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Nehru's Framework of Panchayati Raj and Rural Development

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Panchayati Raj has been at the background of rural social structure since time immemorial. This paper unfolds Nehruvian framework of rural transformation through panchayati raj institutions. The paper posits that the transformational perspective of Nehru beset in panchayat, cooperatives and schools in the rural setting. Further, it stresses that rural transformation can be achieved by socio-economic development by conscientisation of the rural citizen and able leadership.

Introduction

Even after 67 years of experience in democratic governance India is still in minimal democracy (Weiner, 1989). Further it is characterised as institutional democracy without having much practices of core values of democracy in Indian society and polity. Still democratisation process continues in political sphere (Jafferlot, 2012) but in society, it is rare to observe. The need of the hour is social democracy.[1] It is a well known fact that the social conditions are not conducive for promotion of democratic values in Indian society. It is also an axiomatic truth that quality of democracy determine quality of governance and quality of service and goods provided by the government to the people. Poor quality of democracy

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cannot deliver good governance. Poor democracy performs only minimum services that too with poor quality (Keefer, 2009). Despite the poor socio-economic conditions at the dawn of independence the founding fathers of India nurtured and sown the seeds of democracy in Indian polity for governance with much hope and faith. Core values of democracy had been nurtured through representative democracy by electing representatives from Gram Panchayat to National Parliament through adult suffrage and enabled the institutions to function democratically. In the course of development and promotion of democracy, electoral process got strengthened (Kumar, 2009) but disseminating the core values of democracy into the society gets stagnated or challenged by the social forces and as a result we find deficit in democracy (Burnell, 2008). To meet this deficit the new wave of decentralisation had been initiated through a constitutional process (Sivaramakrishnan, 2000). Even in the new context decentralisation gets stagnated (Aiyar, 2013). In this context, it is necessary to revisit the foundations laid by the founding fathers to democratise the Indian society through rural local governance. Since Jawaharlal Nehru took initiative and gave shape to Panchayati Raj in India after independence, it is felt that it is necessary to analyse to what extent Jawaharlal Nehru solidly laid the foundation for democratisation of Indian society and why it was stagnated in the midway is to be investigated and explained. No doubt it is a new narrative for democracy promotion through institutional governance arrangement.

Sources for Narrative

This new narrative basically relied on the speech Jawaharlal Nehru delivered in Chandra Nagore in Rajasthan while inaugurating Panchayati Raj in India on 2nd October, 1959[2], speech delivered by S.K. Dey in Bangalore while participating in All India Panchayat Parishad Annual Convention after the demise of Nehru and the speech delivered by Jayaprakash Narayan on 18th July, 1964 in the same conference[3]. This will enable to look at the new system of governance envisioned by Pandit Nehru at the grassroots in a proper perspective as perspective plays a major role in shaping the institutional design for effective and efficient delivery of services and empowerment of the poor and the marginalised. The Constituent Assembly debates on Panchayati Raj (AVARD, 1962) will bring to light the intellectual discourse held in the country while carving out the governance system for the community at the dawn of independence based on the social reality. This will be much helpful for a realistic analysis of the conditions with which

decision for the creation of Panchayati Raj in India was taken. The speech delivered by Nehru in Nagore, Chennai and a few other places on Panchayati Raj gives the framework for the New Panchayati Raj System after establishment of the new governance arrangement in India (GoI, 1962). The speech of the S.K.Dey would reflect the operationalisation of the framework given by Nehru as S.K. Dey served as Minister in the Nehru's cabinet. Jayaparakash Narayan's speech will reflect the problems he faced as leader of the Gandhian movement worked for the establishment of Panchayati Raj System in India by synthesising the framework of Nehru with the framework of Gandhi. The whole discourse will help us to understand the power of the social and bureaucratic forces in shaping democracy, and other governance arrangement at the grassroots.

Foundational Narrative

Nehru was facing a criticism that he was not taking forward the Panchayati Raj System envisioned by Mahatma Gandhi when he was in power at the dawn of independence. Because in the whole process of constitutional debates, Panchayati Raj had not been pushed to the centre stage and it was taken up for consideration only at the end as the omission of it was pointed out by M.K. Gandhi. It is a known fact that within the short span of time, evolving a governance framework suitable to diverse socio, economic and cultural settings of different region is not an ordinary task. In the given context, what could be achieved had been done in the Constitution. The time and context constraints prevented the constitution makers to evolve a comprehensive framework for local governance to govern rural India at that point of time. The whole responsibility of creating a vibrant rural local body system was on the shoulders of Jawaharlal Nehru. Reality of the villages in India projected by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar cannot be brushed aside. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's villages are the reality but M.K. Gandhi's villages are only vision and dreams. Nehru has to act realistically to take the villages from the reality to the new vision. This transformative process could not be achieved through a simple administrative mechanism and processes. It required a hard decision with tough follow up. Gandhian framework of politics and economics has been conceptualised only as rhetoric but not in action. Till India got independence the whole freedom movement followed the path of Gandhi. The moment India got independence it moved away from the track of Gandhi. This had been witnessed at the dawn of independence after the establishment of the governance arrangement in India. Nehru was keen in bringing this subject again not as rhetoric but as a

fact. The moment he initiated steps to establish Panchayati Raj, the slur on his name has been removed. He created a Ministry for Community Development, Panchayati Raj and Cooperation and guided the ministry to take forward the new system of governance at the community level throughout India. How he nurtured Panchayati Raj was explained by S.K. Dey after the demise of Nehru in Bangalore while he was delivering a lecture in the convention of the All India Panchayat Parishad. He himself stