multiple goals	32	0	0	0	0
Goal conflicts	13	37	37	7	6
Prioritisation of goals	25	30	28	13	4
Reasons for experiencing setback in goals					
Complex goals	Goals require hard thinking	No strategy	No proper working condition	Complex goals, no strategy, no proper working conditions	No response
16	21	29	27	0	7

Source: Data derived from survey analysis

Looking at the high percentage of respondents mentioning that they experience setback while performing, it appears that GSYL needs to continuously enhance the skills of its employees through regular training, feedback and other HR interventions. Two major reasons which the respondents have mentioned are lack of strategy and need for better working conditions. While the concept of stretch goals is not widespread at GSLY, few of them are asked to do multiple activities which the respondents have taken as stretch goals. And as a result of multiple goals, without prioritisation, it often leads to goal conflicts. It is interesting to note that while half of the respondents agree that there are goal conflicts, a little over one thirds are undecided and one of every 10 do not agree. While in today's world multiple goals are common a proper prioritisation approach will improve the difficulty levels to employees at GSLY.

Organisational Support, Seriousness on Goal Efficiency and Transparency

When the respondents were asked whether the organisation provides support in terms of time, money, equipment, feedback, co-workers etc., to achieve their goal, little less than half (addition of strongly agree and agree) were positive. The rest were not happy or undecided and suggested that the goal setting and evaluation process needs to improve strongly. Many respondents linked the evaluation to promotion and pay progression. While the human resource theories provide a framework, to explain, predict and influence behaviours, it's at the discretion of the management of any organisation to use it. Unless the implementation of goal setting and performance management activity happens properly, (though it's mandatory as per the direction of Government of India for public sectors) the core values of the process does not get reflected. Pertaining to the transparent evaluation of the goals, the respondent's answers are ambiguous as the opinions fall into different categories. While four of every 10 respondents (10 per cent + 32 per cent) feel there is transparency while evaluating goals, two of every 10 are undecided and a little over one fourth (16 per cent+10 per cent) do not agree. Transparency of evaluation can be improved with regular feedback. Two important variables in the performance management process is the feedback and setting goals based on the feedback. Goal setting then becomes a mediating variable, and explains the effectiveness of the feedback for improvisation of goals by the employees.

The performance of the employee can improve or deteriorate based on the employee's interest to act upon the feedback. As outlined in the goal setting theory, feedback moderates the goal-performance relationship.

Without a proper feedback it becomes difficult for the employees to relate themselves to the larger organisational strategy apart from achieving their goals (Locke and Latham, 2002).

Table 4
Organisational Support on Goal Efficiency

GSYL	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Organisational support in terms of resources	13	35	5	40	7
Efficient goal setting process	32	49	8	8	3
Transparent evaluation of goals	10	32	32	16	10
Work life balance	34	45	8	10	3
Non Achievement of Goals	**Warning letter**	**Letter into Confidentiality Report**	**Feedback by Reporing Manager**	**No Action**	
	16	35	49	-	

Source: Data derived from survey analysis

Among the different strategies adopted to make employees attain goals at GSYL, one-sixth of the respondents mentioned the use of warning letters upon non-achievement of goals, another one third mentioned that a letter gets into their confidentiality report which in turn will impact their promotion and increment, and close to half mentioned that feedback is provided. Going forward, feedback as a tool could increasingly be adopted at GSYL in order to make employees motivated and attain their goals. Most people feel that there is work life balance at GSYL and close to eight of every 10 (34 per cent strongly agreed and 45 per cent agreed) responded to this positively, with the two of every 10 disagreeing (3 per cent strongly disagree and 10 per cent disagree) or undecided. It is clear that there is a scope for GSYL to improvise further to enhance the work life balance.

Leadership/Reporting Managers Role in Employee Performance and Effectiveness

At GSYL when the respondents were asked whether they feel empowered while implementing their goals, close to half (11 per cent + 37 per cent) responded positively. A little over one fourth remained undecided and two of every 10 answered in the negative (8 per cent + 14 per cent). The communication of proper goal setting in the organisation brings in a lot of value addition and hence this should be continuously done.

Table 5
Employee Performance and Effectiveness

GSYL	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	No Response
Empowerement at implementation of goals	11	37	27	8	14	3
Goal setting leads to value addition in the organisation	12	10	21	14	11	32
Performance feedback increases productivity	24	29	26	7	9	5
Supervisor provides both positive and negative feedback	32	30	16	12	7	3
Goals analysis during the performance evaluation	**As per the KRA's discussed in the beginning of the year**	**Discussed during evaluation**	**Ratings keep varying and discussion does not happen**			
	56	32	23			
Performance feedback mechanism	**Not given directly to reportee**	**Given directly to reportee**	**Some are given directly to reportee**	**Some are written in confidentiality report**	**Not aware**	
	34	32	18	13	3	

Source: Data derived from survey analysis

Feedback is information, which indicates the performer whether he or she is performing well and thereby guide them the way to approach their goals. At GSYL one third (24 per cent + 29 per cent) have responded that feedback is good and given consistently, while two of every 10 (12 per cent + 7 per cent) responded that feedback was not given. The consistency in providing feedback and the process of providing feedback needs to improve at GSYL. While there are various mechanisms for providing feedback, the GSYL approach is seen in the three way split in the response: one thirds of the respondents have mentioned that it is not provided directly to them, a little less than one third mention that it is given directly to them, while another three of every 10 say that it is given directly to the respondents while some are written in the confidentiality report. The transparency can be further improved in terms of providing feedback and can be more consistent so that the performer is stimulated to set subsequent goals to improve their performance. The goals which are discussed during the evaluation are as per the goal set in the beginning of the year according to close to half of the

respondents. Another one third have mentioned that during the evaluation goals are discussed and close to one fourth mention that discussion keeps happening and ratings are not finalised.

Motivation and Employee Performance

A motivated employee performs well and there are various factors, which leads to motivation. Goal setting theory states that setting the goal itself is a primary motivational aspect. At GSYL over two thirds (24 per cent + 44 per cent) are motivated to achieve the goals. While a little less than one sixth have not responded and another one-sixth (10 per cent + 7 per cent) have no motivation to achieve the goals. This again brings one to the question, 'are goals set properly'? The goal setting theory has provided more scientific validity than any other theories on motivation towards work approach and goal setting hold more promise as a motivational tool for managers than any other approach. Other motivators to achieve goals are increment, promotion and self-learning. At GSYL close to three of every 10 (10 per cent + 19 per cent) are motivated to achieve the goals due to increment, four of every 10 are motivated to achieve goals due to promotion aspects, while learning goals have by and large motivated employees at GSYL. Conferences and training have been the motivational factor for half (30 per cent + 21 per cent) of the respondents. Goal feedbacks are also critical determinants for ongoing motivation at the work place. Pertaining to the various conceptualisations such as commitment, enthusiasm and attitude to face challenges, the responses have been positive among half of the respondents. This gives good scope at GSYL, to bring in attractiveness and expectancy model (Hollenbeck and Klein framework) into action. In that model; there is a combination of two forces - motivational force along with attractiveness and expectancy force. These serve as focal point towards goal commitment. Further research on how to improvise the goal setting mechanism along with increased employee commitment can also be undertaken.

Table 6
Motivation and Employee Performance

GSY	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	No Response
Motivated to achieve goals	24	44	-	10	7	15
Goal achievement leads to increment	10	19	4	28	20	19
Goal achievement leads to promotion	15	24	21	22	13	5
Most days I am enthusiastic about work	21	43	-	28	6	2
Try to achieve goals irrespective of obstacles	20	34	11	7	9	19
I overcome challenges successfully	12	34	14	10	8	22
I am strongly committed to pursue the set goals	18	39	10	6	-	27
I am motivated by these factors	**Rewards**	**Appreciation Letters**	**Conferences**	**Training**	**No Response**	
	15	24	30	21	10	

Source: Data derived from survey analysis

Summary

GSYL has undoubtedly achieved excellent results for the year 2014-2015 by turning around the steep losses it had in the year 2013-14. Several factors have contributed to the success. But ship building is a volatile industry and has to be a part of the global changes. It is also a labour intensive industry and fulfilling the requirement of skilled and un-skilled labour force is a challenging task. The study would like to bring in a strength, weakness, opportunities, and threat (SWOT) analysis of GSYL based on the analysis of the study.

Strengths

There should be a comprehensive ship building policy, with partnerships between various ship building industries to improve the research and technology as ship building is a highly globalised and technical activity. GSYL has proven to be one of the best shipyards in India and close to six of every 10 respondents also feel that with better utilisation of resources this strength could be further leveraged.

GSYL has highly skilled work force and a good management team adaptable to changing times. GSYL has maintained good industrial relations.

For the last decade (2005 – 2016) there have been no union strikes and this is a positive sign of healthy relationships, which in turn improves the productivity of the organisation. This is also proven in the study as eight of every 10 respondents agree to a good work life balance.

Weakness

Some of the policies which guide GSYL need to change. Uneven play with private sector due to large restrictions being subjected to Article 11 of the Constitution and government companies. Implementation of the MoU can happen with proper goal setting mechanism and this needs to be strengthened. Transparency of goals is also required while appraising the employees.

Opportunities

GSYL has a technically sound and loyal team. National and international requirements are fulfilled by the respective teams. The MoU by the GoI is a huge opportunity to implement a good policy of goal setting and performance management. Three fourths of the respondents have mentioned that there is good work life balance at GSYL.

Threats

Increased competition from the private sector both in the ship building market and manpower market is a major threat. The SWOT analysis brings out a clear picture of the various challenges and opportunities, which GSYL is facing. GSYL for the year 2014 – 2015 has a turnaround story over a loss-making year 2012-2013. 2015-2016 has also been an excellent success story. GSYL with its consistent efforts made in research and development on vessel platforms, the company has been recognised as an in-house research and development unit of Government of India, Ministry of Science and Industrial Research Department of Scientific and Industrial Research. Apart from the various strategies and reinventions it will be a great makeover for the motivation and challenges which the team will accept if the MoU signed with the GoI is implemented to the last employee of GSYL through proper goal setting mechanism.

Conclusion

Most of the PSE's in the India came into existence due to the various reasons India faced in post-independence. The improvement in PSE's has been a long process. Apart from the financial autonomy given to the PSE's,

the MoU served as a major initiative from the government to empower and enhance the performance of PSE's.

GSYL, was consciously designed and developed to enhance the indigenous capability of ship building. GSYL does its research and development in-house and has been able to design various vessels for domestic and international clients along with repair, construction and modernisation of vessels. Over the last 10 years, GSYL has shown progress in its approach in technological know-how with innovative and user friendly designs. It has been given the status of a Miniratna and has achieved the rating 'excellent' in the year 2015-2016. GSYL is capable of making indigenous high technology ships for Indian defence but also can exports massively (to the tune of 1050 crore) to external parties.[18] But ship building being a volatile industry, GSYL has to sustain its strategic decisions and has to have good collaborations. Being a labour intensive industry GSYL not only has to retain its existing staff but also to find innovative ways to attract the new staff. It has to adopt better HR practices to retain the existing talent and also to attract the new ones. The Governing Board has a greater role to play in bringing the implementation of various goals which are set. Profitability as mentioned in the MoU itself should not be the only criteria to measure the success of the organisation. The Board should be able to monitor the functioning of the firm by being more proactive in analysing the quarterly and half yearly performance.

The objectives/goals agreed in the MoU should be publicised to the entire organisation. This will help all the employees to sensitise the mission of the organisation very clearly.

While the response of staff at GSYL was lesser apart from they being educated on the terms of MoU and the goal setting process. Higher the understanding of goals which are set for the year, better will be the understanding of the work profile with higher performance. While the process of MoU signing is similar with the Defence Ministry and all the PSU's, the internalisation needs to be achieved robustly at GSYL.

The goal difficulty levels are also mentioned as higher in GSYL. This may also be due to the improper communication to the incumbents on the goal setting approach. The resources provided at various levels to achieve their targets should be given judiciously after understanding the requirement by formal and informal meetings. The Managing Director should involve all departmental entities while arriving at the targets and also understand the resource requirement. The survey also reflected that while many know their daily task, organisational targets for the year were largely

unknown. If the departmental heads are involved in target setting, they in turn can brief their teams.

Though the motivation and interest towards achievement of goals is low (which is again reflected in the survey) this can be attributed to the poor knowledge of the yearly focused approach as also the lack of succession planning at GSYL. Identifying the next level managers for higher responsibilities brings in enthusiasm and instils motivation. One more mechanism to enhance motivation is to bring in the mechanism of rewards and recognition at GSYL. Presently GSYL has rewards and recognition which is more from organisational achievement perspective. The departments and entities should be covered in the designing of the rewards and recognition programme which can be announced during the Annual General Meeting.

The work life balance response from the respondents at GSYL have given a higher rating. This is a positive approach and this should be continued. GSYL should look at partnering with others who can bring greater value addition towards its growth by innovating new, technology driven products.

Overall the MoU (performance contract) has brought in a new sense of urge in all CPSE's to perform. Internalisation of this effectively will take a long way. Since all CPSE's are signing the MoU, the spirit of the MoU should be understood in the right sense. The performance of the CPSE's are measured through the various parameters defined in the MoU and in order to increase the productivity acclimatisation of the same within the firm is required.

Most of the CPSE's who have familiarised with the objectives of MoU have brought in clarity of objectives and are accountable for the actions undertaken. Based on the performance, the financial autonomy is also gained. It's a privilege to move from a Miniratna to a Maharatna and further as Navaratna and CPSE's strive to achieve that. The effective way in doing this is by achieving the parameters described in the MoU's as these CPSEs are the strategically important sectors of India.

The performance contracting has also come a long way and their evolution has brought in various mechanisms of performance evaluation to make PSE's perform better. The spirit of the performance contracts should be well captured by GSYL and it should move to the next level – Maharatna by not just focusing on the financial achievement, growth, investment or infrastructure but should aim at building a high performing team with best HR practices.

Notes

1. Many historians attribute the de-industrialization in India during the 19 century to the colonial rule. For instance Amiya Bagchi in his study finds a decline in the percentage of labour force in the industrial sector from 18 per cent to 18 per cent and also a fall in the number of cotton spinners and weavers between the early 19th century and 1901. Bagchi, Amiya (2014) 'Deindustrialization in Gangetic Bihar 1809-1901' in Sumit Sarkar (ed) Modern India 1855-1947 Pearson , Delhi, p.25

   Bairoch, an economic historian, notes that India's share of world manufacturing output had steadily declined to 8.6 per cent (1860) from 19.7 (1800) .Further by 1913 it had dropped to 1.4 per cent. Paul Bairoch,(1982): "International Industrialization Levels from 1750 to 1980", Journal of European Economic History 11 269-333.

   Others like Clingingsmith and Williamson counter that the although India did experience de-industrialization during the 18th and early 19th centuries the reason was that between 1750-1810 , the decline of the Mughal empire affected productivity in the agricultural sector which drove up food grain prices leading to an increase in nominal wages in the textile sector. This affected the competitiveness of the textile sector in the International market. He goes on to add that between 1810-60 Indian agricultural productivity picked up and relative prices of agriculture with respect to textile imports improved as factory production of textiles (improved productivity) and drove down prices. Clingingsmith, David. and Jeffrey G Williamson (2004) 'India's De-Industrialization under British Rule: New Ideas, New Evidence' NBER Working Paper No. 10586: 20-21.

2. The Planning Commission has acquired a new avatar under the present Bharatiya Janata Party. As on January 1st, 2015 it has been renamed as National Institution for Transforming India (NITI) Aayog. See http://niti.gov.in/content/

   The NITI Aayog is meant to be more of an advisory body with far less powers to allocate funds between ministries and states as compared to the Planning Commission. States are envisaged to have a bigger role. See Planning Commission, "Government establishes NITI Aayog", Press Release, accessed November 26, 2015 http://planningcommission.gov.in/press-release.pdf

3. Part IV of the Constitution of India contains the Directive Principles of State Policy. Articles 36 to 51 constitute the DPSP. These Articles were meant to be guiding principles for the state. The state was to achieve the objectives set forth over a period of time.

4. https://www.imf.org/external/np/apd/seminars/2003/newdelhi/pana.pdf, January 4, 2016.

5. http://planningcommission.nic.in/reports/articles/msalu/index.php?repts=ier.htm January 4, 2016.

6. www.dpemou.nic.in/MOUFiles/External%20Evaluation%20of%20the%20MoU%20S January 10, 2016.

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Remembering Teachers: Finding Key Elements to Understand the Idea of a 'Good Teacher'

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In this paper 'Understanding the idea of a Good Teacher', it is analysed that how people remembers their teachers; what all aspects of a teacher's life are deemed significant. Obituaries are one such source of remembrance which provide a meaningful glance into a person's life. Written after a person's death, these are mainly positive notes rather than a critique on their lives. Affirmative instances and characteristics are deliberately chosen from deceased's life to be shared with the larger audience. A close analysis of obituary of teachers may provide a glimpse into both, the admired aspects of teacher's life and, in choosing those aspects, the author's perspective on what is desirable in a teacher. In the analysis of 15 obituaries of teachers presented below, this is an attempt to discern such elements and issues which will augment our understanding of the idea of a good teacher.

The present analysis is part of my ongoing work on 'Understanding the Idea of a Good Teacher'. As part of my research design, I am interested to understand how people remember their teachers; what all aspects of a teacher are noticed, admired and recollected in one's memory to be shared when one is asked to do so. The assumption behind this inquisitiveness is

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that there are significant characteristics and concerns in such memories of a teacher's life which, if discerned carefully, can provide essential elements to understand the idea of a good teacher. It was during the search of such remembrances that I came across an obituary of a teacher written by his student and found it significantly insightful. I could find more than a dozen obituaries and decided to use them as one of the data sources in my research. Since an obituary is written after the person's death, it is mainly a positive note on a person rather than a critique. The writers deliberately choose instances and characteristics from the deceased's life which they find affirmative. This provides a glimpse into both, the admired aspects of the teacher's life and in choosing those aspects, the author's perceptive on the idea of a 'good teacher'. I looked at around 15 obituaries of College and University teachers published in Economic and Political Weekly between 1990- 2014. This includes teachers of political science (01), sociology (02), history (02), economics (07), education (01), rural studies (01) and law (01).

Out of the 15 obituaries chosen for analysis, nine were written by their own students (Deshpande, 2011; Mukherjee, 1998; Bagchi, 2010; Duggal, 2014; Kumar, 2010; Chakraborty & Chakraborty, 2002; Dasgupta, 2007; Baxi, 2006; Sastry, 1994). Other five were either written by a colleague, friend or another eminent scholar in the discipline (Mazumdar, 1999; RoyChowdury, 2007; Nayyar, 2005; Rath et al, 2003; Kumar, 1999). One was written by the deceased's own teacher (Dhanagare, 2013). While all of them provided interesting features to be analysed, those written by colleague, friend or another eminent scholar in the discipline emphasised on their scholarly work and ideological position whereas the ones written by their own students discussed a great deal about their classroom interactions and various aspects of student-teacher relationship.

The content of these obituaries more or less involves the following:
1.   Professional background-
     a.   Education - degrees, fellowships earned.
     b.   Professional career - Appointments held at various educational or other institutions, subjects taught.
     c.   Research work researches conducted/supervised, papers presented/published, books published.
     d.   Major projects/initiatives, activism.
     e.   Ideological position with reference to their area of work
2.   Classroom teaching.
3.   Relationship with students (in general).
4.   Personal interactions.
5.   Personal disposition.

As part of work, points 2 to 5 are of focus for this analysis. But before moving further, one issue is to be kept in mind that since these are written mainly by someone close to the deceased, their account may be biased to some extent, as one of the authors himself expressed (Bagchi, 2010). Still, their description with reference to points 2 to 5 are important for this analysis as they convey the author's understanding of what is desirable in a teacher.

All 15 obituaries are of teachers who were considered eminent scholars in their respective field. They had established themselves in the disciplinary domain through extensive reading, writing, research and oration. Some of them, apart from teaching, also held positions in policy and planning at state and national level as experts in their respective fields. But what makes the analysis significant is the remark by one of the authors that "not all great scholars are great teachers" (Mazumdar, 1994), the urge of another author to title the obituary as "Commitment of a scholar and teacher" (Bagchi, 2010) and the phrase "teacher and intellectual" (Nayyar, 2005) used by another author to refer to the teacher. Manifested in these comments is the idea that being an intellectual or scholar, defined as a specialist in a particular branch of study, may not be enough to be a 'good teacher'. 'Knowing' the subject is a necessary condition to be a teacher but certainly not the sufficient one. The proposition goes against the popular conception that 'anyone who knows can teach'. These remembrances when looked closely could help us in unfolding the other essential 'ingredients' in the making of a 'good teacher'.

Teaching Learning Experience

When the authors refer to their classroom experiences, they made comments like "lectured without the help of notes" (Mukherjee, 1998), "systematic and methodical lectures" (Deshpande, 2011), "only lecturer who did not use notes" (Duggal, 2014), "always came prepared" (Sastry, 1994) etcetera. Apart from other inferences, the one which is predominantly expressed in these remarks is the preparedness on the part of the teacher before the actual teaching-learning in classroom environment. If teaching is considered to be a deliberate act and not an instantaneous occurrence, then this necessary preparation will certainly demand a significant amount of time and effort. Considering the fact that these teachers are specialists in their discipline, what this preparation could essentially entail will be an interesting domain to venture.

Preparation for Teaching

Before we begin, it is important to point out that authors mainly use the term lecture in describing the method of teaching used by their teachers. The lecture method dominates as a preferred choice of teaching, especially at the level of higher education. In this process, the teacher, although may engage in occasional dialogue with students, but is the central speaker in class. So the preparation is usually for this 'talk' which is usually for 40 -45 minutes at a stretch. Now, is this talk only about knowing the subject well and talking about it? Will a lecture organised around the basic structure of the discipline and delivered in an audible voice would suffice? There is indeed a third dimension to it as teaching is considered to be a triadic relationship between the teacher, subject matter and the learner. The learner provides an important element as to how the knowledge of the subject would be dealt with in this phase of preparation.

At this juncture, Shulman's perspective on teacher knowledge could provide useful tools for analysis. As mentioned earlier, we have begun with the premise that the teachers, as experts in their respective discipline, possessed desired knowledge for teaching. They also enriched their knowledge through regular reading, conducting researchers, writing and participating in various seminars or related forums. The authors in all chosen writings have mentioned the same in sufficient detail. They were also a popular figure in the academic community- "In any international gathering of scholars… a mention of his name inevitably drew recognition" (Kumar, 1999), "his was a familiar face at all the major conferences in (the city)" (Dasgupta, 2007). Some writers have mentioned the academic rigour of their teachers specifically with reference to their classroom teaching with statements like… "consulted latest reading material and referred extensively to it in the class" (Sastry, 1994), "lectures were remarkable for the amount of detail they covered" (Deshpande, 2011). Thus, as a scholar, they possessed what in modern vocabulary one can call as – content.

Shulman (1986), who again borrows from Schwab for this explanation, says that a subject has both a substantive and syntactic structure. The former refers to the organisation of basic concepts and principles within the gamut of discipline and the latter amounts to ways through which validity of knowledge is established within the discipline. To know the 'content' of a particular subject is to understand both the-substance and syntax. Now assuming that the teachers under consideration know the 'content' of their subject, it would not be wrong to refer to them as 'content specialists' at this stage. Shulman (1986) points out that being a

specialist is not enough for teaching since there is a considerable difference between being a content specialist and a pedagogue.

The category of knowledge that distinguishes a scholar from a teacher is what Shulman (1986) refers to as 'pedagogic content knowledge'- the subject matter knowledge 'for teaching'. This knowledge is essentially about the variety of ways in which the content could be organised to make it comprehensible to the learner. Knowing both, the subject and the learner is crucial for it and the teacher has to be able to make a lot of decisions in this regard. While a part of how a lecture is to be organised will be governed by the substance and syntax of the discipline, the rest would owe to the teacher's decisions based on his/her understanding of the learner. This decision may vary from emphasis a particular matter is to be given in the organisation of the lecture to choosing an example or illustration for explaining the topic at hand and so forth.

When the writers call their teacher's lecture "systematic" (Deshpande, 2011), "beautifully structured" (Mukherjee, 1998) or "engaging and inspiring" (Kumar, 2010), they are referring to it from the perspective of a learner. The substance and syntax of a subject in itself may result in a scholarly systematic lecture but the fact that the learners found it 'systematic' and 'structured' suggests that s/he was given significant importance in organisation of lecture in the preparatory phase. For the learner to 'engage' productively in lectures, sometimes even in "lengthy double lectures" (Kumar, 2010) or to feel "concerned" (Kumar, 2010) about the issues raised in classroom, this essential preparedness on the part of teacher would be a crucial matter. One author expresses it more candidly, "despite his strict adherence to rigour, he tried to lay bare the basic structure of arguments in terms so simple that even school children could grasp it easily" (Dasgupta, 2007). Instead of taking this statement in a literal sense, the metaphorical case of argument being grasped even by school children suggests comprehensibility and lucidity of the lecture without compromising the rigour. Another writer mentions it in a different manner, "(he) followed a systematic method in his… course, eschewing unnecessary verbiage in his exposition, and insisting on logical development of every step of the argument" (Bagchi, 2010). This reference to 'eschewing unnecessary verbiage' would be a result of teachers' decision to choose what is necessary and what is not keeping both the subject matter and learner in mind. To be able to simplify an argument does not suggest losing the complex nature of the topic at hand. This will in turn demand a lot of preparedness on the part of teacher through rigorous reading and research as one author points out,

"His ability to deliver the material in this engaging way was a result of his scholarship and genuine concern" (Kumar, 2010). Another author while admiring the meticulousness of her teacher's lectures noted that this was because "he took teaching very seriously" (Deshpande, 2011).

Another aspect which, Shulman (1986) believes, will contribute to this particular capability of the teacher is 'wisdom of practice'. Experience gained through years of engagement with learner also generates the kind of knowledge essential to enhance the comprehensibility of the lecture. It necessitates that the teachers reflect critically on their own teaching and may also invite learner's feedback on the same. Schön (1983 in Winch et al, 2015) provides one interpretation of critical reflection in terms of 'reflective thinking' as 'reflection-in-action'. He elucidates it as a cyclical process involving- "practice; reflection, during and after practice; and the recursive effect of reflection on further practice" (Winch et al, 2015). Excerpt from such an instance of critical reflection by a teacher in the classroom- "if one failed to understand fully the content of his lecture or argument, he would immediately take the blame on himself and would argue that he had not been able to convince but had rather confused the student" (Chakraborty & Chakraborty, 2002). As the writers describe in their reminiscence further, the idea is not to impose one's views on the student but to be able to convey an argument in a logical manner so as to open it for further discussion and debate. A teacher may fail in such attempts and learn from it in his/her subsequent interaction with the learners. That stage of learning from experience is a continuous process without any definite end-line but there could certainly be a stage where the teacher feels more confident and may try out different methods as expressed by an author, "he loved playing devil's advocate to encourage students to think, to question" (Mukherjee, 1998). The reason to elaborate on all these issues under the theme of preparation for teaching is to acknowledge that the experiences in classroom provide meaningful insights for critical reflection for a teacher thereby greatly influencing the aspect of preparedness. From here on let us move on to the teaching learning inside the classroom where again few more aspects related to preparation could crop up.

Teaching Learning in Classroom

Analysis of teaching learning in classroom will include teaching methods used by teachers and their interaction with students in the classroom. But before we venture into that aspect another issue needs due attention. A quote from an obituary conveys the tension between being a

scholar and a teacher but in a slightly different manner as mentioned before, "In an era where research, projects, funding searches, foreign travelling have pushed teaching, for most academics, very much to the back burner, (she) maintained an unshakeable commitment to the classroom, amongst her many accomplishment" (RoyChowdury, 2007). The account underlines few distinct aspects of the life of a teacher of higher education which might undermine his/her major obligation as a teacher- the classroom teaching. Another writer attempted to defend the contention put on his teacher of not doing enough research by highlighting the latter's love for college, students and teaching and goes on to say that, "there was a time allocation question and he opted for teaching in favour of research" (Dasgupta, 2007). Yet another author mentioned that his teacher is known more for research than teaching and reiterated the latter's belief that research enhances the quality of teaching and that "teaching without research (is) less exciting and stale" (Sastry, 1994). Although, he affirms that the teacher's commitment towards research did not impede his teaching and he was always well read and prepared for the class.

These instances from the obituaries infer that while performing the dual role of a scholar and a teacher, one has to put deliberate efforts to create a healthy balance. On one hand, contributing to the knowledge base of the discipline as a specialist and participating in the teaching learning experience as a teacher might seem significantly complementary to each other, on the other, personal (or professional) preference for any one may result in the neglect for another. Alongside, there is also another role which the teacher might engage in and which might create an imbalance in his/her other aforesaid roles. I am referring to his/her engagement in activism. As one obituary describes his teacher to be engaged in research, teaching and activism (Kumar, 2010). The author mentions how his teacher's involvement in activism took a toll on his academic research. However, he further underlines latter's commitment towards his students and classes and mentions an incidence where he convinced his fellow teachers to take classes even during an active campaign against communalism saying that "even Marx would not approve of bunking classes" (Kumar, 2010).

The reference to this persistent struggle of striking a balance between various other roles and teaching, suggests its significance in the life of a teacher of higher education. References like "she had an unparalleled passion for teaching" (Dhanagare, 2013), "as a teacher she indeed surpassed herself" (RoyChowdury, 2007), "he was a dedicated and demanding teacher" (Dasgupta, 2007), "he was a splendid teacher" (Nayyar, 2005), "he

was deeply committed to his students and his classes" (Kumar, 2010) were used to convey the commitment of teachers to teaching while also being engaged in other academic work.

Coming back to the aspect of teaching learning in the classroom, we have seen how the authors described their teachers to be prepared for the class by referring to their lectures as 'meticulous' , 'systematic', 'beautifully structured' etcetera. We will throw some more light on them beyond the aspect of preparedness by close scrutiny of some individual cases.

One author narrates the incidence of how he questioned his teacher's pedagogy in the classroom leaving him surprised and taken aback (Baxi, 2006). What followed, he mentions, was not only a significant transformation in the latter's teaching methods but also his proud public acknowledgement of the incidence. He said that his teacher affectionately remembered his act of rebellion and chose a 'dialogical' rather than 'authoritarian' mode of teaching and learning. This incidence is the only occurrence in 15 obituaries of extreme indifference and rebellion; however it does not suggest that the other teachers did not appreciate differences. This incidence is referred here as it occurred in a classroom situation and signifies one extreme of the classroom interaction.

Towards another extreme of this classroom engagement is the previously mentioned incidence of the teacher publicly acknowledging the blame for not being able to convey the profundity of his argument to his students. In between these two extremes are the teachers who "appreciated differences" (Rath et al, 2003), "encouraged healthy scepticism" and urged their students to "think for themselves" (Mukherjee, 1998). Few incidences of classroom interaction are worth mentioning at this stage.

The author praises his teacher for his inspiring lectures which resulted in developing genuine concerns about developmental problems in India. (Kumar, 2010). He says that many times, after his "lengthy double lectures", they would prefer staying back (instead of rushing home) to discuss and find answers to the concerns raised by him in the classroom. This shows the teacher's endeavour to actively engage students in the classroom and beyond; his attempt to inspire students to think on their own and to engage in critical dialogue with one another.

Another writer remembers that his teacher was the only one at that time who taught without referring to any notes and initiated and encouraged dialogue with students in the classroom (Duggal, 2014). He also says that while other students preferred note memorisation, his teacher insisted on a thorough understanding of the issue by linking it to the real life

examples. He observed that other students did not seem to like her approach, as independent thinking and engagement in a dialogue demanded deliberate and significant time and effort.

Yet another author, perhaps the only one, points out a unique ability of her teacher- the blackboard skill (Deshpande, 2011). She says that at the end of the lecture the blackboard was a "sight to behold". She remembered, assuming as a student that such a skill develops naturally with the job. However, when she reflects at it as a teacher herself, she realises that the skill to be so thorough both verbally and visually is not simply acquired as one becomes a teacher. Her own experience as a teacher helped her to appreciate this unique ability of her teacher.

Student–Teacher Relationship

It should be noted that most of the teachers were also engaged in supervising research work of their students, thus the student-teacher interaction was not limited to the classroom. In all the cases where obituary is written by their own students or teacher(s), the relationship extended to a colleague and even as a friend - "for students a supervisor, who was a mentor and a friend" (Nayyar, 2005). One author also mentions that his teacher worked towards developing "enduring virtues of non-hierarchical communicative friendship between the teacher and the taught" (Baxi, 2006).

Another theme common across all the writings is that the teachers were affectionate towards their students. For instance two obituaries expressed it directly by saying that "he was fond of his students and his students loved him" (Nayyar, 2005) and "he loved his work as much as his students" (Sastry, 1994), While another author expressed it in a subtle manner by mentioning a "glow of warmth" in the teacher's company and stating that "(he) was an affectionate guide to his students" (Bagchi, 2010).

Few other themes which emerged significantly in these writings on student- teacher relationship are discussed subsequently.

Teacher as a Model

In the stages of developing a relationship with students, the teachers acted as a role model and inspiration. Few excerpts from the writings which make it evident are; "he used to be an inspiring force for his students to work hard" (Dasgupta, 2007), "he taught by his own example of commitment and hard work" (Sastry, 1994), "...yet to see an engaging and inspiring lecturer" (Kumar, 2010), "she set forth for herself the highest standards in classroom and expected the same of her students"

(Roychowdury, 2007). For the purpose of understanding, this aspect of being a role model can be considered to act at two different levels: one is the influence it has on 'student's knowledge' of the discipline and another is about the teacher's larger influence in life.

While referring to the interaction with their teachers the authors mention that- "his interaction with students often went beyond classroom boundaries" (Rath et al, 2003) or "our discussions were never limited to the subjects she taught and went much beyond..." (Duggal, 2014). This suggests that the influence on 'student's knowledge' of the discipline also happens through different ways apart from direct classroom interactions such as through tutorials or formal-informal discussions and supervision. Another way in which the teacher, as mentioned by the authors, acts as a role model for his students is through their own writings, research work, publications or engagement with any particular cause (in case of activism). One such instance is worth mentioning here where the author narrates how a book written by the teacher, which she referred in the classroom, "saved (her) self respect as a teacher" (Mazumdar, 1994).

Apart from the influence on academic life of their students, some authors explicitly mentioned their larger influence in life - "...in the process (of teaching/supervising) also imprinted the qualities that make one a good human being" (Chakraborty & Chakraborty, 2002), "throughout her teaching career and beyond (she) egged on her students to find their own path" (Duggal, 2014). As mentioned before the relationship usually extended to a colleague or a friend and the authors fondly reminiscence about their interactions with the teacher at various academic forums and informal meetings.

Ideological Engagement- As a scholar in their respective disciplines, the teachers held certain ideological positions strongly which would certainly influence the students in a particular way- "his views and values were very firm and his criticism or differences of opinion were never in any doubt" (Mazumdar, 1994), "the other schism separating us was ideological" (Deshpande, 2010). So it would be interesting to see what shape their ideological disposition took in their interaction with students. One author mentions that his teacher was very "assertive" when it came to taking stand on issues (Duggal, 2014). However, later he also mentions that his teacher "egged on her students to find their own path". Other authors mentioned that- "he was persuasive but never sought to impose his views" (Nayyar, 2005), "(he) worked towards promoting space for individual freedom and appreciated difference" (Rath et al, 2003). Yet another author, while

remembering his teacher in classroom, says that "he encouraged healthy scepticism and whatever his own views, he never imposed it on his students" (Mukherjee, 1998). The excerpts suggest that although the teachers held their ideological positions strongly, they gave sufficient space to their students for discontent and disagreements. The differences however did not seem to hamper their relationship which one author recalls proudly- "…he answered all my questions patiently, but we remained on opposite sides of the divide" (Deshpande, 2011). Another author mentions that in spite of many basic disagreements, the friendship with his teacher lasted decades- "he remained a constant critique of some of my initiatives…" (Baxi, 2006).

Student's achievement is one of the popular trends in the neo-liberal model of education is to measure the success (or efficiency) of a teacher through the achievement gains of their pupil. The authors also tried to convey the scholarship and prominence of their teachers by sharing how well their students are doing in life. In the writings I chose for analysis, this aspect was conveyed by sharing the presence of their students in other parts of the world. Few excerpts from the writings are- "(his) innumerable students spread across the world, never fail to remember him with any other feeling other than fondness", "he produced a continuous stream of internationally well known students" (Dasgupta, 2007), "a large number of his former students spread across the globe will now feel orphaned" (Baxi, 2006), "when I meet old friends and students, especially in academics in US, UK and back home in India, we talk fondly about (his) lectures" (Kumar, 2010). The international presence of their former students (in academic community or otherwise) is used as an indicator to affirm the distinction of their teachers.

Conclusion

In the present analysis of obituaries of teachers, we have tried to understand what all aspects of a teacher's life are considered admirable and worth sharing. Apart from their other academic engagements, the remembrances included instances from classroom as well as personal interactions with the teacher. The authors admired their teachers for their warmth and love for students and teaching. The teachers were said to be well prepared for classroom teaching and were able to instil curiosity for critical reflection and further exploration of issues by the students. The teachers acted as a source of inspiration and role model for their students both in academic domain and in life at large. They were recalled as holding strong ideological position but as being flexible enough to incorporate and

appreciate differences. Continued academic interactions and development of friendship between students and teachers also appeared as significant features.

One issue, left deliberately in the above analysis as it may open a separate debate, is worth mentioning towards the end of this discussion. We saw in the beginning of this analysis that the teachers were referred as 'scholar and teacher' or 'teacher and intellectual' and thus talked about the difference between being a scholar and a pedagogue. Another issue concealed in such references of a teacher is the tendency to exclude the aspect of scholarship and intellect from the portrayal of a teacher. To refer to a person simply as a 'teacher' is not considered enough to encompass her/his scholarly and intellectual credibility. A scholar or intellectual may or may not be a teacher, but that a teacher essentially needs to be an intellectual (and hence should be looked on as an intellectual) is not a popular notion. This view is common while referring to school teachers or teachers of younger students but the same is used in discussion of teachers of higher education which is a matter of concern and further debate.

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Population Projections and Minorities: A Case Study of Bangladesh

Anish Gupta[*]

After acquiring independence from Pakistan, when the first census[1] was conducted in Bangladesh, the share of non-Muslim[2] and Muslim populations within the total population was 14.6 per cent and 85.4 per cent respectively. However, every subsequent census witnessed a fall in the non-Muslim population share. The decrease in population share of non-Muslim is natural as non-Muslims are subjected to religious persecution in Bangladesh. One of the examples of state owned discrimination against non-Muslims was the Enemy Property Act, implemented in 1968 prior to the independence. Instead of repealing the law, the Bangladesh parliament after independence from Pakistan, renamed the same as the Vested Property Act in 1974, which was one of the tools to deprive Bangladeshi Hindus/Christians of their property, simply by a declaration of that person as an enemy of the state. Interestingly, an evidence of fuzzing with data especially since last decade by apex statistical agency of Bangladesh to show that minorities are doing well in Bangladesh despite being a Muslim country. Annual population projections shown on the website of Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS) for the period between 1997 and 2008 (recent years' projections are not available), indicate stagnancy, or sometimes an increase in the population share of non-Muslims for all the years except the census year 2001, when it shows a huge downfall in the share of the non-Muslim population. Similarly, the data on poverty and income that were measured in terms of religion, also show parallel kinds of contradictions and sudden improvement in the conditions of non-Muslims. This paper tries to explain those contradictions in the data published by the BBS, which, according to the author, have some specific hidden agendas of concealing facts related to minorities.

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Introduction: Minorities in Bangladesh

The People's Republic of Bangladesh was separated from Pakistan as an independent state in 1971. The main reason for this was the discrimination and deprivation of people of now Bangladesh in the share of government of the undivided Pakistan. However, within few years of emerging as a separate country, Bangladesh also started discriminating against the minorities in the same way as they were being discriminated against in West Pakistan.

The persecution of the religious minorities featured prominently within the political development of Bangladesh. The most controversial law prior to the independence of Bangladesh was the Enemy Property Act, implemented in 1968. Instead of repealing the law, the Bangladesh parliament renamed the same as the Vested Property Act in 1974, which was one of the tools to deprive Bangladeshi Hindus of their property, simply by a declaration of that person as an enemy of the state. Hindu families who have one or several members leaving the country (due to religious atrocities against Hindus, and economic as well as political reasons), have their entire property confiscated due to their being labelled as enemies of the State. In his book, Abdul Barkat (2000) mentioned "The Vested Property Act acted as a gross denial of all types of freedom to the Hindu community, especially the denial of most basic choice – the freedom to make a choice to deal with one's own life, property, ownerships and assets. The magnitude of national disaster is so huge that this Act has victimised one million Hindu households (or five million Hindu population) who have lost two millions of acres of land property and other resources. Although putting money value to loss of human freedom is impossible, the total amount of loss of land property and moveable assets by the Hindus affected by EPA/VPA would be about Tk. 15,05,204 million which equals to 88 per cent of the current GDP of Bangladesh."

The attack on minorities in Bangladesh started from the time of the freedom movement in Bangladesh in 1971. Roy (2001) mentions in his book that "though many Bengali Muslims were killed in this movement of freedom struggle, there was a plan to kill as many Hindus as possible by the Pakistani Army". Hamoodur Rahaman Commission, chaired by Hamoodur Rahaman, Chief Justic of Pakistan, revealed explosive documents which include written order to kill Hindus.

A Government of India document (MoEF, 1971) mentions that Bangladesh was liberated mostly on the dead bodies of Hindu Bengalis. Then there were nearly 10 million refugees, which was about 13 per cent of

the then East Pakistan's population. There were 67,97,615 refugees in the government camps and 31,01,660 were on their own, as per the government record. Approximately, 92.7 per cent of the refugees in those camps were Hindus.

The minorities generally come under attack of the Islamists after elections (Dhaka Tribune, 2014) and after any incidence of communal violence in India (Barkat, 2000). Many a time, minorities are attacked for the appropriation of their lands. The plight of religious minorities, particularly Hindus, has become increasingly precarious, as 2013 witnessed a marked increase in religiously motivated violence. The recent escalation in anti-minority attacks has been accompanied by growing religious intolerance of radical Islamist groups (HAF, 2014).

It is clear from the literature that thousands of people lost their livelihood, shelter and everything else they had. But most importantly, they lost their lives. Even now, the attacks on minorities are still rampant. However, the main objective of the paper is not to explain in details the atrocities on minorities in Bangladesh, but to explain how the government agencies are providing a helping hand to Islamists to cover up the decreasing population of minorities.

Statistical Agencies and Data Collection

The government of any country bestows the responsibility of gathering information on various aspects of the population, like economic activity, literacy and education, housing and household amenities, urbanisation, fertility and mortality, ethnicity, language, religion, migration, and many other socio-cultural and demographic aspects, to some statistical agencies. Statistical agencies generally collect data in two ways— either through census survey, or by sample survey. A census survey is a study of every unit, everyone or everything, in a population. It is known as a complete enumeration, which means a complete count. A sample survey, on the other hand, takes into account, a subset of units in a population, selected to represent all units in a population of interest.

However, the rules of sample data collection can easily be flouted by a biased agency. This can be in the form of under-collection or over-collection of the data, to suit the purpose of the data collector. However, this problem is not very evident in the census data until and unless the ground-level data collectors of the institution get politicised and are ill-motivated. But the sample data are highly prone to this problem. This is because the decision makers of the data collection agencies, who are well aware of the

population composition, can design a biased sampling frame. However, census and sample data both can be wrongly interpreted and purposively analysed.

Gupta and Dasgupta (2015) explain that the tampering with religious data, in any country, is a two-stage process deliberated at the behest of any Government. Stage one tampering is performed at the time of collection and compilation of data. According to them, the under-collection of data for Muslims and over-collection of data belonging to non-Muslims constitute precisely one of the strategies used to mollify on papers the sharp change in demography by some Islamist countries. Stage two tampering is related to the presentation of the collected data and statistical devices applied on the collected data, to predict the trend.

It is extremely difficult for a researcher to identify any sort of tampering during data collection. The section below provides two very crucial examples from BBS, the main Bangladeshi agency which collects major data, and analyses the results.

Population Share of Muslims Versus that of Non-Muslims[3]

The BBS data (Table 1) indicate that the non-Muslim population share calculated in the census of 1991 was 13.5 per cent. The population share shown from 1992 to 2000 is the population projection calculated on the basis of the trends captured in the census of 1991. The population projections based on the 1991 census also projected a fall in the share of the non-Muslim population, and an increase in the share of the Muslim population. The BBS projected the non-Muslim population share to fall from 13.5 per cent to 13.3 per cent by 1997 and a further fall to 13.0 per cent by 1999 and 12.7 per cent by year 2000.

These BBS projections clearly show a consistent fall in the non-Muslim population till 2000 in Bangladesh. However, BBS projections were able to capture the trend that the non-Muslim population will continue to decline in Bangladesh, although it failed to get close to the actual number. When the results of the 2001 census survey were made public, they indicated a fall in the share of the non-Muslim population by 3.2 percentage points, while BBS projected only 0.8 percentage point fall in the non-Muslim population share during the period 1991-2001.

The question why BBS failed to capture this drastic fall in the share of non-Muslim population may not be outrightly termed ill-motivated. The general drawback of any statistical agency is that its population projections are based on birth rate, death rate, Total Fertility Rate (TFR), and other

variables of the previous census, but they do not take into account some other external factors like forceful conversion of religion, eviction, pogrom, mass killing, migration, etc. This could have been one of the reasons why BBS could not succeed in capturing the actual fall in the share of non-Muslim population in Bangladesh, while it could rightly predict the consistent fall in the non-Muslim population. Failure to capture the right trend, in this particular case, cannot be labeled as a deliberate attempt.

Table 1
Religious composition of population by locality

Year	National		Rural		Urban	
	Muslim	Non-Muslim	Muslim	Non-Muslim	Muslim	Non-Muslim
1991	86.5	13.5	86.4	13.6	87.0	13.0
1997	86.7	13.3	86.7	13.3	86.9	13.1
1998	86.7	13.3	86.6	13.4	86.9	13.1
1999	87.0	13.0	86.8	13.2	87.2	12.8
2000	87.3	12.7	87.1	12.9	87.6	12.4
2001	89.7	10.3	90.8	9.2	89.4	10.6
2002	89.4	10.6	89.0	11.0	88.9	11.1
2003	89.6	10.4	89.2	10.8	89.8	10.2
2004	89.5	10.5	89.2	10.8	90.0	10.0
2005	89.3	10.7	89.1	10.9	90.0	10.0
2006	89.3	10.7	89.1	10.9	90.0	10.0
2007	89.4	10.6	89.1	10.9	90.2	9.8
2008	89.4	10.6	89.1	10.9	90.2	9.8

Source: These figures were taken from the website of Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS) on March 15, 2015

A year later, in 2002, BBS projections showed a population share of 10.6 per cent for minorities, which was almost a 0.3 percentage point increase in the share of non-Muslim population. This is very surprising, especially when the non-Muslim population share had never increased in the history of Bangladesh census after census. Though, it tried to correct its mistake by again decreasing the share of minority population in 2003 by 0.2 percentage point, it was still higher than its level in 2001. Since 2003, the population share of minority population was again projected to have increased till 2006. However, it shows a marginal drop of 0.1 percentage point in 2007, which remained the same in 2008.

However, the census of 2011 again proved the BBS projections to be miserably wrong. It showed a drastic fall in the population share of non-Muslims to 9.65 per cent. That was the first time when the minority population in Bangladesh shrunk to a single digit. The 2011 census survey showed that BBS was not only wrong in capturing the extent of the fall in the share of the non-muslim population, as was the case earlier, but this time, it

could not even capture the trend of the declining population share of non-Muslims in Bangladesh.

The census survey data of the BBS (Table 2), indicate that the minority population is declining at a very high rate, and this began right from the first census conducted in Bangladesh, after its independence. The population share of the minorities which was 13.35 per cent in 1981, fell to the level of 11.69 per cent by 1991, which further fell to 10.42 per cent in 2001 and shrunk to a single digit in 2011 at the level of 9.65 per cent of the total population of Bangladesh.

Table 2
Decadal Population Share of Muslims and Minorities in Bangladesh

Year	Muslim	Non-Muslim
1981	86.65	13.35
1991	88.31	11.69
2001	89.58	10.42
2011	90.39	9.65

Source: Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics

All of these data raise a few concerns; One, despite a fall in the population of minorities census after census, how and why did BBS project an increase in the share of minority population between 2001 to 2008? Second, why did this trend suddenly emerge only after 2001? Third, Could it be a statistical blunder on the parts of the eminent economists, statisticians, and demographers, who are all part of BBS?

Religion-wise Poverty levels and BBS

Another example which projects BBS in a bad light, is related to the data collected on poverty. The BBS has been conducting the Household Income and Expenditure Survey (HIES) on a regular basis, in order to provide data on every families' income, expenditure, consumption and poverty levels. First HIES was conducted in 1973-74, soon after independence. Since 1973-74, fifteen rounds of HIES have been completed. The HIES data are considered to be the most important data on poverty estimate in Bangladesh. The data for HIES-2010 were claimed to be collected more systematically from selected 612 PSUs from 16 strata as a subset of the IMPS design.

Based on the lower poverty line in HIES-2005, incidence of poverty was estimated at 25.1 per cent at the national level for all religions — 24.9 per cent in Muslims and 26.6 per cent for non-Muslims. This shows that at the national level, poverty rate among non-Muslims was 1.7 percentage points

higher than Muslims. The estimates of head count rate by religion in rural and urban areas show that in rural areas, poverty among non-Muslims is higher than Muslims while in urban areas, poverty among Muslims is higher than non-Muslims (Table 3).

Table 3
Incidence of Poverty (CBN) by Selected Household Characteristics
Measured by the CBN Method 2010

Characteristics of Households	2010			2005		
	National	Rural	Urban	National	Rural	Urban
Using lower poverty line						
National	**17.6**	**21.1**	**7.7**	**25.1**	**28.6**	**14.6**
Gender of head						
Male	17.9	21.5	7.9	25.4	29.0	14.5
Female	14.6	17.3	5.5	21.9	23.6	16.2
Marital status						
Married	17.5	21.1	7.6	25.0	28.5	14.4
Unmarried	10.7	9.6	13.5	17.2	19.7	11.1
Widowed/divorced	19.4	22.9	7.6	29.6	32.3	20.0
Religion						
Muslim	**17.8**	**21.4**	**8.0**	**24.9**	**28.3**	**15.0**
Non-Muslim	**15.5**	**18.8**	**4.5**	**26.6**	**30.3**	**10.4**
Using upper poverty line						
National	**31.5**	**35.2**	**21.3**	**40.0**	**43.8**	**28.4**
Gender of head						
Male	32.1	35.9	21.7	40.8	44.9	28.7
Female	26.6	29.3	17.5	29.5	31.0	24.4
Marital status						
Married	31.4	35.1	21.1	40.3	44.1	28.4
Unmarried	23.3	22.4	25.5	29.9	32.7	22.8
Widowed/divorced	33.9	37.2	22.8	39.2	42.0	28.9
Religion						
Muslim	**31.6**	**35.2**	**21.6**	**39.2**	**42.9**	**28.7**
Non-Muslim	**31.1**	**34.7**	**18.7**	**45.7**	**50.4**	**25.0**

Source: This is originally Table-6.6 of Chapter-6 (Measurement of Poverty) HIES report 2010

Similarly, the upper poverty line in HIES-2005 indicates that the incidence of poverty is estimated to be 40 per cent at the national level for all religions. A further bifurcation for Muslims and non–Muslims shows that incidence of poverty is 39.2 per cent for Muslims, while it is 45.7 per cent for non-Muslims. It clearly indicates that the gap between poverty ratios among non-Muslims was 6.5 percentage points higher than Muslims. However, similar to the lower poverty line, the upper poverty line also shows a higher incidence of poverty among Muslims in urban areas and lower incidence of poverty among Muslims in rural areas.

Gupta

The fifteenth round of the Household Income and Expenditure Survey (HIES-2010) conducted by Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, shows that the standard of living of the population in general has improved very significantly in recent years. This is reflected in the reduced incidence of poverty with a stability in the distribution of income and expenditure; increased nutrition from a more diversified food consumption basket; and a higher level of living in terms of non-food indicators.

Based on the lower poverty line, HIES-2010 shows that the incidence of poverty has fallen to 17.6 per cent at a -national level for all the religions. However, a religion-wise analysis shows that the incidence of poverty among Muslims was 17.8 per cent while the same for non-Muslims was 15.5 per cent. Departing from the previous survey of poverty conducted by the BBS, in 2010, the poverty among Muslims is higher than non-Muslims. This time in both the rural and urban areas, poverty among Muslims is higher than non-Muslims. Even the upper poverty line indicates that the incidence of poverty was higher among Muslims compared to non-Muslims in both urban and rural segments.

Both the lower and the upper poverty lines of HIES-2010 show that the incidence of poverty has fallen sharply among non-Muslims than Muslims. The results are very surprising, especially when the differences between the poverty levels of Muslims and non-Muslims were very high in the 2005 HIES survey, and the reversal of results in a short period of 5 years is very unlikely.

Another contradiction related to the data on poverty is posed by HIES-2010 itself. Table 4 below show that incidence of poverty ratio was higher among Muslims than non-Muslims, and on the other hand it says that the average monthly income is higher for Muslims than non-Muslims. It shows that the average monthly income of Muslims was around 10 per cent higher than non-Muslims in both rural and urban areas.

Table 4
Religion-wise Average Monthly Income

Average monthly income (HIES 2010)	Muslims	Non-Muslims
Rural	9737.7	9089
Urban	16599.4	15076.6
Total	11613.2	10588.7

Source: HIES 2010 Bangladesh

Contradictory is that, on the one hand, HIES-2010 showed that the Muslim poverty levels were higher than the non-Muslims. On the other

hand, it showed that the Muslims' monthly income was 10 per cent higher than the non-Muslims. It is quite interesting that comparatively less poor non-Muslims would be having comparatively lower income!

This obviously makes one wonder if this was a deliberate attempt to improve the image of Bangladesh by self-censoring anything that goes against the image of the nation in front of world. If we look at the series of events, we find that this doubt is not entirely baseless. First, the way BBS showed an increase in the share of non-Muslim population projections, and second, the reversal of poverty trend. All the indicators of prosperity, i.e. the share of non-Muslims in government jobs, ministerial representation, legislative representation, landowning population, industrialists, etc, show decline in the conditions of the non-Muslims.

These improvements in the poverty rates estimated for the non-Muslim population represent the period when Bangladesh was ruled by Bangladesh Nationalist Party from 2001-06, along with radical Muslim allies, which were completely against non-Muslims. From 2006-08, for almost 2 years, there was a caretaker government, which has been very hostile to minorities. This is the period when the attack on the minorities increased greatly at the behest of the ruling party. It will be worth mentioning here that there was no such scheme specific to minorities in Bangladesh for their welfare. It would be unreasonable to believe this period was a golden period for minorities and that they could prosper faster than Muslims.

Conclusion

Adolf Hitler[4] said that if you tell a big enough lie, and tell it frequently enough, it will be believed. The act of BBS seems to be motivated by Hitler's words if we look at the attempts of BBS mentioned above. It could be part of the Government policy, which BBS was following. The purpose of statistical fraud is to achieve an impression that non-Muslims are doing better in Bangladesh despite Bangladesh being an Islamic country. This could be an attempt for an image make-over to receive grants from developed countries.

Foot Notes

1. First census was conducted in 1974.
2. Throughout the paper, entire analysis is divided into Muslim and Non-Muslim, in order to keep the originality of the data published by the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (Agency assigned with the duty of collection and compilation of data related demography). Non-Muslim mainly comprises of Hindus.

3.   By non-Muslim we mean minorities throughout the paper which comprises mainly of Hindus. As Muslim are more than 90 per cent in Bangladesh, it clearly makes sense to call non-Muslims a minority.

4.   Adolf Hitler was Chancellor of Germany from 1933 to 1945.

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Panchayat Elections 2011 of Jammu and Kashmir: It is Time to Shift

Arif Ahmad Nengroo[*]

The objective of this paper is to analyse the participation of Jammu and Kashmir people in 2011 Panchayat elections. The study is based on secondary source of data. The Panchayat elections 2011 were held after 10 years. The election was conducted in 17 phases under high security arrangements. The election of 2011 witnessed the record turnout of voters. The overall polling average has been around 80 per cent which is first such record participation by the people in such an exercise in the state. The paper concludes that Panchayats are the main source of village development which is reflected by such huge participation of people in this election.

The process of Panchayat polls in Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) commenced from February 28, 2011 immediately after the end of budget session of the state legislature. The elections were held on non-party basis in three phases and the whole process was completed by November, 2011. The decision was taken by the state cabinet, which assembled under the chairmanship of Chief Minister Omar Abdullah. The cabinet also cleared the proposal for lowering the minimum age bar from 25 to 21 for becoming the member of Halqa Panchayat. It also approved the decision to hold the Panchayat polls on non-party basis and complete the main election process of electing Panch and Sarpanch by May 2011. It was also decided that the

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schedule for these polls will be worked out in consultation with the state's Chief Electoral Officer.

As per the schedule, the election was held in three tier format, with polls for electing Panches and Sarpanches to be conducted in April-May (2011). In the second phase, polls would be held for Block Development Councils (BDC) and in third phase elections would be conducted for District Development and Planning Councils (DDPC) for which Panches and Sarpanches would constitute the Electoral College.

Around 29400 Panches and Sarpanches were elected in the first phase, which include nearly 9000 women as 33 per cent of the seats were reserved for the fair sex. According to the new system people directly vote to elect Panches and Sarpanches at Halqa level. The elected Panch and Sarpanch form the electoral college for block level panchayats which in turn voted for District level panchayat boards. The decision over the issue came after consensus between the states ruling coalition partners-NC & Congress.

The congress ministers have however given conditional assent to the proposal as they have been assured that the 73rd Amendment would be incorporated in the Panchayati Raj Act during the 2011 election process which will take at least 10 months to complete. Some provision of the 73rd Amendment including Separate Finance Commission and Election Commission were incorporated by issuing special ordinance in this regard (Greater Kashmir: 2011).

The State Election Department has finalised the electoral process in Jammu and Kashmir for the panchayat elections which has got delayed due to cropping up of differences between coalition partners- NC and Congress over inclusion of certain amendments in the State Panchayati Raj Act.

Apart from the electoral rolls, the department had prepared fresh data about the number of panchayats and panch constituencies in J&K. The state has now total 52 Lakh voters eligible for voting during panchayat polls. Around two lakh of these voters exercised their right for the first time. Following the updation of the electoral rolls, the number of panchayats and panch constituencies have gone up to 4131 and 29710 respectively across J&K. The department despatched the requited poll material to all the 22 districts except for few items including ballot boxes (Greater Kashmir: 2011).

Panchayat Election: An Overview

In Jammu and Kashmir the panchayat polls were held in 2011 after a gap of 10 years from April 13, 2011 as the state's Chief Electoral Officer (CEO) issued the notification announced the schedule for 16 phase's rural

local body elections on 15, March 2011. Five phases of the election were scheduled in April, seven phases in May and four phases in June. Notification for a particular phase of polling was issued 20-26 days in advance. In the process of finalising the election schedules, the election authority took into account both security forces availability and the schedule of school examinations, to avoid holding elections during the examination period. Besides, polling stations were mostly located in school buildings (Greater Kashmir: 2011).

State administration had put in all necessary arrangements including upgrading the security to ensure 'free and fair' elections. As many as 33130 stations were set up across the state for the polls. The 2011 panchayat election was conducted purely on non-party and non-political basis. These panchayat polls were being held through ballot boxes as the state Panchayati Raj Act, 1989 does not allow the use of electronic voting machines (EVMs) in panchayat elections. There was 33 per cent reservation for women (only in panch constituencies) in the elections. Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes were also given reservation in total number of seats. For smooth conduct of the polls across the state, the state election authorities required 14000 ballot boxes. Since 6000 ballot boxes were already available within the state, approximately 8000 were hired from Punjab at the cost of Rs. 10 per day per ballot box (Greater Kashmir: 2011).

The election authority decided that compulsory identification of voters would be made in these elections. Voters who were provided with elector photo identity cards (EPIC) should be identified through those cards only. However, the election authority also notified a list of 19 alternative documents that were used for the identification of the electors who were yet to be provided with EPICs. The state government would hold elections to local bodies as per the states own laws and would not amend the Constitution in order to follow the national pattern.

The candidates for the election of the panches and sarpanches had been given a week for nomination papers, which was followed by routine process of scrutiny and withdrawal. The candidates were given a minimum time of 15 days for campaigning. Every contesting candidate had to maintain day-to-day expenditure record in the prescribed register which was supplied to the contesting candidate in the form of 'expenditure register' from the date of filling of nomination to the date of declaration of results. The election authority also fixed the limit of expenditure to be incurred by different categories of candidates (Sarpanch - Rs. 6000 and Panch - Rs. 3000).

The counting of votes took immediately after the polling process was over and the results were announced immediately thereafter. The Chief Electoral Officer (CEO) J&K said that election authority decided to compel and notify the names of all the Sarpanches and the Panches duly elected in accordance with the provisions of the Jammu and Kashmir Panchayati Raj Act 1989 on or before June 30.

The State Government announced that there will be a holiday in the CD blocks on the date/day of polling and counting of Panchayat elections-2011, as per the poll schedule announced earlier. The government declared that holiday under Negotiable Instrument Act to conduct Panchayat elections 2011 smoothly in the state. Consequent upon the announcement of the schedule for Panchayat polls in the state, the Model Code of Conduct has also come into force from March 14 (2011). Model Code of Conduct for the guidance of the political parties and the candidates came into operation with immediate effect from 15 March (2011) itself across the state. The model code of conduct was applicable for all the political parties in the state including the party in power, even though the elections were held on non-party basis. The election authority therefore ordered all the political parties, candidates and the government functionaries to strictly adhere to the model code of conduct.

Delimitation of Panchayats

The Government appointed a Delimitation Commission under the chairmanship of Shri A.G. Shahbaz to freshly delimit the number of Panch/Sarpanch Constituencies. The figures of Ladakh region were included in Kashmir. The number of Panch and Sarpanch Constituencies determined after the delimitation given as under:

Table 1

Province	No. of Sarpanch Constituencies		No. of Panch Constituencies		No. of Blocks		No. of Electors	
	2001	2011	2001	2011	2001	2011	2001	2011
Kashmir	1472	2164	10469	15959	64	77	1859311	2519024
Jammu	1230	1966	10090	13760	57	66	1942991	2549951
Total	2702	4130	20559	29719	121	143	3802302	5068975

Source: Chief Electoral Officer J&K, Jammu

Security Arrangements for Panchayat Polls

The State Government deployed around 72000 security personnel in 29730 polling stations across the state during the 2011 Panchayat polls. Out of these 40243 security personnel were deployed at 13760 polling stations in Jammu region, while 32382 security personnel were deployed for 15959

polling stations in Kashmir division. One section of security personnel was located at one place proposed by the election authority.

The CEO (B.R. Sharma) said that there would be no additional deployment of the paramilitary personnel for the election purpose. 'The existing strength of the paramilitary personnel was used for conducting free and fair elections and that was deployed in the various parts of the state in phased manner. The state had already adequate number of security personnel at its disposal and there was no requirement for any additional deployment.'

Srinagar district has the lowest, 79 polling stations for its 10 Sarpanch and 79 Panch constituencies, while Kupwara has the highest number of Panch constituencies 2906 and 365 Sarpanch constituencies (Greater Kashmir: 2011).

Panchayat Election: Phase wise Summary

These panchayat elections were held on non-party basis. These elections were conducted in 16 phases but in actual practice it was conducted in 17 phases. The polling for Zanaskar and Lungnuk of Kargil district were held in the seventeenth phase because the district panchayat election officer (Deputy Commissioner) Kargil had recommended that the panchayat elections for the Zanskar and Lungnak Blocks should be held in the last week of June or the first week of July, 2011, keeping in view the fact that the Kargil – Zanskar road is likely to be re-opened in the 1st or 2nd week of June, 2011. Therefore, keeping in view the request of the District Panchayat Election Officer (Deputy Commissioner) Kargil and in supersession of all previous notifications the schedule for the conduct of elections in the Zanskar and Lungnak Blocks of Districts Kargil fixed as on 27 June 2011.

First Phase

The Multi-phase panchayat polls began on April 13 (2011) on a healthy note as nearly 80 per cent electorate turned up at the polling stations in eight blocks of the state, five in Kashmir valley and three in Jammu. The voting was off peacefully and no untoward incident or violence was reported from anywhere. For the first phase as many as 288 Sarpanches and 2118 Panches were in fray in these blocks.

Five blocks in Kashmir valley witnessed brisk voting with Kupwara recording the highest 87 per cent voting. Three blocks of Jammu region including Udhampur, Samba and Bishnah also witnessed over 80 per cent voting.

According to the State Electoral Department, in Jammu region Udhampur witnessed 80.49 per cent, Samba 82 per cent, Bishnah 80 per cent polling while in Kashmir region, Kupwara witnessed 87 per cent, Budgam 72 per cent, Qaimoh (Kulgam) 77.34 per cent, Kangan 77.87 per cent and Qumoh (Kangan) 77.87 per cent polling. A good number of women also turned up at the polling booths to exercise their franchise (Greater Kashmir: 2011).

Second Phase

The second phase of polling for the eight blocks of Jammu and Kashmir which started on Sunday 17, April (2011) marked heavy turnout of voters, with the state government putting the voter turnout at 82.5 per cent. Five blocks in Kashmir and three in Jammu went for the polls, under tight security arrangements. The Kashmir valley blocks include Uri (Baramulla), Nagam (Badgam), Pahloo (Kulgam), Lar (Ganderbal) and Wavoora (Kupwara) while three blocks of Jammu region were Chanani (Udhampur), Vijaypur (Samba) and R.S. Pura (Jammu). The polling started at 8:00 AM and ended at 2:00 PM. The polling at all eight blocks went off peacefully and no untoward incident was reported in any part of the state. 275 Sarpanches and 2031 Panches in eight CD blocks were to be elected in the second phase of the polls. At least 2139 candidates were in the fray for Sarpanch and Panch seats in Kashmir. 53866 out of 69985 voters turned up at the polling stations to cast their votes. There were 390 polling booths established in the blocks for smooth conduct of the polls.

The poll percentage of these eight blocks were: 85 per cent in Wavoora, 86.95 per cent in Uri, 85.46 per cent in Lar, 77 per cent in Nagam, 81.48 per cent in Pahloo, 77 per cent in Chenani, 84 per cent in Vijaypur and 83.40 per cent in R.S. Pura (Greater Kashmir: 2011).

Third Phase

Seventy nine per cent polling was recorded in the third phase of panchayat elections in 10 blocks, five each from Kashmir and Jammu regions, which went to polls on Thursday 21 April (2011).

Five blocks of Jammu including Satwari, Purmandal, Gagwal, Ramnagar and Dudu Basantgarh while five blocks in Kashmir division including Sogam, Boniyar, Ganderbal, Chadoora and Kulgam went to polls on 21 April (2011). As many as 2526 candidates were in the fray for third phase.

The percentage of polling in Satwari was 80 per cent, Purmandal 82 per cent, Gaghwal 80 per cent, Ramnager 72 per cent, and Dudu Basantgarh 78 per cent in Jammu province while in the Kashmir valley, 86.50 per cent votes were casted in Kupwara, Sogam block, 86 per cent in Boniyar, 75 per cent in Ganderbal, 79 per cent in Kulgam, and 75 per cent in Chadoora blocks that went to the polls (Greater Kashmir: 2011).

Fourth Phase

Over 80 per cent voter turnout was recorded in the fourth phase of panchayat polls in 12 blocks five in Kashmir and seven in Jammu regions. As many as 346 Sarpanches and 2471 Panches were elected in this polling. A total of 2110 candidates were in fray for Sarpanch constituencies including 18 women and 4408 for Panch segments including 1417 females.

Five blocks from valley including Ramhal, Rohama, Wakura, Berwah and Devsar while seven blocks of Jammu region were Mahore, Ghordi, Bhai Malhar, Bani, Duggan, Nowshera and Kalakote went to polls in 25 April (2011).

The poll percentage remained 88.39 per cent in Rohama, 81 per cent in wakura, 84 per cent Beerwah, 80 per cent in Devsar, 85 per cent in Mahore, 75.60 per cent in Ghordi, 80.41 per cent in lohai Malhar, 85.50 per cent in Bani, 78.59 per cent in Duggan, 85 per cent in Nowshera and 83 per cent in Kalakot with average percentage of 80.55 per cent in all these blocks.

During the re-poll at three polling stations 77.63 per cent voting was registered in Dadompra (Badgam), 88 per cent in Nunner (Ganderbal) and 71 per cent in Chenani (Udhampur). The elections were peaceful and there was no report of any violence from the polling sites (Greater Kashmir: 2011).

Fifth Phase

The fifth phase of panchayat elections in Jammu and Kashmir was conducted in nine blocks of eight districts of the State. A total of 312233 electorates exercised their franchise in nine blocks. As many as 340 Sarpanches and 2450 Panches in nine blocks of eight districts of the state were elected in this phase of polling. The fifth phase witnessed 81 per cent polling in all nine blocks.

Four blocks of valley including Rajwara of district Kupwara, Wagoora (Baramull), Khansahib (Badgam) and D H Pora (Kulgam) while five blocks of Jammu were Arnas of district Reasi, Pancari (Udhampur), Basohli (Katua) and Darhal, Budhal from Rajouri went for polls in April 30 (2011).

The poll percentage remained 85 per cent in Rajwara, 66 per cent in Wagoora, 84 per cent in Khansahib, 83.20 per cent in Panchari, 74.33 per cent in Basohli, 83.28 per cent in Daral and 85.88 per cent in Budhal with an overall percentage of 81.09 per cent in all these blocks.

Violence marred the fifth phase of panchayat polls. At least 15 persons, including a polling officer, seven policemen and an elected Sarpanch received injuries in violent clashes between police and agitating voters during the fifth phase. The government announced re-polling on four polling stations, one in Kashmir and three in Jammu after group clashes, ballot box 'Capturing' and complaints of interference and misdeed with polling staff. (Greater Kashmir: 2011).

Sixth Phase

Sixth phase of panchayat election was conducted in nine blocks, five in Jammu province and four in Kashmir division went to polls on 4 May (2011). Four blocks of Kashmir valley including Langate, Tangmarg, Khag and Breng while in Jammu province blocks were Reasi, Majalta, Billawar, Doongi and Thanamandi.

In Kashmir valley turnout was 86.06 per cent in Langate, 75 per cent at Tangmarg, 85.40 per cent in Khag and 80 per cent at Breng. The poll percentage remained 84.90 per cent in Reasi, 75 per cent in Majalta, 75 per cent in Billawar, 80.90 per cent in Doongi and 81.90 per cent in Thanamandi of the Jammu region with an overall percentage of 80.50 per cent in nine blocks (Greater Kashmir: 2011).

Violence once again marred the sixth phase of panchayat elections in some parts of Rajouri district, leading to injuries to 15 persons including two contesting candidates in Thanamandi block as supporters of rival candidates clashed and resorted to stone pelting. The Election Department ordered re-poll at six polling stations in Bharote Panchayat Halqa of the Thanamandi block.

Seventh Phase

About 80.39 per cent polling was recorded during the seventh phase of panchayat elections in eight blocks of Jammu and Kashmir. The elections were held at 39 Sarpanch constituencies and 278 Panch constituencies in CD block Kralpora district Kupwara (except three snow bound panchayats of KP 290 Kerian Bore, KP 291 Mundiain, and KP 325 Pathran where polls were held on 6 June, 2011), 33 Sarpanch and 258 Panch constituencies in CD block Kunzer district Baramulla, 24 Sarpanch and 211 Panch constituencies in CD

block Narbal district Budgam, 31 Sarpanch and 196 Panch constituencies in CD block Shangus district Anantnag, 21 Sarpanch and 158 Panch constituencies in CD block Pouni district Reasi, 33 Sarpanch and 226 Panch constituencies in CD block Hiranagar district Kathua (except Bhaiya Panchayat Halqa where re-polling due to misprinting of ballot papers), 31 Sarpanch, 33 Sarpanch and 244 Panch constituencies in CB block Rajouri and 194 Panch constituencies in CD block Manjakote district Rajouri (except five Panchayats of Gahuti Upper, 27-pangrain Upper, 28-pangrain Upper-B, 31 Rajdhani Upper and 33 Sarooria Upper on the orders of high court).

The poll percentage in Kralpora was recorded at 89.50 per cent, in Kunzer 75 per cent, in Narbal 84 per cent, in Shangus 74 per cent, in Pouni 81 per cent, in Hiranagar 78.59 per cent, in Manjakote 79.40 per cent and in Rajouri 83.30 per cent, which accounts to an average percentage of 80.39 per cent in all these blocks. Polling was held peacefully and no untoward incident was reported (Greater Kashmir: 2011).

Eighth Phase

The eighth phase of panchayat elections in Jammu and Kashmir was concluded peacefully on Thursday 12 May (2011) with large number of people participating to elect 237 Sarpanches and 1659 Panches in seven CD blocks of the state.

The elections were held on 34 Sarpanch constituencies and 241 Panch constituencies in CD block Trehgam Districrt Kupwara. 22 Sarpanch constituencies and 162 Panch constituencies in CD Block Rafiabad Distrist Baramulla, 27 Sarpanch Constituencies and 189 Panch constituencies in CD Block B K Pora District Budgam, 34 Sarpanch constituencies and 223 Panch constituencies in CD Block Shahabad District Anantnag, 45 Sarpanch constituencies and 294 Panch constituencies in CD Block Barnoti District Kathua, 51 Sarpanch constituencies and 360 Panch constituencies in CD Block Akhnoor District Jammu and 24 Sarpanch constituencies and 190 Panch constituencies in CD Block Sundarbani District Rajouri.

The poll percentage remained 82 per cent in Trehgam, 78 per cent in Rafiabad, 64 per cent in B K Pora, 69 per cent in Shahabad, 78. 59 per cent in Barnoti, 84 per cent in Akhnoor and 77.66 per cent in Sunderbani with an overall percentage of 76.80 (Greater Kashmir: 2011).

Ninth Phase

The ninth phase of elections was conducted peacefully with large number of people participating in electing 253 Sarpanches and 1790 Panches

in nine CD Blocks of the state. The election was held in 16 Sarpanch constituencies and 126 Panch constituencies in CD Block Tangdhar of district Kupwara, 27 Sarpanch constituencies and 216 Panch constituencies in CD Block Singhpora of District Baramulla, 16 Sarpanch constituencies and 131 Panch constituencies in C D Block Sumbal of District Bandipora, 10 Sarpanch constituencies and 79 Panch constituencies in C D Block Srinagar of District Srinagar, 43 Sarpanch constituencies and 28 Panch constituencies in CD Block Khoveripora (Anantnag), 32 Sarpanch constituencies and 200 Panch constituencies in CD Block Kishtwar (Kishtwar), 45 Sarpanch constituencies and 300 Panch constituencies in CD Block Ramban, 39 Sarpanch constituencies and 250 Panch constituencies in CD Block Kathua and 25 Sarpanch constituencies and 206 Panch constituencies in CD Block Marh of District Jammu.

The poll percentage remained 87 per cent in Tangdhar, 84 per cent in Singhpora, 91.38 per cent in Sumbal, 63.45 per cent in Srinagar, 73 per cent in Khovripora, 81 per cent in Kishtwar, 82.87 per cent in Ramban, 85.59 per cent in Kathua and 86.50 per cent in Marh with an overall percentage of 82.13 in all these blocks (Greater Kashmir: 2011).

Tenth Phase

Violence again hit the election in Jammu and Kashmir with 28 people, including five policemen, injured in the tenth phase of multi- phased polls that witnessed overall 77.14 per cent polling in 11 blocks of the state.

Five blocks of Kashmir division comprised Teetwal in Kupwara, Pattan in Baramulla, Hajin in Bandipora, Keller (main block) in Pulwama and Dachipor (Anantnag) while six blocks of Jammu including Inderwal in Kishtwar, Assar and Thathri in Doda, Banihal in Ramban, Khour in Jammu and Balakote in Poonch went to poll in the tenth phase.

The administration, however, claimed that polling was completed peacefully in all blocks of the state except sporadic incidents of clashes in Balakote and Banihal blocks. The Chief Electoral Officer (CEO) B R Sharma ordered re-poll in Panch ward number two of panchayat Halqa Bhagwan Chak of block Khour after complaints of wrong printing of Ballot paper.

The poll percentage remained 87 per cent in Teetwal, 65 per cent in Pattan, 83.70 per cent in Hajin, 61 per cent in Keller (main block), 73 per cent in Dachnipora, 82 per cent in Inderwal, 84 per cent in Assar, 74.50 per cent in Thathri, 83.93 per cent in Banihal, 86.50 per cent in Khour and 85 per cent in Balakote (Greater Kashmir: 2011).

Eleventh Phase

The eleventh phase of panchayat election was concluded peacefully with large number of people exercising their franchise to elect 343 Sarpanches and 2515 Panches in 10 CD blocks of the state. Four blocks of Kashmir valley including Zainger district Baramulla, Bandipora, Pulwama and Qazigund district Anantnag while in Jammu division blocks were Drabshalh, Marmat, Ramsoo, Bhalwal, Surankote and Bafliaz which went to poll in the eleventh phase. The poll percentage was 28.80 per cent in Zaingeer, 71 per cent in Bandipora, 52 per cent in Pulwama, 82 per cent in Qazigund, 76 per cent Drabshalla, 84.43 per cent in Marmat, 74.22 per cent in Ramsoo, 86.45 per cent in Bhalwal, 82 per cent in Surankote and 81.50 per cent in Bafliaz with an average percentage of 70.61.

Clashes erupted between police and anti-poll protesters in Zaingeer Sopore during the panchayat elections. The scores of youth took to streets in Warpora, Brahat, Sadpora and Botengo and pelted stones on the polling booths (Greater Kashmir: 2011).

Twelfth Phase

The twelfth phase of Panchayat election concluded on 29 May, 2011 with 74 per cent polling registered in nine blocks of seven districts. Out of 314913 electorates, 2.33 lakh exercised their franchise to elect 235 Sarpanches and 1783 panches. In Kashmir division blocks were Baramulla, Kakapora, Achabal while in Jammu region blocks were Padder, Nagseni, Ghat Doda, Gool, Mandi and Poonch which went to poll in this phase.

The poll percentage was registered at 74.68 per cent in Baramulla, 54.31 per cent in Kakpora, 71 per cent in Achabal, 83 per cent in Padder, 88 per cent in Nagseni, 82.52 per cent in Ghat Doda, 83 per cent in Gool, 81 per cent in Mandi and 74 per cent in poonch respectively. Far-off and most difficult terrains in Gool and Padder saw great enthusiasm among people who were seen standing in queues to elect their village representatives. At some polling stations, over 90 per cent polling was recorded within first two hours (Greater Kashmir: 2011).

Thirteenth Phase

Over 73 per cent polling was recorded in the thirteenth phase of election in nine blocks 0f six districts of Jammu and Kashmir on Thursday 2 June, 2011. The polling was held in Sopore and Tral in Kashmir, Leh, Chuchot, Kahru in Leh, Ghagwah and Gundana in Doda, Dansal in Jammu and Mandhar in Poonch.

The Dansal CD block of Jammu district witnessed the hightest 85 per cent voter turnout followed by 82.57 per cent in Gundana and 81.84 per cent in Ghagwah block of Doda district. Tral area of Pulwama witnessed the lowest turnout with only 50.87 per cent people exercising their franchise. The polling percentage in Sopore of Baramuula district is 54.17 per cent, in Leh 52.97 per cent, in Chuchot 63.55 per cent, in Kharu 66 per cent and 80.50 per cent in Mandhar of Poonch district. Out of total 233551 around 170844 (73.15 per cent) voters cast their votes in all the nine CD blocks.

Though the elections were held peacefully in other areas, Mandhar area of Poonch district witnessed some clashes leaving around half a dozen people injured. The clashes broke out in upper Mankot when the two contesting candidates accused each other of bogus voting. The voting in Palma was also stopped for nearly an hour due to a clash in which four persons, including three women left injured (Greater Kashmir: 2011).

Fourteenth Phase

The Fourteenth phase of panchayat election was concluded peacefully with large number of people exercising their right of franchise to elect 217 Sarpanches and 1486 Panches in nine CD blocks of the state. The election was held in 25 Sarpanch and 182 Panch constituencies in CD block Kalroos District Kupwara, three Sarpanch and 23 Panch constituencies in CD block Kralapora district Kupwara, 23 Sarpanch and 162 Panch constituencies in CD block Pampore district Pulwama, 74 Sarpanch and 550 Panch in CD block in Shopian district, 14 Sarpanch and 92 Panch constituencies in CD block Nobra district Leh, six Sarpanch and 40 Panch constituencies in CD block Panamik district Leh, 13 Sarpanch and 79 Panch constituencies in CD block Nyoma district Leh, seven Sarpanch and 46 Panch constituencies in CD block Burbuk district Leh, and 52 Sarpanch and 312 Panch constituencies in CD block Bhallesa district Doda.

The poll percentage remained 84 per cent in Kalaroos, 90 per cent in Kralpora, 52.32 per cent in Pampora, 63 per cent in Shopian, 82.30 per cent in Nobra, 72.40 per cent in Panamik, 72 per cent in Nyoma, 78.20 per cent in Durbuk and 84.78 per cent in Bhallesa with an overall percentage of 67.32 per cent in all these blocks (Greater Kashmir: 2011).

Fifteenth Phase

Polling for the nine blocks of the state ended on Saturday 11 June (2011) with 78.29 per cent voters exercised their franchise. The polling went off peacefully and no incident of violence was reported from any part of the

state. The election was held in 29 Sarpanch and 213 Panch constituencies in CD block Keller partly district Shopian, 20 Sarpanch and 137 Panch constituencies in CD block Kargil, 13 Sarpanch and 98 Panch constituencies in CD block Sankoo district Kargil, nine Sarpanch and 60 Panch constituencies in CD block Shaker Chiktan district Kargil, nine Sarpanch and 71 Panch constituencies in CD block G.M. Pore (Trespone) district Kargil, 12 Sarpanch and 74 Panch constituencies in CD block Marwah district Kishtwar, nine Sarpanch and 54 Panch constituencies in CD block Dachan district Kishtwar, seven Sarpanch and 42 Panch constituencies in CD block Warwan district Kishtwar, 42 Sarpanch and 254 Panch constituencies in CD block Bhaderwah district Doda.

The poll percentage remained 76 per cent in Keller partly, 72 per cent in Kargil, 80 per cent in Sankoo, 80 per cent in Shaker Chiktan, 72 per cent in Gm Pore (Trespone), 80.85 per cent in Marwah, 70.76 per cent in Dachan, 82.14 per cent in Warwan and 80.93 per cent in Bhaderwah with an overall percentage of 78.29 per cent in all these blocks (Greater Kashmir: 2011).

Sixteenth Phase

The sixteenth phase of panchayat election concluded on Saturday 18 June 2011 with 78.83 per cent electorate exercising their right to franchise. The election was held in 10 Sarpanch and 65 Panch constitutions in CD block Gurez District Bandipora, 10 Sarpanch and 64 Panch constituencies in CD block Tulail District Bandipora, nine Sarpanch and 69 Panch constituencies in CD block Taisura District Kargil, 14 Sarpanch and 88 Panch constituencies in CD block Drass District Kargil, nine Sarpanch and 59 Panch constituencies in CD block Shargole District Kargil, 16 Sarpanch and 102 Panch constituencies in CD block Khaltsi District Leh and four Sarpanch and 24 Panch constituencies in CD block Suspol District Leh.

The poll percentage remained 73.54 per cent in Gurez, 83.01 per cent in Tulail, 90 per cent in Taisura, 81.87 per cent in Drass, 90.30 per cent in Shargole, 70 per cent in Khaltsi and 70.68 per cent in Suspol with an overall percentage of 79.83 per cent in all these blocks (Greater Kashmir: 2011).

Seventeenth Phase

The seventeenth phase of panchayat election concluded peacefully on Monday 27 June (2011) with large number of people exercising their right of franchise to elect 12 Sarpanches and 77 Panches in two-CD blocks of the state. The election was held in nine Sarpanch and 58 Panch constituencies in CD block Zanskar District Kargil and three Sarpanch and 19 Panch constituencises in CD block Lungnak District Kargil.

The poll percentage remained 65 per cent in Zanskar and 67.05 per cent in Lungnak with an overall percentage of 65.35 per cent in the twin blocks (Greater Kashmir: 2011).

Conclusion

Panchayat elections in the state finally concluded on 27 June (2011). The overall polling average has been around 80 per cent which was the first such record participation by the people in such an exercise in the state. Panchayats were essentially tied to the governance of the state rather than to the status of the state as a historically contested place. People participated in large numbers and hundreds of village level leaders were elected.

The panchayat polls are for the fulfilment of civic needs of the people and that they have no bearing on the large issue of Kashmir. This approach seems to have settled the often complicated debate about the panchayat elections in the state and paved the way towards grassroots governance. What now remains to be seen is whether panchayats would truly help to bring power to the people or like the larger democratic reality of the state, are overtaken by the troubled politics over the state. Much will also depend on how government will devolve powers and functions to panchayats.

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Digital Happiness: A Panorama

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Digital happiness is a new word indicating the use of mobile technology to trace the mental subjective well being (SWG) on digital platform and to further the public policy issues in most authentic real time manner for a bio-digital state. The erection of this concept intends to establish a digital saga in real sense. Though the happiness can not be assessed as it is a SWG matter yet insertion of digital technology tries to help it surface out.

Introduction

Recently institutionalisation of happiness division in governments to asses the well being of subjects has been a concerning agenda, as it is the ultimate end for which governments work. It certainly is a welcome step for measuring the real spirit of political philosophy of Aristotle's "Good Life", "Common Good", "General Will" "Public Interest" or Gandhi's "Ramrajya". Madhya Pradesh is the first state in country to institutionalise this division. Happiness be there among masses and subjects remain happy blissfully is the prime objective of any public welfare government as far as happiness is concerned. Though happiness is a subjective matter yet the measuring parameters have been thought of which may be conducive to happiness.

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The pioneering efforts of Government of Bhutan are placed on record that they understood that happiness is not simply a GDP (Gross Domestic Product) affair rather it requires something more for real happiness. Bhutan government has made miraculous experiment and of course they have become successful in intermingling the "Economics" with "Externality", externality in the sense that they have revisited Buddhist philosophical values and Bhutani culture in their concept. A measure of development GDP was replaced with GNH (Gross National Happiness) philosophy in 1972 and the process of economic development subjected with happiness parameters opened a new window for rest of the world. Simultaneously, the "Green Concerns" have raised the issues of existence and showed that still the desired has not been achieved through western mechanism of GDP, rather the elements of compassion, blissfulness, forgiveness, Social connectivity and a happy individual with holistic existence are still required. The GDP has not produced a happy state, there may be utilitarian appeasement, sensuous satisfaction and momentary appraising events but persisting happiness could not be achieved and transformed in generations.

Background

In light of above, the measurable four pillars of GNH philosophy are as under:
1. Sustainable development.
2. Preservation of and promotion of cultural values.
3. Conservation of natural environment.
4. Establishment of good governance.

For spotting out the parameters of these instruments and under umbrella of UN General Assembly the first World Happiness Report 2012 matched the development parameters with the concerns of ethical well being. The social and economic indicators along with the public policy issues of sectoral level continued in World Happiness Report 2013 with special emphasis on objective and subjective well being, restoring ethics and mental happiness. The World Happiness Report 2015 also outlined the emotions of sadness, worry, stress etc. in happiness as impediments and also the neural basis of happiness (WHR, 2015). The World Happiness Report 2016 (Vol. I) also talks about meaning of the public policy issues and social progress. In all these reports. It is also expressed that happiness is a mental state. Two persons may have same milieu but have different mental feeling so it is a subjective emotion. But on larger scale a "feel good" or a "feel bad"

differentiation may do for measuring and activating the happiness principle in practice. And all this is on the vehicle of government delivery system and community feeling.

Digital Happiness Principle

The different happiness reports include systematic concerns and public policy indicators. The question still exists, whether happiness which is a subjective feeling can be measured or whether the mass happiness is a "feel good" syndrome or really an exposition of blissful state of mind. The scaling in parameters of a cohesive society in policy indicators and their mass impact can be sketched in different modes; following matrix submits some of the typical views among them.

National Pride Indicators	The Subjective Happiness Indicators	The Green feeling Indicators
1. Polity 2. Agriculture 3. Commerce 4. Defense, security and foreign policy 5. Scientific fervour	1. Education 2. Health 3. Food 4. Housing 5. Transport (Communication) 6. Employment 7. Inhabitation 8. Cultural wellbeing and aesthetics	1. The community feeling, ethics and values 2. The Ecology and Environment 3. The corruption less holistic living

Different other fields or sub-fields can be added in this matrix but a promising mix of objectives and subjectives which show that these parameters can be gauzed on digital nerves are produced here. What satisfaction a citizen feels from this equation can be sketched on the following ranges.

Feel Good Range		Remark
Excellent	A+	Feel good range reels through four scales, thought marked in different scales manifests an average status further qualified by practical conditions of feeling that A+ and A may be very rare.
Very Good	A	
Good	B	
Satisfactory	C	
Feel Bad Range		
Bad	D	
Worst	E	

Scaling can be changed with further modification, but what when anyone who has a mobile phone (android/smart phone) touches with his/her finger tips the above parameters app according to grades he/she

scripts his/her mental status on digital mode. More elaborately for example, in India among 125 million persons, 100 million persons have their own mobile phones and on a submitted app by finger tip touch the feeling towards them can be pointed out very easily in hardly 30 seconds. It has been experimented by authors that a matrix on the 16 points mentioned above, if it is marked with A+, A, B, C, D and E scale touch for each point independently hardly around 30 seconds are consumed. The digital nerves capture this touch in such a short time that it is practically always feasible. The digital nerve is synchronised with the mental nerve and a graphical representation comes in measurable form. This way about 81 per cent individual connectivity regarding happiness is recorded in about 30 seconds, it means 100 million persons are being put on digit to express their feelings. The gender wise calibration can also be categorised automatically as each mobile connection has this detail, so gender wise happiness can also be located. This is also an expression of fluctuating geographical happiness state as the mobile connectivity will shift from tower to tower and the locale feeling about deliveries mixed with the mental state will be coming out. At the same time "Aadhar Linkage" can also be calibrated with this simple finger tip touch thus enabling the mental graphical scale of that particular Aadhar identity.

It is also true that digital literacy exclusion also exists among the mobile users in India, as many of them do not know how to calibrate, the functions, and practically android phones are not available with masses universally. But with the "digital vision" of new Government themes, these devices may be subsidised under corporate social responsibilities in digitally excluded area, and the digital literacy campaign can be launched by service providers and even by government too. Thus a digital happiness movement may come out through the following way:

Table 1
Digital India Vision and Digital Happiness

S. No.	Digital India vision	The Digital Happiness
1.	High speed digital highways-broadband access	High Speed Digital happiness flow
2.	Connected Indians-universal access	Connected Happiness
3.	Knowledge is strength-public internet	Digital happiness brings in cohesiveness and solidarity.
4.	Access to Information-e governance	Access to happiness parameters universally across the nation

S. No.	Digital India vision	The Digital Happiness
5.	Open/transparent government e-delivery services	Open and transparent democratic outcome through happiness principle
6.	Incorruptible C2G interface- information for all	Incorruptible C2G and G2C and C2C happiness indicators.
7.	Government services measurement- e delivery of services	Not only government services but also community solidarity measurement with individual centric digital technology.
8.	Proactively social media engages government- information to all	The end product of government comes out daily as a happiness barometer for further action.
9.	Netizen- an empowered citizen	"Happizen" – a digital citizen who uses mobile for expressing his mental status of wellbeing on digital nerves.

On practical grounds among 100 million mobile users, if even 50 per cent mobile users daily devote a time for 30 to 45 seconds for their own welfare and on "happiness expression instrument", i.e. a simple neural mobile phone, it means 1500 million digital happiness nerves evolve in one month and in a year 18000 million, and in 5 years (generally accepted elected government tenure) 90000 million happiness nerves are stored. And for example, if the above mentioned 16 domains are calibrated then 16 X 50 million = 900 million sub-digital nerves sketch themselves miraculously in one day and in one month 27000 digital nerves and in one year 324000 million sub-digital nerves and in five year 1620000 million sub-digital nerves come out. This estimation can make storage of government outcome digitally - the end product of any government and a digital chemistry as a whole.

The Digital Operative Principle

As the end product of any government is imparting happiness enabling indicators and thus for the outcome of happiness the concerning ministry can retrieve the above information and send transparently on e-ways to concerning care taking department. This phase gives not only C2G, G2G and G2C but also parallel C2C exposure making digital principal more cohesive, indeed a digital nerve exposure two bio-cellular nerve (as the happiness is being expressed by a person who has trillions of cells) and vice-versa.

The opinion poll, the feedback of governance, and the "d-participation of happiness" takes place here. The participative democracy and its feeling which is measured during elections after five years may be measured daily. The operation cost of this daily saga is almost nil as from "happiness" point it is 30 to 45 second mobile battery use and transmission

to this data through satellite to "Central Happiness Server" also costs nothing additional and further its sending to concerning on d-mode avoids the traditional paper cost. No specific manpower is required to assess the response of happiness and opinion about the government, governee and of community as well.

In all the world happiness reports, the equal distribution of happiness has been talked about. For example in World Happiness Report 2016 India has been ranked 118, which is a concerning state for Indians. This report has taken into account the GDP per capita, life expectancy, social support and freedom to make choice. Denmark, Switzerland, Iceland, Norway and Finland stood first to five respectively, with the advent of mentioned "digital happiness" concept as above, there is no need of survey or any special "gallop poll", simply mobile technology will be doing it, and it will be an authentic bio-cellular data. It is also a possibility that the nature and ranking of world happiness report may change with change of methodology this way and India might not stand on 118th rank.

The Universal Digital Phenomena

The routine recording of finger tips touch messages make a repository of happiness response. If at any point the above 16 points are amicably agreed to, a whole planet happiness report may be generated daily, yearly or at any suitable time. The MDG or SD [(Millennium Development Goal) or (Sustainable Development)] may have a major break through this route by the major globalization of "digital happiness principle". This vision opens a new way for community action as every work can't be done by any best government, this knowledge can be used for common agendas also.

The localisation of this happiness principle on any "mobile user" evolves for globalisation. The above 16 parameters may or may not be responded but an inherent theme is established for concerns of common single planet. "Think globally, act locally" turns into "think lonely - dream globally - feel digitally" - a new slogan, where the measurement of happiness which is the end product of not only of government but also of community as a whole and individual as a person comes out.

The data being deposited the way as described above regularly record fluctuating and durable horizontal and vertical digital happiness. At a certain point of time the better scaling percentage may be in favour of "food", and in the next week or couple of days, it may get a shift towards "housing" etc. and so on. The joy, satisfaction and positive well being which

are expressed through the above scale of 16 points form a universal appeal for further scale progression.

It is also important to know that as mobile connectivity is reached through transmission towards and satellite mechanism, so if any person moves from India to China or to some other space, he or she may touch the screen for recording his rating about happiness Indicators of that place, so this way "individual based- time related- spatial digital happiness nerve flow" can be recorded which can be the unique phenomena of "think locally - dream globally - feel digitally" theme.

Sustainability of Theme

The theme of this vision is practical, digital technology can make it possible. In early phase, the efforts may take time in abridging the digital transmission nodal points but later on an all inclusive "digital happiness network" may be erected. The most authentic data may be there. As usual the alerts, the time scale, the blinking features etc. may be setup on national happiness dashboard.

As the human being is a psychological as well as a live physical body, so the exact desires, feelings for sensuous or non-sensuous affairs both may be there in one's mind. But it is very difficult to point them out. Through the above effort the "Hedonistic" as well as "Altruistic principal", both aspects can be digitalised. Thus, 16 points, six scales, 50 million play approx touch on screen and 30-45 seconds per day may make whole saga possible in India and this may extend to the globe. The same matrix can be shifted to future generation. So generational happiness distributive justice will also be achieved this way.

The distribution of digital happiness can also be located as per following parameters:
1. Gender wise
2. Age wise
3. Time wise (Response diurnal time)
4. Culture wise
5. Ethnic population wise
6. Religion wise
7. Rural area wise
8. Urban area wise
9. Country wise

The sustainable policies thus may be designed and transparently shared with common public for common agenda. The beautiful picture here

is that all the data infusion is responsibility of citizens (which must be there) and operational activities to further happiness flow C2G, G2G, G2C, C2C in real time mode and transparently so the "digital happiness" principle miraculously laps the whole saga of social life. There may be discussion on parameters or on recording time of this data and a suitable action but the theme stands true for the enshrined goal.

Conclusion

It is evident from the above description that the feeling of well being is a mental state, and it differs from man to man, but by using digital nerves the projection of mental state can be scripted in some quantifying and measurable parameters say public policy issues. In feedback the social policies and actions can be reengineered. The only task of aggregating and segregating "the digital happiness flow nerves" can be very well structured. This methodology has the script of "mind in digital path" and ultimately takes the shape of "digital happiness barometer". The digital happiness principle proves not a social media in its ordinary sense but in an organised effort to put nation on better path progressively. This vision can be replicated in secular way even beyond boundaries and from one nation to one world, thus making and identifying the "happiness" in action. Fluctuating and constant factors emerged after the analysis of data may also hint towards those domains which are real and need focus for a better tomorrow.

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Engaging and Promoting Young Women's Entrepreneurship: A Challenge to Social Work

Praveen Varghese Thomas[*] **and Sonny Jose**[†]

Development is complete only with genuine acknowledgement of the roles of women as well as their active engagement in all forums - political, economic, and social - in life. To provide a conducive environment for women has been a developmental debate in India for many decades now. Yet, India's progress and performance on women's empowerment and gender mainstreaming leave much desired by global standards. Women who venture into business or entrepreneurial activities seek active support - spousal and familial, right from the beginning stage of the venture. However, experience seems to suggest that such perceived support systems, turn around and in themselves present social impediments to the healthy development of women lead enterprises. This paper is a case study that attempts to portray the travails of a group of young women, who attempted to launch an enterprise in a rurban setting. The paper describes the social challenges posed to Unarvu Self-Help Group, in Trivandrum district of Kerala, and their resilience in overcoming these impediments. This paper is a reflection of the experience undergone by many women and also showcases the resilience generated by self-motivated women venturing as entrepreneurs, in the wake of resistance and impediments. The paper is a qualitative portrayal of experiences of a social worker trainee, in dealing with the issues hindering women entrepreneurship. This also opens up new avenues for professional social work engagement.

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Introduction

Female deities are worshipped, and great respect is accorded to women in many ancient texts and scriptures in India. Yet, on the other hand women have to deal with oppression and humiliation in their daily life in various forums - political, social and economic. The modern Indian woman is working throughout the country at all levels and virtually in all professions at different positions. India has witnessed women rising as forces to reckon in politics - regional and national. We even find women storming male bastions and claiming their spaces as managers in industrial firms, directors of multinational corporations as well as new generation banks, as top bureaucrats, active members of micro-credit groups or as independent fashion designers. Yet again, we are confronted by the question - do all cross-sections of women enjoy the same privilege in India? Are not there double-standards, double-speak and discrimination when India debates the issues of common women? Discrimination has largely resulted in neglect of women in India, and has been reflected in the form of insufficient nutrition, denial or limited access to education, inaccessibility to health and property rights, child labour, and inequity in wages as well as domestic violence. There has been an analysis-paralysis on how to address these issues and on how to offer a conducive environment to women in India. India still trails far behind the minimum standards. It is very threatening that India's poor performance in women's empowerment and gender equality is reflected in many standard/global indicators. Sex ratio has dropped even lesser than 850 females per 1000 males in many fragments of 'developing' India. India is ranked 132 out of 148 countries on Gender Inequality Index as per the 2013 Global Human Development Report. Women from various marginalised groups such as Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and minorities in particular face discrimination, exploitation and moreover limited or no employment opportunities.

"Nothing, arguably, is as important today in the political economy of development, as an adequate recognition of political, economic, and social participation and leadership of women" (Sen, 1999). While a large part of the world is still looking at women's issues in social welfare dimension, the prime and important concept of women's empowerment in the socio-political and economic order as a pre-requisite of human development is hardly given the priority it deserves. The welfare approach introduced in the 1950s and followed through during the 1960s, may be considered the earliest policy approach concerned with women in developing countries (Moser,

1993). These welfare approaches were the need of time; but we have spent far too much time there in analyses rather than moving ahead.

There have been a paradigmatic shift in perceiving and addressing problems of women. The social welfare dimension has given way to the developmental dimension. The social welfare dimension treated women as 'targets' or 'beneficiaries'. Since 1970s, policy-makers and academicians started thinking as how development programmes could be associated with women in society. Gender discrimination presents much more severe constraints for women than the male members from the same household, where their general poverty conditions, lack of food, drinking water, sanitation, accessibility of education are some of the major concerns. The term 'Women in Development' coined in the early 1970s by a Washington-based network of female development professionals (Tinker, 1990). Boserup (1970) has challenged the assumptions of the welfare approach and highlighted women's importance to the agricultural economy in his book titled "Women's Role in Economic Development". He has described a positive correlation between the role women played in the Sub-Saharan African agricultural production and the societal status. According to him, women in the community, made substantial contribution towards food production. This discussion was as important as it paved way for the women in development approach globally, by way of criticising the colonial and post-colonial agricultural policies. Boserup has also challenged the conventional wisdom that women were 'less productive,' and therefore were unentitled to a share of scarce development resources. It is in this context that the writers discuss and examine issues concerning women empowerment in India.

Research Questions

There were few questions which has helped to conceptualise the study and further guided to follow case study design to narrate the group dynamics among the young women entrepreneurs in Kerala.

- What is the attitude of family and society towards women entrepreneurs?
- What all are the problems faced by the women entrepreneurs while conceptualising and functioning in a group?
- What kind of dynamics does a Self-Help Group possess and how they work?

The research paper follows a narrative style for the events which have been experienced by a social work trainee while working with the Self-

Help Group. The researcher also has facilitated the trainee and the Self-Help Group for revamping the dynamics and thereby helping them to solve the issues identified.

Methodology

This study has made considerable effort to capture the dynamics and the journey of a Self-Help Group in Trivandrum so as to describe the successful social work intervention strategy which helped the group to flourish into a mature sustainable group.

The study is conceptualised as a case study design and to follow descriptive pattern for the reporting/presentation. Case study methodology provides tools for researchers to study complex phenomena within their contexts. When the approach is applied correctly, it becomes a valuable method for social science research to develop theory, evaluate programmes, and develop interventions. The study follows descriptive case study method and this type of case study is used to describe an intervention or phenomenon and the real-life context in which it occurred (Yin, 2003).

Women Entrepreneurs in Kerala

In a state like Kerala, women who venture into business or entrepreneurial activities seek family/spouse support, right from very inception, and even in the later stages including the planning, setting up, managing, establishing, as well as diversification. Venturing out to a new field and that too emerging from their 'protected' environment and patriarchal system apparently is perceived as huge leap of faith and is regarded too risky. Any suggestions and demands by the family vide the spouse are a priority and are accorded due respect by the women-entrepreneur. It is not surprising that eventually the family too influences the management of the enterprise, sometimes affecting if not jeopardising the fate of the enterprise. Ultimately, what they aspired on their own becomes a playground where the dynamics of forces and interests - interpersonal, familial and societal - take control. The present study is the case of Unarvu Self-Help Group hailing from rurban Trivandrum, in Kerala.

Case Presentation

Anjana Binoy is a motivated social work trainee who attempted to practice social group work with a suburban community in Pothencode Block of Thiruvanathapuram, Kerala. As directed by her instructors, her initial assignment was to organise an adolescent group in Ariyottukonam Ward.

The ICDS[1] Unit, based in Ariyottukonam Ward, having around 17 children enrolled, was meant to provide her a gateway to the community. In spite of her earnest efforts, she met with impediments in the form of immense resistance from parents, keen to send their wards to remedial education provided by the mushrooming tuition centres. Such a fad is common in Kerala, where parents were more interested in equipping their wards academically, rather than in soft skills and life skills, which are essential for improving their employability. Ms. Binoy was dejected when she slowly and painfully realised that there was no space for her assignment in that point of time.

One morning Ms. Binoy noticed a lady coming out of the anganawadi,[2] after leaving her child. Although confident, she appeared to be pensive. Ms. Binoy, herself quite dejected by not being able to initiate a group, identified herself with the lady; she introduced herself and engaged in a conversation. During the conversation that ensued, Ms. Binoy and the lady whom she got acquainted with, realised that both of them were looking forward to doing something substantial for the local community. Sujitha, as the authors eventually came to know, was an articulate and enterprising lady, who had undertaken her graduation from Central Institute for Foreign Languages, Hyderabad. She too was looking for an opportunity to do something substantial. She had been very intensely toying with the idea of starting an enterprise in the community. Their idealism and ideas struck a chord. Ms. Binoy was quick to identify the fact that Ms. Sujitha had adequate skills and knowledge in tailoring and cooking. Together with the anganawadi teacher and the Ward Member, a gentleman, they planned to call for a meeting to look for partners and ideas.

A week later, they convened a group of women, consisting mostly of mothers of children who were members of the designated anganawadi. They floated various ideas including tailoring, catering, manufacturing of cleansing agents, etc. Being a new initiative to which they were not familiar, the women were cautious. Ms. Binoy realising such a dynamism, suggested that they start off with something least capital intensive. One of the members volunteered to teach the group how to manufacture bathroom lotion (Phenol), candle and bathing soaps. They assembled on a date mutually agreed on, to learn how to do the same. The venture was successful and they were thrilled to experience the tangible results of their unity. The products too were well received by the community as they were offered at competitive prices.

Next, Ms. Sujitha, quite talented herself, offered to teach them how to make fancy earrings. Under the initiative of the Ward Member and the anganawadi teacher, they organised a training programme. This venture too was well received as the members found takers for their self-made products. Alongside these enterprises, the group convened meetings regularly on the lines of the *Kudumbashree*, as some of the members were familiar with the functioning and modalities of the *Kudumbashree*.

In the meanwhile, the social worker trainee negotiated with the members to suggest possible names for their group. During a particular meeting, the group looked at possible names and finally decided on Unarvu (meaning, 'awakening'). Having gained trust after working together for about six weeks and learning from their success in manufacturing cleaning products, they contemplated of venturing into more risky endeavours. From the discussions that ensued, they proposed something on the lines of a catering unit. The social worker herself being an enterprising student seized the opportunity. She knew her classmates were on the lookout for caterers for a culmination programme under the aegis of their students association (SALT). They anticipated a 400 strong group of women and children coming together. Ms. Binoy convinced her friends and thus Unarvu won it first major order for supplying food for 400 during the culmination of their fieldwork. The group agreed to do the same at a very competitive rate and did so almost flawlessly. This endeavour boosted the women's confidence and opened a gateway of offers.

The First Victory and Diversification

It was interesting to see how the logistics worked and how support grew around the group. The family members especially Ms. Sujitha's husband was willing to assist the group. He pitched in to transport the vessels to and fro from the catering unit which functioned in the courtyard of one of the group members. The group members also took the responsibility of getting vessels and spoons necessary for preparing and serving the food. Soon, Sujitha's husband being a first-hand witness to their phenomenal growth in unity, pitched in with an offer to arrange for lunch for the IT Company, wherein he worked. Thus, Unarvu won an order to supply the employees of the IT Company, lunch once every week. In addition, it supplied *Naadan Palahaaram* (traditional and local delicacies). It was decided that they would cater to the company on a regular basis and the same worked out well, providing the group a regular income.

The regular work enabled the group to generate income, which meant that the participating members earned a regular income, in addition to affording them enough income to purchase additional vessels and culinary equipment for their catering unit. At last count they were able to provide each member an average of Rs. 300 per day for their services. Noteworthy is the fact that Unarvu did not rest on its laurels. During meetings that followed, the group decided to go in for a formal registration. One of the group members, Bindu who as a professionally trained tailor aspired to do tailoring. They later ventured into starting another unit where five members agreed to undertake tailoring on a regular basis. A separate unit was thus floated in a rented space close to the ICDS. The growth of the enterprise was steady thanks to the initiative and enterprise of Ms. Sujitha and the moral support provided by Ms. Binoy, the local Ward Member and Sujitha's husband. She continued to work on ideas.

Ms. Sujitha's creativity and enterprise had no boundaries. She had experimented with roof top vegetable cultivation (*Mattupavil Adukkalathottam*) and planned to expand the activity to include roof-top paddy cultivation. For that matter she had cultivated a 250 strong following on Facebook that had participants from the length and breadth of Kerala. They had planned a *Koottayma* that was well attended by interested individuals hailing from other districts. Around 40 members had registered online to participate in the proposed workshop at the time of writing the paper.

Teething Problems

While considering the success of Unarvu, the reader should not assume that the going was smooth. There were many challenges that the group encountered while it expanded its domains of operation. But the manner in which these hurdles were tackled is indeed a wonderful learning experience. This part of the article goes on to describe the various hurdles thrown to Unarvu.

After the initial two months of progressive expansion in terms of activities, the group decided that it would be ideal if it could register in the long run. A registration would give it a position as an entity, giving it a status of a legal business establishment. Further, it would enable the group to start a bank account, obtain matching grants and expand its business further. As a first step, they decided to register itself as a *Kudumbashree* unit, being the most tangible model in Kerala. This is when they were faced by problems. Two of their active members were members in other groups; in

fact they were the key members - President and Secretary - to a *Kudumbashree* Unit. The moment the group members expressed interest in being relieved, the parent unit started to throw spanner in their wheels. They objected engaging in Unarvu- another *Kudumbasree* Unit and refused to relieve them. This also had technical reasons by which the group would cease to exist. Hence the Unarvu group members experienced severe resistance from the already functioning *Kudumbashree* Units. For that matter it was not before long that the other *Kudumbashree* Units too started to look at Unarvu as a rogue unit trying to poach members illegally. Such a portrayal put Unarvu in bad light and thereafter every little activity was viewed by the community with suspicion. As resistance built numerous rumors about Unarvu, often damaging, made news in the community. The group eventually found the entire community hostile and resisting its very existence. The families, especially the spouses, who initially supported the women tried to stop the active members from participating it Unarvu's activities for the fear of disrepute. Sujitha too found the going tough, but managed to carry along the dedicated members by handholding and assuring them about better prospects.

The group's catering unit operated from the household of their secretary, who happened to be a senior and influential community member. This association was healthy as the community looked up to her and regarded her home to be safe space. Moreover, the latter shared her utensils, cooking gas, electricity and some of the home appliances. Sujitha, a matter of principle and propriety replaced everything borrowed (raw materials), got the members to wash all the utensils, check the hygiene of the space and even remunerated for the actual use of utilities - electricity and water. However, as the business expanded and catering events became frequent, the secretary turned hostile demanding extra pay for the gas and complained about the excess use of water. At one point in time, she even insisted that only the orders of the IT firm be catered to, and in future the big orders must be dropped. Alternately, she suggested that they shift the huge orders to another alternative space. Realising the importance of maintaining the Secretary's space for want of endorsement from their families, the group has to rent in another space for large catering orders. This may be largely perhaps because of the kind of disruption to the household when others share a private space. Seen from another angle it could be regarded as a strategy to arm twist a desperate group. All said and done, this arrangement severely handicapped Unarvu as they had to shift the utensils to and from the venue; they had to get water and had difficulty in keeping the space

clean owing to poor sanitation and lack of proper flooring. But the group put up with the Secretary's demand and continued to work with the handicap.

Discussion and Learning

The author went back to the group to find out the learnings they could share. First and foremost was the incredible resilience the Unarvu members were able to develop. Pushed through the fire, the group learnt of the importance of standing together. Realising that rumours and hostility abounded, Sujitha took the status of a participant manager. She merely made suggestions; but she let the group decide on what is to be done. She also made it a point to keep the accounts transparent and share profits, contingently, there and then. She had very little to do with handling finances; this in itself kept her hands taintless. The decisions and actions were clearly minuted in order to maintain transparency at all times and levels. She was all in praise of the emotional support rendered by the social workers. She also took interest to provide continuous training by associating with a college of social work.

The transformation that this brought to the participants is also noteworthy. One of them shared how it felt to be a wage earner. She had finished her education and got married and was into family way. Now that the child was in school, she had more spare time but with little to do. Unarvu provided her a space to associate with contemporaries and engage in activities she would not have ventured into otherwise. She recalls with pride how her father-in-law took her first salary with so much of reverence filling her eyes with tears of joy. She felt her life was more complete and meaningful. The same was with Sujitha, the entrepreneur. She too had come with privileged education and was left with little to do having opted to be a housewife. This venture gave her loads of confidence to engage in startup, manage issues and venture into new ones.

Bindu recalled how she was trained in tailoring and after having worked for six years was encouraged by the employer to start a venture on her own. She remembered running from pillar to post for getting a loan of Rs. 2 lakh to be sanctioned towards purchase of machinery. But the same never came through thanks to the red-tape and overbearing, and insatiable conditions. Finally it was at height of depression and strong sense of futility that this offer came through from Sujitha. She reflects how now her life feels more meaningful and gives her more to look up to. She is cautious, yet confident of leadership qualities and has gathered the confidence to translate her know-how into action.

Conclusion

Kerala women while establishing firm foothold in literacy and social status seem yet to find their space in entrepreneurship. Ensuring a free and conducive environment was far more important than lip service in the form of declarations and a welfare statement. Several government entrepreneurial programmes and schemes focus on women. Propounded by different departments and initiated at different times, most of the schemes share a lot of common features, which help the women entrepreneurs in terms of financial credits. Very few women's units opt for business expansion even when they have scope for it. Reports by government departments and financial institutions have mentioned about constraints imposed on women entrepreneurs by their immediate environment, such as family commitments and absence of appropriate psychological disposition on the part of women themselves. However, the primary focus of attention of policy makers still remains on constraints such as lack of short-term and long-term credit facilities. Similarly, conventional training programmes are organised on general management areas (production, finance, and marketing personnel) on the assumption that these are the main skills required for successful entrepreneurship. However, these do not seem to be the sole or even the most important factors. Initiatives facilitated by local colleges (Social Work colleges) can be adopted as an effective model. At the same time the procedures for setting up enterprise by women must be simplified and must be entrepreneur friendly.

End Notes

1.   Integrated Child Development Services initiated and launched on 2nd October 1975 by Ministry of Women and Child Development, Government of India

2.   Started by the Indian government in 1975 as part of the Integrated Child Development Services programme to combat child hunger and malnutrition.

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PESA Act and Its Implications for Development in Tribal Areas of Odisha: A Study of Two Tribal Districts

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This paper reviews the implementation of the Provisions of Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 and its implications on the functioning of Panchayats in the tribal areas of Odisha, while examining the role of Panchayats in planning and implementation of the socio-economic development programmes in these areas. In tribal areas the self-governing institutions otherwise known as Panchayats, have emerged as institution of promoting socio-economic development. Particularly, in the context of the enactment of the PESA Act in 1996, the functioning of the Panchayats in tribal areas in Odisha has witnessed certain institutional changes, though their implications on the political-economy of the tribals have not seen significant changes. The institutionalisation of Panchayats under the framework of the PESA Act and functioning of Gram Sabhas have created space for political inclusion but the effects of this process on social and economic inclusion of the tribals have not become a reality. Increasing incidence of corruption in the matters of beneficiary selection, dominance of the local elites in the decision making and implementation process, and above all delay in planning and implementation of various schemes and programmes have exacerbated the plight of the tribals. Such scenario has raised a question on the morale of the effective functioning of the Panchayats in the tribal areas as per the provision of the PESA Act.

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The democratic governance in the tribal areas has emerged as an important instrument of promoting effective functioning of the self-governing institutions and better implementation of the development programmes. In the contemporary era of development, the local self-governing institutions have been playing a prominent role while contributing immensely towards the socio-economic betterment of the most disadvantageous sections of people such as dalits and tribals. This argument has become a major source of developing new scholarship in the study of governance and development while focusing on the aspects of socio-economic development of the weaker section of people such as STs.The process of decentralisation may tend to create local level institutions which are believed to be more sensitive towards the development of local area and people. Advocates of decentralisation in developing countries argue that "bringing government closer to the people will make it more responsive and hence more likely to develop policies and outputs which meet the needs of the ordinary citizens-the majority of whom are the poor" (Crook and Sverrisson, 2001). The assertion in favour of democratic governance is based on its institutional arrangement and capability to address the local development needs through the strategy of socio-economic development of local areas and local people.

Democratic governance can also promote effective participation of the excluded communities such as the STs through the strategy of inclusive institutional arrangement. The institutional arrangements are expected to be shaped through the process of democratic decentralisation based on the strategy of the greater degree of devolution, process of empowerment and promoting participation in the decision-making processes (Hadenius, 2003) summarises that "a decentralised system is also more accessible to new political movements and minority groups in their attempts to influence politics. This is particularly important in ethnically divided societies, where political exclusion can have serious polarising effects".

Examining the importance of governance for promoting faster development, researchers (Mundle et.al, 2012) argue that there is a strong correlation between governance quality and level of development in a state. Improved governance level can enhance the perspectives of development and such perspectives depend on certain aspects of governance such as equity and inclusiveness. Particularly under the framework of democratic governance structure, it is observed that it can facilitate the exchange of information about local needs and channel political demands from local community to national level government. Although democratisation of

governance does not automatically lead to development and progress, efficient and effective democratically elected government are key elements of promoting inclusive governance. The core elements of the inclusive governance such as equity and inclusiveness are the basis for structural poverty reduction and sustainable development. It is believed that decentralisation might allow greater representation for various political, religious, ethnic, and tribal groups in development decision-making that could lead to greater equity in the allocation of government resources and investments.

Since last few decades, studies on inclusive democratic governance have been focusing on the issues of participation of the weaker sections of people. Enhancing the participation of the weaker section of people such as the tribals in the process of decision making through the democratic means has been argued as the most effective instrument through which economic and social needs of these communities can be addressed. Particularly with regard to the socio-economic development of the tribals, creating democratic institutions and devolving them the powers and finances for promoting development can lead into a better quality of life for the individuals and families of such categories. The process of decentralisation may become an instrument of creating a positive atmosphere in institutional settings and in promoting inclusive and participatory local development plans and programmes. Particularly, development programmes with regard to poverty reduction and maintaining effectiveness in the delivery of goods and services can be addressed effectively by the decentralised self-governing institutions. Furthermore, facilitating development through improving the degree of equity in service delivery, access to resources, and control over local development plans and programmes can be achieved effectively through the decentralised local-self governing institutions.

There is now a growing understanding that economic, political and social institutions are essential for the economic progress of a particular area and people. In the context of development, particularly socio-economic development, governance refers to the essential parts of the broad cluster of institutions. In the study of democratic governance and tribal development, emphasis has been laid down on understanding the importance of political institutions and their role on transforming economic empowerment. Such an attempt has been immensely contributed to the study of governance and development, as a result of which a large body of theoretical and empirical works are produced while examining the relationship between self-governing institutions and development. Governance requires the design of

institutions to meet demand of collective decision-making in increasingly complex circumstances. This hypothesis has enriched the debate on the essence of 'appropriate institution' in order to fulfill the development agenda of the decentralised self-governing institutions. Haan (2006) in 'the World Development Report' mentions that "institutions with participatory structure have a significant positive impact on development performance".

India since the last two decades has been witnessing the process of the evolution and institutionalisation of the local self-governments in rural areas. However, this process has witnessed a paradigm shift in the context of the evolution of local self-governing institutions based on the enactment of the 73rd Amendment Act in 1992 and the PESA Act in 1996. Such processes have been contributed immensely towards the institutionalisation of the local self-governing institutions in India. The PESA has been recognised by many activists and scholars as 'progressive' law, because it gives some crucial rights to village level communities to manage their lives and resources (Choubay, 2015). The Act gives radical governance powers to the tribal community and recognises its traditional community rights over natural resources (Mukul, 1997). The Act has created space for Gram Sabhas and Gram Panchayats to function as institutions of self-government. Such incident has marked the rising of the modern era of governance which is based on the instruments of democracy, decentralisation and local institutions.

Institutionalisation of Panchayats in Odisha

Odisha for the last few decades has also taken-up extensive efforts for institutionalising the Panchayati Raj in the Scheduled Areas (Tribal Areas). The evolution of the panchayat institutions is strongly linked with the political history of the state. Starting from the ancient era to the modern period, the evolution of the panchayats in Odisha has proceeded through the various stages while promoting institutional arrangements and planning and implementation of the development programmes. The state which was formed in 1936 has observed the process of the functioning of panchayats during different period of time in the state including the tribal areas. The state is the home of 62 indigenous communities (STs) spreading among various districts in the state. Among the various tribes, 13 have been identified as Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs). A total of 13 districts of the state with 120 blocks and 1966 Gram Panchayats are covered under the provisions of the PESA Act. Table 1 shows the administrative

profile of the tribal areas and status of the extension of the PESA Act in these areas.

The panchayats in tribal areas of the state have been playing a major role in the matters of poverty eradication and socio-economic development. In the context of the enactment of the PESA Act and its extension to the tribal areas, the debate over democratic governance and development has received renewed attention. The post-PESA enactment period has also contributed to a great extent towards the strengthening of the panchayats in the tribal areas in the state. Further, rapid expansion of the socio-economic development programmes and their implementation through the panchayats has also created ample opportunities for the tribal for political and economic inclusion. In this context, it has become imperative to examine the effects of such process through appropriate empirical studies. This paper is a part of such endeavour which aims to examine the implementation of the PESA Act and its link with functioning of panchayats and implementation of the development programmes in the tribal areas.

This paper focuses on the four broad aspects of the functioning of panchayats in the tribal areas of Odisha in the background of the PESA Act. Section 1 discusses the evolution of the panchayats in tribal areas (scheduled areas) in the state and the status of PESA Act while section 2 summarises the rationale and objectives of the paper. The socio-economic development aspects of the PESA Act and role of panchayats on promoting such development schemes and programmes are discussed in section 3, whereas the section 4 summarises simplications of such programmes on tribals based on empirical findings. The conclusion summarises the functioning of the panchayats in the tribal areas in two tribal districts i.e., Sundargarh and Koraput in the context of the enactment of the PESA Act and the challenges faced by these institutions in promoting socio-economic development of the scheduled tribes in these areas. The paper is based on a broad research question that can the panchayats under the framework of the PESA Act handle the development challenges faced by the tribal areas in the state?

Objectives and Methodology

The objectives of this paper are: to examine the evolution and functioning of the panchayats in the tribal areas in Odisha while focusing on the process of institutionalisation and functioning of panchayats in these areas; to explore the current status of the PESA Act in the state and how the panchayats are functioning as per the provisions of this act; and to examine the nature of the development programmes being planned and implemented

by the panchayats in the tribal areas while highlighting the case of the two study districts.

The study shows the result of the data gathered from the two tribal Gram Panchayats of the districts of Sundargarh and Koraput in Odisha. The database is also based on the analysis of secondary data, and interactions with the key persons such as sarpanches, Tribal council leaders, and selected people from the studied panchayats. The study has particularly tried to examine the evolution of the legal provisions with regard to the functioning of the panchayats in the tribal areas in the state. It has also focused on measuring the perception of the key informants on (i) institutionalisation and functioning of panchayats as per the PESA Act, (ii) socio-economic development programmes being implemented by panchayats in these areas, and (iii) overall perception of the people on changing nature of functioning of panchayats and socio-economic conditions of the tribals.

The study was carried out using a set of research methods such as analysis of secondary data and interview, the secondary data were collected from the state's Panchayati Raj Department, District Panchayat Offices, public libraries, and libraries of different research institutions. Apart from this, data were also collected through in-depth interview with the PRI Members, Panchayati Raj Department Officials, NGO functionaries; and people from academic institutions, media and knowledgeable persons.

Panchayats inTribal Areas of Odisha and the PESA Act: A Critical Review
Evolution of Tribal Areas

During the pre-independence period, the tribal areas of Odisha were kept under the provision of the 'partially excluded areas' as per the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935. During the post-independence era, the governance and development of scheduled areas emerged as part of the constitutional reforms process while adding special provisions for governance and administration of these areas. The case of declaration of scheduled areas in the state occurred in 1974 with the emergence of the Tribal Sub-Plan in the context of the fourth five year plan. However, the issue of governance and development of the scheduled areas and socio-economic development of the tribals continued to be a priority of the state government.

Table 1 highlights the administrative features of the scheduled areas, particularly the areas covered under the provision of the PESA Act, 1996. It shows that 13 districts of the state are part of this provision out of which

seven districts are fully covered and six districts are partly covered under the provision.

Table 1
Profile of Tribal Areas of Odisha

S No.	District	Coverage of Area under PESA	Area(in Sq.km)		Blocks		Gram Panchayats	
			Total	Scheduled	Total	Scheduled	Total	Scheduled
1	Sundargarh	Whole District	9712	9712	17	17	262	262
2	Mayurbhanj	Whole District	10418	10418	26	26	382	382
3	Koraput	Whole District	8379	8379	14	14	226	226
4	Rayagada	Whole District	7585	7584.7	11	11	171	171
5	Nobarangpur	Whole District	5294	5294	10	10	169	169
6	Malkangiri	Whole District	5791	5791	7	7	108	108
7	Kendujhar	Part of District	8303	6935.60	13	10	287	218
8	Sambalpur	Part of District	6702	2367.30	9	3	148	55
9	Balasore	Part of District	3634	223.60	12	1	257	25
10	Kandhamal	Whole District	7649	7649	12	12	153	153
11	Kalahandi	Part of District	7920	1323.30	13	2	273	37
12	Ganjam	Part of District	8071	912.00	22	2	475	39
13	Gajapati	Part of District	3850	3574.40	7	5	129	96
	Total 13	7 Fully and 6 Partly	93307	58402.1	173	120	3040	1941

Source: (i) District Statistical Handbooks of the Districts, 2007(ii) Economic Survey Report, Odisha, 2013-14.

Panchayats in Tribal Areas of Odisha

With regard to the functioning of the local self-government system in the scheduled areas referred into clause (I) of Article 244 of the Indian Constitution, Odisha has taken a number of initiatives in introducing this system since the post-independence period. Nevertheless, the effects of these provisions on the governance of the tribal areas and development of the tribal people remain doubtful.

The issues of the governance, administration and development in the tribal areas in the state in post-independence period began with the two major developments such as declaration of a number of constitutional provisions for the administration of the scheduled areas under Article 244 (I) of fifth Schedule of the Indian Constitution and economic development programmes designed for the STs under the provisions of Tribal Sub-Plan. Apart from these two initiatives, a number of measures were also taken by the state government for the functioning of panchayats through formulating the state specific legal provisions. The Government of Odisha enacted the Orissa Gram Panchayat Act in 1948 which made specific provisions for the Tribals with regard to the seat reservations, though there was no specific

reference for the tribal areas. The provision was made to promote politico-economic inclusion of the tribals for ensuring their effective participation in the local democratic system, governance processes and the economic development programmes.

In 1959, the Orissa Panchayat Samiti Act and the Orissa Zilla Parishad Acts enacted in the state for strengthening the panchayats at the intermediary level and district level. These two historic acts were laid the foundation stone for the introduction of the three tier local self-governments in the state which became a reality in 1961. The Orissa Panchayat Samiti Act was extended to the whole state of Odisha while providing specific provisions for the weaker sections, particularly the tribals in the form of seat reservations at different levels. Similarly, the Orissa Zilla Parishad Act also provided special provision for the Tribas with an objective to ensure their inclusion through political and economic participation. The most enduring features of these acts were that for the first time the three tier PR system was implemented in the entire state.

The Orissa Gram Panchayat Act of 1964 was a major initiative that included specific provisions in view of the constitutional mandate of the Fifth Schedule of the Indian Constitution. The original Act enacted in 1964 which extended the application of the provisions of the Act to the entire state including the areas coming under clause (I) of Article 244 of the fifth Schedule of the Indian Constitution. However, the amendment made in 1994 restricted the application of the provisions to the scheduled areas based on the provision of the 73rd Amendment Act which summarises that "nothing in this Act shall apply to the scheduled areas referred to in clause (I) of Article 244 of constitution." However, the provisions of this Act became applicable to the scheduled areas in 1994 with a separate notification dated 21st April, 1994 as per the Government of India Order no 438.

The Orissa Gram Panchayat Election Rules were framed in 1964 based on the provisions of the Orissa Gram Panchayat Act of 1964 which made certain provisions for the scheduled areas as per the Article 244 (I) of the Indian Constitution. On the matters of the preparation of electoral rolls and reservation of seats, security deposits and other matters, the rule specified the provisions for the tribals in the state to ensure their participation in the election process. Further, in the Orissa Panchayat Samiti Election Rules, 1991 and the Orissa Zilla Parishad Election Rules, 1994, several provisions were added in view of the provisions of the fifth schedule areas and status of the Tribals.

The Zilla Parishad Act of 1991 was enacted in the state with an objective to revive the Zilla Parishads which were abolished in 1969. The section 1 under para 5 of this Act mentioned that "Nothing in this Act shall apply to the scheduled areas referred to in clause (1) of Article 244 of the Constitution". However, the provisions of this Act extended to the scheduled areas in 1993 by means of a separate notification.[1] The similar provisions were also added into the Orissa Panchayat Samiti (Amendment) Act in 1994 following the mandates of the 73rd Amendment of the Indian Constitution.

Table 2
Profiles of the Three-Tier PRIs in the Scheduled Areas in Odisha

Three-Tier PRIs	Total in the State	In Scheduled Areas
ZillaParishads	30	13
PanchayatSamities	314	120
Gram Panchayats	6234	1941
Wards	87542	24734

Source: Department of Panchayati Raj, Govt. of Odisha, 2014

With the enactment of the 73rd Amendment Act, the institutionalisation of the panchayats in the scheduled areas received special importance, which led to the enactment of the PESA Act in 1996. The provision of (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 (PESA Act) came into force on the 24th December, 1996. As per the provision of the PESA Act of 1996, the Orissa Gram Panchayat Act, 1964, the Orissa Panchayat Samiti Act, 1959 and the Orissa Zilla Parishad Act, 1991 were amended to ensure the process of extension of this act. With regard to the scheduled areas, the provisions of this Act were extended with a separate notification in 1997. Further, seat reservations for the STs were made in accordance with their population. One-third of the total seats were also reserved for the women of the ST. Table 2 shows the physical status of three-tier panchayats in the scheduled areas in the state.

The Enactment of the PESA Act in Odisha and Legal Provisions

The provision of (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 came into force on 24th December, 1996. The Orissa Gram Panchayat Act, 1964, Orissa Panchayat Samiti Act, 1959 and the Orissa Zilla Parishad Act, 1991 have adopted the provisions of the PESA Act pursuant to the PESA Act, Odisha amendment laws as (i) Orissa Gram Panchayats (Amendment) Act, 1997 (Act 15 of 1997), (ii) Orissa Panchayat Samiti (Amendment) Act, 1997(Act 16 of 1997), and (iii) Orissa Zilla Parishad (Amendment) Act,

1997(Act 17 of 1997). These Acts were notified in the state Gazette dated 22nd December, 1997 (Dash, 2011).

The Orissa Panchayati Raj Amendment Acts 1997 were significant step towards promoting governance and implementing socio-economic development programmes in scheduled areas of the state. The acts spelt out the role of the PRIs in general and the Gram Sabhas in particular for preparing development plans in the tribal areas, considering the magnitude of poverty, inequality and the nature and extent of underdevelopment. The Odisha Amendment Act has granted powers to the Gram Sabhas to approve of plans, programmes and projects for social and economic development. The Gram Sabhas and Gram Panchayats are also entrusted with the responsibility of identification of the beneficiaries under the poverty alleviation and other programmes, providing certificates to the Gram Panchayats for utilisation of funds, ownership over natural resources-especially the minor forest produces and the power to control local plans and the resources for such plans including the Tribal Sub-Plans (TSP).

The enactment of the PESA Act in the state has also led to the Amendments in the state subject Acts. The Orissa Schedule Areas Transfer of Immovable Property (by scheduled tribes) Regulation of 1956 has been amended by Regulation of 2002 (Regulation 1 of 2002). The Orissa Scheduled Areas Money-lenders' Regulations, 1967 (Regulation of 1968) has been amended. A watch dog role has been given to Gram Panchayats under the amended money lending regulation to enable the community to protect the individual tribal from exploitation by money lenders. The Odisha Government has also enacted the Orissa Minor Forest Administration Rules in 2002 with an objective to vest the rights of ownership of the minor forests products to the PRIs in the state. The Bihar and Orissa Excise act, 1915 has been amended while vesting the powers in the Gram Panchayats in the scheduled areas regarding the issuance of license.

The importance of this Act for improving governance and promoting development in scheduled areas is immense. However, the ground realities show that scant attention has been given in the case of implementation of the Act in the state. Further, with regard to the preparation of plan for economic development and implementation of socio-economic development programmes, the panchayats in the PESA area have been encountering multiple challenges with regard to structural impediments and functional incapacity. Das (2003) summarises that despite the presence of the progressive legislation designed to ensure democracy in backward tribal regions, underdevelopment and poor governance are rife in

such areas". Such scenario also invited the emergence of the Left Wing Extremism (LWE) in these areas.[2]

However, the present scenario on the functioning of the panchayats for promoting good governance and fastening socio-economic development under the framework of the PESA Act has witnessed certain change. The functioning of panchayats in the tribal areas in the state has created new hope for the tribals. The panchayats have been receiving considerable attention in the matters of local level planning and development. Particularly, in the case of planning for the local areas and the implementation of the economic development programmes for the local tribal people, the importance of the panchayats has enhanced considerably and their presence in tribal areas have essentially brought some positive effects on the socio-economic condition of the tribal people.

Institutional Arrangements and the Issue of Conformity

The PESA Act has given legislative powers to the institutions such as the Gram Sabhas and the Gram Panchayats on various matters. The Gram Sabhas are empowered on matters of planning for development, management of natural resources, and adjudication of decisions in accordance with prevalent traditions and customs. The Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) (PESA) Act 1996 has made it mandatory for the state having scheduled areas to make specific provisions for giving wide ranging powers to the tribals on matters relating to decision-making and development for their community. It empowered villages to protect community resources, control social sector functionaries, own minor forest produce, manage water bodies, give recommendations for mining lease, be consulted for land acquisition, enforce prohibition, identify beneficiaries for poverty alleviation and other government programmes and have a decisive say in all development projects in the villages. The Act not only accepts the validity of "customary law, social and religious practices and traditional management practices of the community resources", it also directs the state governments not to make any law which is inconsistent with these (Mukul, 1997).

In the case of Odisha, the institutional arrangements are shaped based on the salient features of the Act, though there are issues of overlapping and dilution of roles of the various institutions. The Gram Sabhas and the Gram Panchayats are emerged as two important institutions for discharging various functions related with the matters of governance and development. However, there is another institution at the village level called

"the Palli Sabha" which is vested with powers related to the planning for economic development in the tribal areas. The institutions of Palli Sabhas and Gram Sabhas under the Odisha Panchayati Raj Act are unique in promoting direct democracy at the grassroot level. Such system has institutionalised the era of participatory democracy while creating an atmosphere of direct interface between the elected representatives and people, particularly the tribals in the scheduled areas in the state.

The Gram Sabhas

In the case of Odisha, the Gram Sabhas are institutionalised and functioning in the scheduled areas as per the provision of PESA Act and Orissa Panchayati Raj Amendment Act. Under the PESA Act, the Odisha amendment laws define Gram Sabhas as "a habitation or a group of habitations or a hamlet or a group of hamlets comprising a community or communities and managing its affairs in accordance to its traditions and customs". The Gram Sabha has become an institution of promoting socio-economic development in the tribal areas in the state.

Our study from the two tribal districts shows that the Gram Sabhas are functioning at the Gram Panchayat level with two annual meetings (in the month of February and June) and four special meetings/sittings on 26th January (Republic Day), 1st May (International Labour Day), 15th August (Independence Day) and 2nd October (Gandhi Jayanti). With regard to participation of tribals in these meetings such as raising voices, participating in discussions, proposing projects and lodging grievances, it is observed that in many cases their role has been confined to projects and schemes related discussions with an expectation of "enlisting their name as beneficiaries of these schemes and programmes". The non-participation or lukewarm participation of tribals in the Gram Sabhas are influenced by the factors such as distance of the meeting venue, timing of the meetings, biases in selecting beneficiaries and personal work.

The Gram Panchayats

The provision of the Act has created ample opportunity for panchayats to function as institutions of self-government. Section 4(m) of PESA Act vests panchayats in the Scheduled Areas with powers and authority to function as institutions of self-government. Such powers are based on to enforce prohibition/regulate the sale and consumption of any intoxicant, the ownership of minor forest produce, prevention of land alienation, manage village markets, control over money lending and

implementation of social sector schemes, local plans including tribal sub-plans.

The Act has resulted in the amendment of the Orissa Panchayati Raj Acts (Gram Panchayat Act, Panchayat Samiti Act and Zilla Parishad Act) which has laid the pillar of strengthening the panchayats in the tribal areas in the state. The panchayats are institutionalised and are functioning in the tribal areas which has been observed in the two selected Gram Panchayats. The panchayats have taken up the issue raised at the meetings of the Palli Sabhas and Gram Sabhas through their planned schemes and programmes. The annual plans prepared at the levels of Palli Sabhas and Gram Sabhas are discussed at the panchayat meetings and execution plan is carried out accordingly.

However, in many cases it is observed that the panchayats are performing their functions as 'caged parrot' through following the instructions of the government officials and upper level tiers. In many cases the tribal development programmes being implemented through various line departments such as Integrated Tribal Development Agencies (ITDAs) and District Rural Development Agencies (DRDAs) are neither planned nor implemented through the Gram Sabhas and the panchayats. Low level of awareness among the Sarpanches and the Ward Members regarding the different provisions of this Act has further worsened the process of implementation. In many cases the role of the panchayats has become confined within the planning and implementation of the schemes and programmes of the Central Government and the State Government. Many core elements of the Act such as management of natural resources, controlling money lending, issues of mining, selling and consumption of intoxicants etc. are considered as ad-hoc works of the panchayats and are not discussed seriously in panchayat meetings.

Economic Development Programmes and Panchayats in Tribal Areas

The panchayats in the contemporary era of development have been playing a significant role while promoting local development plans and programmes in the rural and tribal areas. Since the last three decades, Odisha has witnessed enormous reforms in the case of local governance which are believed to be reflected through the process of institutionalisation and economic development. Prioritising the needs of the excluded communities and groups such as the STs, the local development plans and programmes have evolved as major thrust areas of the panchayats. The nature of the economic development programmes under the PESA Act have

emphasised the role of institutions such as Gram Sabhas and Gram Panchayats in the matters of formulating plan for economic development, while elaborating the role of these institutions in the matters of development.

The extension Act was enacted to recognise Gram Sabhas as institutions of planning on the matters affecting tribal society and economy and Gram Panchayats as institutions of implementing such plans and programmes. Considering this the Orissa Conformity Act (1997) also tried to retain this while vesting powers with the Gram Sabhas and Gram Panchayats on these issues. It has also vested powers to these institutions to protect community resources, control social sector functionaries, own minor forest produce, manage water bodies, give recommendations for mining lease, be consulted for land acquisition, enforce prohibition, identify beneficiaries for poverty alleviation and other government programmes and have a decisive say in all development projects in the villages.

With regard to promoting plan and implementing development programmes, section 4 (e) (i) of PESA Act provides that every Gram Sabha (i) approves the plans, programmes and projects for social and economic development before such plans, programmes and projects are taken up for implementation by panchayats at village level, and (ii) be responsible for identification or selection of persons as beneficiaries under the poverty alleviation and other programmes. Section 4(f) empowers the Gram Sabha to issue certification of utilisation of funds for the plans, programmes and projects implemented by panchayats in its area.

The development programmes implemented by the panchayats in the tribal areas in Odisha can be divided into five broad categories such as wage-employment programme, self-employment programme, infrastructure development programme, food and social security programme and housing for the poor. Further, with regard to access to land, the Forest Rights Act (FRA), 2006 has emerged as a component of the development activities of the panchayats, as the role of Gram Sabhas has been clearly spelt out under the provision of this Act. The FRA has recognised the role of Panchayat Institutions particularly the role of the Gram Sabhas on the matters of identifying beneficiaries and strengthening the role Forest Rights Committees (FRCs) in receiving the claims. Summarising the importance of FRA, Upadhyay (2010) highlights that "the Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 and the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers Act of 2006 offer a great opportunity to provide equitable governance in tribal-dominated backward areas".

Against this, the panchayats have been implementing a number of programmes, projects and schemes such as the MGNREGA for wage employment, National Rural Livelihood Mission (NRLM) for self-employment, Indira AwasYojana (IAY) and *Mo Kudia* for housing, Backward Region Grant Fund (BRGF) and Cement Concrete Road under Infrastructure Development and various pension schemes as well as distribution of food grains through PDS under the food and social security programmes. Under these programmes, specific provisions are made for the tribals and for the tribal areas of the state. With regard to strengthening the implementation of FRA 2006 and strengthening the livelihoods of the FRA beneficiaries, a separate housing scheme for these beneficiaries has been implemented by panchayats in the tribal areas. Table 3 summarises the major economic development programmes and status of their implementation in the study areas in the state.

Table 3
Development Programmes Being Implemented by Panchayats
in the Tribal Areas of Odisha

Schemes/Programmes	Name of Project	Role of Panchayats	Implications on Tribal Development
Wage Employment Programme	MGNREGA	Planning has been done through Palli Sabhas and Gram Sabhas. The process of implementation has also done through the Panchayats.	MGNREGA has emerged as a major development programme of Panchayats in Tribal Areas. The tribals people have received employment under this programme. Wage earning has helped to the tribals to purchase household items, grocery items, medicines, books, clothes and agricultural tools and implements.
Self-Employment Programme	SGSY NRLM/OLM	Role of Panchayat is quite invisible in the studyarea. No involvement of Panchayats observed in planning process also.	No fund since there is no involvement of Panchayats under this programme.

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Schemes/Programmes	Name of Project	Role of Panchayats	Implications on Tribal Development
Area Development Programme	BRGF (CC Road, GP Buildings), Special Area Grant from 13thFinance Commission (FC).	Planning for BRGF has been done through the Palli Sabha and Gram Sabhas. However no role of the Panchayas observed inthe matters of implementation of the projects under BRGF.	This project has helped for the creation of the physical community assets such as Anganwadi houses, CC Roads etc. In many cases it has been helped to the tribal people for getting wage employment.
Social Security Programme	Pensions Rice and other items under PDS	Pensions under various schemes are being managed by the Panchayats at planning and implementation stage. Subsidised rice under PDS is also managed by Panchayat including selection of beneficiaries and distribution of such commodities.	Pension schemes such as Old Age Pension and Widow Pension has helped in tribal people in many ways particularly purchasing household items, medicines, clothes etc. Distribution of subsidised rice under PDS has also addressed the food security need of the poor people majority of them are tribals.
Housing for the Poor	IAY IAY for FRA Beneficiaries *Mo Kudia*	Selection of beneficiaries through Palli Sabha and Gram Sabha where as work order being given by Block/Panchayat Samiti. Separate housing schemes for FRA beneficiaries.	Housing schemes has fulfilled the need of shelter of the poor people particularly the tribals. A separate housing scheme for FRA beneficiaries has also helped to the tribals while fulfilling their shelter need.

Source: (i) Field data, (ii) Department of Panchayati Raj, Govt. of Odisha, 2014.

However, after 18 years of implementation of the progressive legislation (PESA), there is a growing realisation that "while the burden of implementation of the development programmes has been vested to the panchayats, the control over planning and resources still lies in the hands of the bureaucratic elite" which has diluted the development role of these institutions in the tribal areas. Our study shows that in many cases the process of planning and implementation sidelined the constitutional validity of the Gram Sabhas and Gram Panchayats. Development programmes based on government sponsored schemes and projects no doubt provided financial benefits to the tribals but have not been able to maintain equity in the matters of economic inclusion. Selection of beneficiaries on the basis of political proximity and money power has created exclusion under an inclusive governance framework of PESA. The plans prepared through Palli Sabhas and Gram Sabhas have been diluted by the upper level institutions and tiers, which not only raised question of "transparency involved within the process" but also raised doubts on the "constitutional validity of these institutions".

The process of implementation of the schemes and programmes have given benefit to the tribals with regard to accessing wage employment, access to land, fulfilling the shelter need and fulfilling the basic minimum needs such as foods and shelters. The wage earning through MGNREGA helped the tribals in purchasing household items while access to land under FRA has fulfilled the land security need. The tribals have also used the FRA land for growing crops and constructing houses. Accessing food grains through PDS has helped them in several ways. It is observed from the field that the schemes and programmes implemented by panchayats in the study areas have fulfilled the basic needs of the tribals, though there are critical gaps observed in the process of implementation. Delay in getting wage under MGNREGA, distance of the panchayat offices from the villages, and delay in implementing many schemes and projects have enhanced the plight of the tribals.

Major Findings
Weak Institutional Framework

The institutional framework under the Act, such as the Gram Sabhas and Gram Panchayats are quite weak, which has affected the overall development goals of the panchayats. The powers devolved to these institutions are inadequate. Such situation has raised the question of constitutional validity and affected the functioning of these institutions.

While interacting with various people in the study area, it was revealed that "the current nature of functioning and capacity of these institutions has raised doubts among various sections of people particularly the tribals". Such scenario has also hampered the process of institutionalisation and functioning.

Ineffective Implementation of the Act

In the case of Odisha, the extension of this Act to the Fifth Scheduled Areas of the State came into force in 1997 as per the Odisha Panchayati Raj Amendment Act (Odisha Gram Panchayat Amendment Act (1997), Odisha Panchayat Samiti Amendment Act (1997) and Odisha Zilla Parishad Amendment Act (1997). However, the State till today has not been able to make a full fledged State specific rule based on the basic premise of the act. Further, in many cases the state has not been able to comply fully with the provisions of the central PESA Act while modifying its state conformity acts. Mandatory provision in the Central Act empowering the tribal communities with regard to control over natural resources, granting licenses for minor minerals and their exploitation and acquisition of land by government for development projects have not been complied with fully as per the central act. Such scenario has created confusion among the people, particularly the tribals about the potential contribution of the Act on strengthening governance and promoting development in the tribal areas.

Restricted Role of Panchayats

From the field study, we observe that the role of the panchayats is quite ambiguous in many cases be it of planning for economic development or management of natural resources. The tribal people are more aware about the role of the panchayats as institutions of distributing PDS items, pensions and other schemes and programmes and less aware about its role as institution of promoting self-governance through upholding tribals rights over natural resources, protecting cultures and customs and recognising traditional and customary practices.

Ignoring Gram Sabhas

In many cases, the role of the Gram Sabhas as institutions of promoting direct democracy, managing community affairs and promoting development has been ignored by the bureaucrats and political classes in the state. The functioning of Palli Sabhas and Gram Sabhas in the state observed severe dilution of their core functions. Our study shows that the functioning

of Gram Sabhas are being hampered by (i) irregular meetings, (ii) ignorance to overall tribal development issues, (iii) restricted functioning, (iv) ad-hoc and irregular discussion on management of natural resources, (v) odd timing in conducting meetings, (vi) distance of the venue from the villages, and (vii) prevailing political biasness and interferences. Such scenario has been seriously jeopardised the functioning of the Gram Sabhas.

More Politics, Less Economy

The political-economy of the implementation of this Act in the state shows that it is more biased towards politics and less biased towards the economy of the tribals. The political discourses of the Act and its process of implementation have reflected though the process of making legal provisions, holding regular elections for the panchayats and seat reservations for the tribals at the various levels of the panchayats. But the economic discourses have not been reflected much which has widened the gap between the politics and economy of the Act. No separate schemes, programmes and projects are formulated for the panchayats of these areas.

At the ground level, the tribals are more aware about the process of elections and seat reservation process and opined that seat reservation has created scope for political participation among the tribals. But the economic benefits of such participation have not been felt by the tribals.

Invisible Role of Panchayats in Planning Process

The planning process at the village and panchayat level has become institutionalised. With regard to participation of people, particularly the tribals, it is observed that the level of participation is strongly correlated with the level expectation. Such situation has diluted the real objective of grassroot plan. Further, in many cases, the role of panchayats has been ignored by the upper level institutions through the Act of formulating departmental plans and parallel programmes. In the study area the tribals are unaware about the process of planning and implementation of ITDA programmes, though the Act talks about the ownership of panchayats on Tribal Sub-Plan.

Emerging Corruption

Demanding money by the GP officials and elected members has created a big challenge in the process of functioning of panchyats and implementing socio-economic development programmes. It is observed from the field study that the beneficiaries for the schemes like IAY, PDS and

pensions can only be those who can afford to pay the initial bribe to the Sarpanches and Panchayat officials. Such scenario has created havoc for the poor tribals and strengthened the position of the vested interested groups, many of those who are non-tribals.

Political Biasness and Official Interference

Prevalence of biasness in the political and officials circles also created many challenges for the tribals with regard to participating in the decision-making bodies, planning process and accessing benefits of the various schemes and programmes. Though the Act was enacted to enhance the inclusion of tribals but in actual case it has also become an instrument of creating large scale exclusion among the tribals particularly those who are not politically or economically powerful.

Ineffective Implementation of Schemes and Programmes

The PESA has been recognised by many activists and scholars as 'progressive' law, because it gives some crucial rights to village level communities to manage their lives and resources. The development nature of the Act is reflected though vesting powers to Gram Sabhas and Gram Panchayats in the matters of the planning and programme implementation. However, it is observed from the field study that though the schemes and programme have provided economic benefits but there are serious deviations in the process of implementation. Large scale out migration of the tribals in the study areas questioned the implementation of the MGNREGA (because of excess delay in giving wage payment to the workers). Similarly in the case of FRA, though the VLC/FRC has been formed in many villages, but further progress has not been made, which has diluted the process of implementation.

Weak Control over Natural Resources

Though the Act highlights the importance of control over the natural resources and management of minor forest produces by the Gram Sabhas and Gram Panchayats as true spirit of PESA, but in actual practice it is not working. We observe from the field that the management of forests and NTFPs are discussed in the meetings of the Palli Sabhas and Gram Sabhas in 'ad-hoc manner' and there is no plan in place to manage and control of such resources.

Conclusions

The enactment of the Act has no doubt provided impetus towards the functioning of Panchayats in the tribal areas. But 18 years of journey of the PESA Act shows a little progress with regard to fulfilling the overall development needs of the tribals. The tribal areas in Odisha are still languishing under the shadow of mis-governance and underdevelopment. Tribal regions are in the state of backwardness which has questioned the functioning of the panchayats and implementation of the PESA Act. Notwithstanding the implementation of a number of schemes, projects and programmes, the tribal people are not able to get the desired benefits of these schemes and programmes. The process of political empowerment is more or less confined within the strengthening of institutions and not able to go beyond this premise. The conventional wisdom that facilitating political empowerment and strengthening of institutions can also bring economic progress has received serious set-back because of inadequate focus on planning for economic development and implementation of separate development programmes for these areas. The study concludes that "creating political empowerment and strengthening institutions as per the provision of this Act is not the only way to achieve the overall goal. There is a need of promoting economic empowerment which can also help the tribals of these areas to assert their rights and raise voices on various issues of governance and development. Such process can contribute to the effective implementation of PESA Act".

Notes

1. Notification No.26701, December 1993 published in E.O. No. 1664 dated the 23rd December, 1993.

2. As per the home ministry report, out of 84 PESA Districts, 32 districts are affected by the Left Wing Extremism. The PESA Districts in India are also characterisedby high degree of poverty, lack of infrastructure, illiteracy, exploitation and marginalisation.

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India in the SCO: Opportunities and Challenges

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Recently, India became full member of the SCO (Shanghai Cooperation Organisation). It is an intergovernmental organisation which was established in 2001 by Russia, China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. At present, Afghanistan, Iran, Belarus and Mangolia are observers at the SCO. Dialogue partners include Armenia, Azerbaijan, Combodia, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Turkey. The major objectives of the SCO are to promote security and economic cooperation among member countries in the Eurasian region. India became SCO's observer state in 2005. India's 'Connect Central Asia Policy' (June 2012) indicates India's interest to engage with its extended neighbourhood. SCO provides India as a platform to discuss various global and regional issues among member states. India's major concerns for joining SCO are geo-strategic, security and economic. These considerations include the security situation in Afghanistan, connectivity with Central Asian region, terrorism and energy security. This regional organisation can help serve India's geo-strategic, security and economic interests in the Eurasian region. The present paper examines India's options in the SCO and what type of challenges it may face as a full member.

Introduction

During the cold war era, there were two major organisations; the NATO and the Warsaw Pact. These two blocs were representing the bipolar

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system of world order. After the end of the cold war due to the demise of the USSR, the international politics had inevitably become ambiguous. During this period, the unipolar world order emerged and the US appeared as a world super power on the international arena. While Russian Federation and some other great powers like China, have also emerged to challenge the US supremacy and have started to look for a new balance of power or counter balance with their strong economies, military forces and nuclear powers (Kafkasyli, 2013).

Therefore, the initial process of establishment of SCO, an inter-governmental international organisation initiated through an agreement which was signed on 25th April, 1996 in the city of Shanghai of the People's Republic of China by the Presidents of China and four other Soviet republics i.e., Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan named as the Shanghai Five. Later, the name 'Shanghai Five' was changed to 'Shanghai Convention' in the conference held in 2000 in the city of Dushanbe. This was transformed into today's SCO with the induction of Uzbekistan as a new member at the Shanghai summit on 15th June, 2001.

The SCO conferred Observer status to Mangolia (2004) and to India, Iran and Pakistan in 2005. Sri Lanka and Belarus were conferred status of dialogue partner at the Yekaterinburg Summit of May 2009.

The major goals for the establishment of the SCO are strengthening mutual confidence and good neighbourly relations between the member countries; promoting effective co-operation in politics, trade and economy, science and technology, culture, education, energy, transportation, tourism, environmental protection and other related areas; making joint efforts to maintain and ensure peace, security, stability and combating terrorism, religious extremism and drug trafficking in the region (Kafkasyli, 2013).

SCO would play a significant political role, challenge the unipolar world system and US hegemony in the twenty-first century not only in its region but also in the entire world and that it would make great efforts to the formation of an impartial multi-polar world system.

Since its inception, the SCO has concluded several wide-ranging agreements on security, trade and investment, connectivity, energy, and culture. Their implementation, however, remains uninspiring. This is partly because the SCO lacks coherence.

The highest decision-making body in the SCO is the Council of Heads of State Council (HSC). It meets once a year to discuss various issues and take decision and give suggestion on all concerned issues of the SCO agenda. The SCO member states occupy a territory of around 30 million 189

thousand square kilometres, which makes up three-fifths of the Eurasian continent and have a population of 1.5 billion, which makes up a quarter of the planet's population.

Despite its emphasis on security, the SCO has been helpless to react to any of the crises that have impacted upon the Central Asian region, such as 'the Tulip revolution' in Kyrgyzstan in March 2005, the overthrow of the Bakiyev government in April 2010, the inter-ethnic pogroms of Osh in June 2010, the regular clashes between the security services and armed Islamist groups in the mountainous regions of Tajikistan and so on (Maksut, 2013).

India and the SCO

India did join the multilateral SCO as an observer at its fifth summit meeting on July 5, 2005 in Astana (Kazakhstan) and it aspires to become a full member. Since then, India has subtly indicated its interest in playing a more meaningful and substantive role in the development of the SCO. It was in 2009 at Yekaterinburg, Russia, that an Indian prime minister participated in a SCO summit for the first time. It was felt by most members, particularly Russia and Kazakhstan that the grouping would benefit hugely from India's active association. The SCO decided in 2009 to initially focus on its vertical consolidation before embarking on a horizontal expansion. The moratorium on expansion was lifted two years ago, after which India formally applied to join. India's inclusion as a full member of the SCO is backed by Russia and the Central Asian republics (Kasayev, 2001).

India's interest to join SCO has many reasons which include (a) India's commitment to Asian multilateralism (b) to become a part of any pan-Asian arrangements for energy security and countering terrorism. The geographical and strategic space which the SCO straddles is of critical importance for India. India's security, geopolitical, strategic, and economic interests are closely intertwined with developments in the region. The ever present and expanding challenges of terrorism, radicalism, and instability pose a grave threat to the sovereignty and integrity not only of India, but also of countries in its broader neighbourhood.

In addition, the Central Asian region is richly endowed with natural resources and vital minerals. With the Central Asian states landlocked, and Uzbekistan even doubly landlocked, accessing these resources becomes arduous and prohibitive. Trade is dependent on passage through third countries and the political dispensation of regimes in power. Major powers, both regional and farther away, compete to secure and possibly control access to these resources; closely linked with this endeavor is the search to

create credible transport routes that pass through friendly countries. India is no exception (Kasayev, 2001).

The first and foremost advantage of joining the SCO as full member will provide India greater visibility in the affairs of the Eurasian region as well as it can constructively engage both China and Pakistan in regional context. Before going any further, it is noteworthy to highlight the importance of the SCO for India.

First, being one of the most important groupings of the region, membership in the SCO will take India closer to the countries of the central Asian region. Proximity to these countries will allow India to step up its economic, security, and most importantly, energy cooperation with the central Asian members. It might also expedite the construction of TAPI (Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India) pipeline.

Second, one of the major objectives of the SCO has been to fight 'three evils', a term given by the Chinese government to terrorism, separatism and extremism. India's inclusion in the SCO will enable her to gain the support of the countries of the group for tackling the menace of terrorism at the regional level. The SCO has a council to deal with these three evils, known as the Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure (RATS). From time to time, under the aegis of RATS, member countries engage in counter-terrorism exercises. In October 2015, they held the first-ever joint online counter-terrorism exercise in Xiamen, China (Kafkasyli, 2013). While the membership in SCO looks promising for India, there are still a few inherent challenges (Laruelle and Peyrouse, 2012).

First, the focus of the upcoming summit will be on strengthening regional connectivity and it is evident that all other member countries have endorsed China's One Belt, One Road (OBOR), a key policy to connect trading partners along the ancient Silk Road.

However, India has not yet given its consent to be a part of OBOR. One of India's major concerns has been the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), which passes through the disputed territories between India and Pakistan. The proposed corridor will link Kashgar in Xinjiang, China, to the Gwadar port. Being in the SCO, India would not be able to stay out of China's proposed connectivity and infrastructural projects. India needs to devise a plan which neither hampers the functioning of the grouping nor snub its apprehensions vis-a-vis OBOR and the CPEC.

Second, differences between India and Pakistan on the issue of connecting South Asia with Central Asia might hamper the functioning of the SCO as it has halted the growth of South Asia's own regional

organisation -- the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation or SAARC. Pakistan has not been supportive of India's attempts to physically link with Afghanistan for trade and humanitarian assistance purposes. Under such circumstances, it would be difficult for India to overcome the 'burden of geography', and make tangible gains in terms of trans-regional connectivity.

However, even after becoming pbserver at SCO, India's engagement with SCO remains all but lukewarm. Central Asia has also not been very high on India's foreign policy agenda, whereas United States and Southeast Asia (Positively) and China and Pakistan (Negatively) have been the main focus.

There are many factors which explained India's lukewarm approach towards joining SCO (Sajjanher, 2016):

- India remains reluctant due to its traditional preoccupation with autonomy in decision making process which does not ensure in such binding relationships.
- India's continuous rivalry with Pakistan and China's close relations with Pakistan, act against India's desire to join SCO.
- India's close relation with US restricts it to join such forums which exclude US.
- China remains cautious of allowing India's influence in the region because of India's rising profile and close ties with Moscow.
- Lastly, India's lack of direct access to Eurasian landmass limits Indian initiatives.

There are three major areas of cooperation under SCO: anti-terrorism, energy, and trade and transport corridors.

Energy cooperation remains an important issue for the SCO member countries because some of the member countries have energy resources (CARs, Russia, Iran) while others (China, Pakistan, Iran, Afghanistan) are transit countries for the supply of these resources. It is in this sector that India needs to focus on its cooperation with all the SCO member states. The forward movement on the Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) pipeline is a positive development which is supported by Asian Development Bank (ADB). The future prospects for cooperation in energy sector under the mechanism of SCO can bring both consumers and producers together (Sajjanher, 2016).

Terrorism is one of the major concerns in the Central Asian region. It is expanding and becoming more global in nature. Today, international terrorist organisations are recruiting people from all over the world to

operate terror activities. In addition, terrorism is also used as a weapon to interference in the internal affairs of another country. The main aim of the SCO is to counter these threats and challenges in the region through multilateral cooperation and integrated approach. In this respect, SCO can provide an effective mechanism for all the regional countries to counter this menace through collective effort. While fighting terrorism India, CARs, China and Russia have much to offer to each other within the framework of the SCO (Sajjanher, 2016).

Anti-terrorist centre established in Tashkent can be an effective mechanism to address these concerns. Pakistan is also interested to associate with SCO's regional counter-terrorism structure (RCTS) and has suggested cooperation between the ECO and SCO in this regard. It has also endorsed the Russian and Chinese role in shaping a regional consensus on stabilising the Afghanistan situation (Singh Roy, 2011).

At the bilateral level India has energised its interaction when it formed Joint Working Groups (JWG) on counter terrorism with the Central Asian states. In 2003, India set up a JWG with Uzbekistan; and in 2004 with Kazakhstan.

The threat emanating from Af-Pak region and increasing violence in Afghanistan is area of concern for all the members of the SCO. In future, after US-NATO exit the SCO may have to take more responsibility. In such a situation India as a full member will be able to address its concerns in Afghanistan (Singh, 2012).

The issue of drug trafficking and small arms proliferation is another major concern related to SCO member states. India has been working closely at bilateral level with Russia and CARs to address these issues. Now it has started cooperation with China also. As a full member India will be able to address these issues more effectively (Singh Roy, 2011).

Challenges

There are many challenges India will have to face as a full member of the SCO.

1.   India will have to play second fiddle to China and Russia, which have been the members since the SCO's inception.
2.   In return for granting India full membership in the SCO, China may seek full membership in SAARC.
3.   India will have to deal with the China-Pak nexus in the SCO and their interest in Central Asian countries.

4.   Pakistan may use this forum in its favour so the Kashmir issue also needs consideration.

Conclusion

While there are many opportunities for India in joining the SCO, it also poses many challenges. The success of India's engagement with the SCO will depend on how it is able to convert these challenges into opportunities. A huge potential exists for SCO to play a more substantive role in promoting security, peace, economic development, connectivity, energy security, trade, and investment within the region and beyond.

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Protection of Human Rights in Jammu and Kashmir: An Evaluation

Roohullah Sadiq[*] and Roshni Pandey[†]

Human rights are 'universal' in nature; they belong to all humans rather than to members of any particular state, region, race, religion, gender or other group. They are absolute, universal and inalienable; no power on earth can deprive an individual of his/her rights. Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir is continuously affected by violence that leads to Human Rights violations and shatters peace spectrum of state. On the basis of reports from Kashmir, it is stated that the state of Jammu and Kashmir with many regional, sub-regional and religious lines is a challenge to all parties operating for protection and promotion of human rights in the state. Establishment of Human Rights Commission at National and at State levels was a step forward in building an institution for the protection of human rights. However its role, powers, functions and jurisdiction are riddled with many ambiguities. That literally makes the institution handiwork of the State which acts as a safety value in case of accountability. The basic objective of this study is to explore and examine the Legislative Acts for the protection of human rights in India.

Introduction

"Every State is identified by the rights that it maintains. Our method of judging its nature lies, above all in the contribution that it makes to the matter of man's happiness" (Laski, 1960). 'Human Rights' is a twentieth

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century term for what had been traditionally known as "Natural Rights" or, in a more appealing phrase, the "Rights of Man". The notion of "Rights of Man" and other such concepts of human rights are as old as humanity. These rights of men had a place almost in all the ancient societies of the world, though they were not referred to by that name. Eleanor Roosevelt suggested the change of name from "Rights of Man" to "Human Rights" in 1947 (Subramanian, 1997). This term has since been universally accepted, beginning with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which the General Assembly had passed on 10th December 1948.

Human rights include those areas of individual or group-freedom that are immune from Governmental interference because of their basic contribution to human dignity or welfare and are subject to Governmental guarantee, protection or promotion. Human rights are those inalienable and essential rights which are universally possessed by each and every human being by virtue of being human. These are set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and codified and further spelled out in a series of international conventions. These lay down the minimum standards to ensure human dignity, drawing on the values found in different religions and philosophies. They are 'universal' in nature; they belong to all humans rather than to members of any particular state, region, race, religion, gender or other group. They are absolute, universal and inalienable; no power on earth can deprive an individual of his/her rights. The states have identified these rights and protection and promotion of these rights are one of the major objectives of the democratic countries (Saikia, 2013). Unfortunately the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir is continuously affected by violence that leads to Human Rights violations and have been shattering peace spectrum of state.

Government of India is a signatory to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) prohibits torture and other forms of cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment. Articles 4 and 7 of the ICCPR explicitly ban torture, even in times of national emergency or when the security of the state is threatened (Gossman, 1993). But according to Asia Watch, Indian army, Central Reserve Police Force and Border Security Force-the principal government forces operating in Jammu and Kashmir and Muslim insurgents have systematically violated these fundamental norms of international human rights law since the eruption of militancy in 1989.

When basic rights of the people are violated by treating them wrongly then it is stated that abuses of human rights have occured. The violation of human rights and fundamental freedom to any individual or

group of individuals is the cause for both individual and political tragedies and it creates conditions for social and political unrest, sowing the seeds of violence and conflict within and between societies and nations. This is very much the case in Jammu and Kashmir, where conflict and turmoils have violated human rights and hampered socio-economic developments to prevail. Ordinary, day-to-day life has been upended and degraded. Human rights violations both by the security forces and by armed opposition groups (AOGs) continued to be extensively reported from the state.

Since the onset of militancy in 1989 and after the normalisation of situation in the year 1996, the situation continues to be volatile due to frequent agitations on the streets in the form of stone pelting mobs of youth. The state has been rocked by massive protests on the streets in 2008, 2009, 2010 and in 2016. In July 2016 massive protests started after the killing of Hizbul Mujahideen commander, Burhan Wani. During these incidents all sections of Kashmiri society have lost many precious lives and suffered severe human rights abuses mankind has ever known. National Human Rights Commission and Jammu and Kashmir State Human Rights Commission have been established with the responsibility of protection and promotion of human rights by the legislative Acts of 1993 and 1997 respectively. But the JKSHRC has been rendered defunct by the government since it has remained headless and without the required strength and due to non-seriousness of the State, people at large were deprived of a redressal forum and the Government's callous approach towards this issue resulted in a general sense of hopelessness. The present study focuses on Legislative Acts for the protection and promotion of human rights. It explores and examines how efficient the Legislative Acts are in India. It attempts to grapple the issues like appointment of human rights commission members and its chairman. This study is based on secondary sources of data; hence the methodology used is analytical and descriptive.

The Protection of Human Rights Act, 1993

Until early 1990s, Indian Government displayed scant regard for local human rights and civil liberties organisations. Their reports, appeals and petitions on human rights abuses, particularly in view of anti-insurgency operations in Kashmir, Punjab and northeast states, met with deafening silence. Indian government, however, could not continue to ignore the criticism of international human rights community and finally the Human Rights Commission Bill was introduced in Lok Sabha on May 14, 1992. The President of India promulgated an Ordinance, which established a

National Commission on Human Rights on September 27, 1993, owing to pressure from foreign countries as well as from the domestic front. Thereafter, a Bill on Human Rights was passed in Lok Sabha on December 18, 1993 to replace the ordinance promulgated by the President. The Bill became an Act, having received the assent of President, on January 8, 1994 (Paul, 2003). Thus, the Protection of Human Rights Act (No. 10 of 1994) came into force. Article l (3) provided that the Act should be deemed to have come into force on 28th day of September 1993. Section l (2) states that the Act is extended to whole India and that it shall apply to the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The purpose of enactment is laid down in the Preamble of Act i.e., it provides for the establishment of a National Human Rights Commission and State Human Rights Commission in every State of India for better protection of human rights.

The NHRC of India has limited mandatory powers. As the Act, 1993, 19 (1-4) takes the view that 'human rights' means the rights relating to life, liberty, equality and dignity of the individual guaranteed by the Constitution of India and embodied in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and enforceable by the courts in India (Kaarthikeyan, 2005). The main drawback of this statutory definition seems to be that it curtails the mandate of commission by limiting it to the rights enshrined in the two covenants and the constitution. In other words, the commission cannot discharge its responsibility for protecting rights in the covenants unless the Parliament enacts domestic legislation incorporating these rights.

Jammu & Kashmir Protection of Human Rights Act, 1997

The Protection of Human Rights Act enacted in 1993 set up a National Human Rights Commission and also provided for State Human Rights Commission in every state. Accordingly the Bill was passed by the Jammu and Kashmir State legislature. After receiving the Governor's assent on 30th May, 1997, it became an Act namely, the Jammu & Kashmir Protection of Human Rights Act, 1997. It provides for the establishment of a quasi-judicial body namely Jammu and Kashmir State Human Rights Commission (JKSHRC). The Government of Jammu and Kashmir accordingly set up the J&K State Human Rights Commission on December 1997 (Shayiq, 2013). The establishment of State Human Rights Commission in 1997 (under Jammu and Kashmir Protection of Human Rights Act, 1997) was a step towards institutionalising and protecting human rights. Important functions of the SHRC are inquiry into complaints; review of

existing laws; improving jail conditions and other health institutions; encouraging the efforts of NGOs working and creating awareness among various sections of society to undertake, and promotion of research in human rights and such other functions as it may be considered necessary for the promotion of human rights.

Jammu and Kashmir State Human Rights Commission

After being constituted, Jammu and Kashmir State Human Rights Commission has examined a number of severe cases of human rights violations including custodial deaths, police violence against civilians, torment and other cruel inhuman or humiliating treatment, custodial rape, disappearance from custody, and violence against helpless sections of the society such as women, children and handicapped. It has submitted information to the Government suggesting actions to be taken to control human rights violations. The State Human Rights Commission has been recommending exgratia and compassionate employment under SRO-43 to the next of the family member of the disappeared.

Table 1
Number of Human Rights Violations Cases
Received and Disposed Off in JKSHRC

S. No.	Year	Complaints Received	Disposed off
1	1997-1998	51	Nil
2	1998-1999	227	27
3	1999-2000	309	145
4	2000-2001	395	447
5	2001-2002	474	246
6	2002-2003	482	373
7	2003-2004	152	305
8	2004-2005	406	316
9	2005-2006	312	213
10	2006-2007	366	460
11	2007-2008	716	596
12	2008-2009	404	697
13	2009-2010	467	249
14	2010-2011	300	345
15	2011-2012	463	354
16	2012-2013	485	188
17	2013-2014	507	305
	Total	6516	5266

Source: Reports of SHRC, Srinagar, Kashmir, 2014.

The improved number of complaints recorded in the Commission provides the evidence of growing public awareness and determination to

protect and secure human rights by citizens of the State and their reliance in the commission. At the same time, this also rests on the Commission the duty to discharge its responsibility under the provisions of Jammu and Kashmir Protection of Human Rights Act, 1997.

Apart from constitutional provisions, various efforts have been made to ensure protection of human rights. But due to various reasons, it still remains a distant dream because there are certain provisions in the existing laws that make Human Rights Commissions ineffective in preventing human rights violations. One of the existing provisions is that these laws do not authorise the Commission to inquire into complaints of human rights violations by armed forces under Section 19 of the Human Rights Protection Act, 1993. The Protection of Human Rights Acts, 1993 and 1997 have several weaknesses; one of the glaring weaknesses in these Acts seems to be the 'Committee' concerned with appointment of members of the Commission. Such a committee can never be neutral as it is composed of government executives and has to deal cases brought against the government. The committee allows the government to appoint its favoured members in the commission, irrespective of their capabilities and integrity.

JKSHRC has remained headless from time to time. The Jammu and Kashmir Protection of Human Rights Act, 1997 provides a selected strength of five members for the commission, including its chairman. But Commission has mostly remained without a Chairman and some seats of its members also remained vacant. In its 2008-2009 Annual Report, JKSHRC stated that the Commission was having only one member in 2009 (Chakma, 2010). As a result, hundreds of cases related to human rights abuses were lying with the Commission. Due to insincerity of the State, people at large were disadvantaged of a redressal opportunity and the Government's insensible approach towards this issue resulted in general a sense of hopelessness.

However, in October 2016, Government appointed Justice Bilal Nazki (retired) as Chairperson and Jang Bahadur Singh Jamwal, District and Session Judge (retired) as Member of the Commission (Bukhari, 2016). As Government made the State Human Rights Commission (SHRC) operational to provide opportunity for the people to institute complaints of human rights violations, it was felt that the recommendatory nature of the Commission needs rethinking. Being such the Commission's hands remain fixed as it has not been provided with enough powers to force implementation. It remains to be seen if JKSHRC gets rid of its image of being a 'toothless tiger' under its new head.

Suggestions and Conclusion

JKSHRC has been slightly effective to protect human rights; the only advantage which the victims get is that after the examination by the Commission, if it is established that the violation of human rights has taken place, it can recommend to the courts to start proceedings. Its role is limited to merely looking for reports from police department in Jammu and Kashmir. The state government does not take the SHRC seriously.

There is need to modify present laws so that commissions in India could become strong, independent and lively to hold the state agencies accountable and protect citizens against human rights violations. The effective working could only be possible if it has its own independent agencies to investigate and operate. From time to time State government has realised the need for bestowing legal authority to the Commission to improve human rights situation in the state, but nothing has happened so far. Unless the state government takes action as per the recommendations of the SHRC, it cannot prove its usefulness. No doubt, the establishment of Human Rights Commission at National and State levels was a step forward in building an organisation for the protection and governance of human rights. Human Rights Commissions can play a very important role in difficult times and it is believed that the proceedings in SHRC constructively affect the mind of sufferers. Its records of the cases and complaints filed can be a source for fruitful investigation to mitigate the wrongs done.

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Book Review

Growth and Development in India: Regional Dimensions

Rajarshi Majumder, Atanu Sengupta and Jaya Prakash Pradhan (Eds.)
Segment Books, New Delhi, Pages: 375, Price: Rs. 1795

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Regional imbalance is a matter of serious concern for geographically large countries like India. Dissimilar growth paths of different regions over time tend to create large differences in standards of living of the people across states/regions. This growing regional inequality is generating economic, social, and political tension among regions and groups of population.

The book under review, across 17 chapters, discusses the present state of regional development and inequality in India. The common running theme across the chapters in the volume is that India suffers from substantial regional disparity across most of the spheres with several states lagging far behind the front runners. The book is divided into two parts – one dealing with general issues in regional development and the other dealing with specific sectoral issues. There are eight chapters in the first part covering issues of employment diversification and income inequality, determinants of migration decisions, regional inequality in educational attainment, gender

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parity in primary education, impact of microfinance on poverty alleviation and income inequality, volatility inter-dependence of Indian stock market with regional and world stock markets, tourism and development, and Pareto analysis on regional development.

Dipankar Debnath and Pravat Kumar Kuri presented a comparative study on the nature of employment diversification in the plains and hills of West Bengal and examines its implications to inequality in the income distribution. Their study is based on a large-scale sample survey conducted in three districts of the state including a hilly district, Darjeeling, and two districts of plains namely Burdwan and Hooghly. The decomposition of overall income inequality into its constituent components brings out the fact that non-farm income contributes more in enhancing inequality in the distribution of income than the farm income and this is true both in the plains and hills of West Bengal. Debasis Chakraborty and Prabhat Kumar Kuri have tried to conceptualise the determinants of choice and level of migration in household migration decision-making. Their study captures both the single location and multiple locations destination option that a prospective migrating family faces while taking migration decision. Shashiranjan Jha and Jatinder Singh analysed the educational inequality across states over different time periods using Gini coefficients and decomposition analysis. Their study underlines the persistence of regional inequality in the educational attainment in India.

The study by Gitanjali Dutt and Amit Kundu based on panel data regression found that increase in the percentage of female teachers and expansion of girl's toilet facilities play a positive role in reaching the targeted level of gender parity. Shrabanti Maity and Rahul Sarania compared poverty as well as inequality situation of families linked with SHG/microfinance and families without any links to such groups. They concluded that microfinance programme has increased income and decreased poverty among the participant households as compared to non-participants. Suparna Nandy (Pal) and Arup Chattopadhyay examined presence of volatility spill over between the Indian stock market and global stock markets. A.M. Swaminathan and Girija Nachnani studied the link between tourism and development in lagging regions of the country. The north eastern states in India have been given a special status by the planning authorities, right from Independence and tourism has been a major revenue earning sector in all the states of the north eastern regions. Digambar Chand and Rajendra Gartia emphasised regional development through decentralised planning and implementation as the sector-wise contribution to net distric domestic

product at current prices tends to differ from district to district even within Western Odisha.

In the second part of the volume, again there are eight chapters dealing with issues like tenancy inefficiency, joint forest management and sustainable development, socio-economic condition of farmers, growth, efficiency and technological change in food and beverage industry, employment in the construction sector, regional dimension of Gujarat industries, industrial sector in Himachal Pradesh, and clusters and low-technology MSMEs. Atanu Sengupta and Chandan Kumar Maity studied the relationship between tenure arrangements and efficiency in agricultural economics. Soma Saha and P.K. Kuri examined the extent to which the rural poor living in the forest fringe areas of West Bengal are dependent on forest for their subsistence. Using a primary survey covering 300 households in nine villages in the districts of Bankura and Purulia, they analysed the role of active forest management in maintaining environmental sustainability in the study area.

Pavan Kharat explored regional disparity in agriculture sector in Maharashtra. Understanding of regional disparity in socio-economic development of Maharashtra is important for inclusive policy. Anindita Sengupta addressed interrelated issues on structural dynamics of growth as observed in registered food and beverage industries in India during the period from 1998-99 to 2012-13. Her study presented empirical estimates of productive efficiency and technical change in the factory sector across major states in India. Kadambari Chheda and Anuradha Patnaik estimated the growth of employment in the construction sector due to structural spill over of workforce from agriculture sector and the resultant growth in the GDP of construction sector and the aggregate economy. Vandana Kapoore valuated the regional disparity within Gujarat manufacturing industry at district level. She related the variable of investment density to HDI value of states, physical infrastructure and financial infrastructure.

Sanjeev Kumar and Falguni Pattanaik addressed the issue of industrial growth in Himachal Pradesh at aggregate as well as districts level with various type of policies that the state government has adopted for promoting the industrialisation. He has found that over the time, the Government of Himachal Pradesh has created a set of institution and implemented various type of industrial polices for encouraging the industrialisation in the state. Tuhinsubhra Giri presented evidence from primary survey data suggesting that small firms producing in clusters are performing better than those firms which are operating individually. Cluster

member firms are having easy access to new technologies, new markets, subcontracting opportunities, low-cost finance and so on. These days MSMEs became part of the development process. Clustering process makes an essential contribution to a market-oriented and self-sustained development process. Technological dynamism, social embeddedness, inter-firm relations and support systems help to create a developed business environment automatically.

The book, thus, provides a wide and cross-sectoral perspective on the issue of regional dimensions of development and growth in India. It is expected that young researchers, administrators, planners and policy makers will welcome the book.

Instructions to Authors

Communication

The M.P. Institute of Social Science Research (MPISSR) welcomes articles of interest representing original work, analytical papers and papers based on review of extensive literature on any aspect of Social Sciences for publication in **Madhya Pradesh Journal of Social Sciences.** All communication should be addressed to the Editor, MPJSS, M.P. Institute of Social Science Research, 6, Prof. Ram Sakha Gautam Marg, Bharatpuri Administrative Zone, Ujjain – 456010.

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Article should be double-spaced typewritten on one side of A4 size paper. The length of the article may be 5000 to 8000 words. Article must be accompanied by an abstract of 100 words. Articles should be submitted in softcopy through e-mail at *mpjssujjain@gmail.com* as well as in hardcopy.

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Use figures to express all numbers 10 and above. Use words to express numbers lower than 10, and common fractions numbers that begin a sentence/title.

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All notes and references should be at the end of the article first 'Notes' and then 'References'. Notes should be serially numbered in the text using superscript and the corresponding notes should be listed out separately at the end of the article. References listed at the end should be arranged alphabetically.

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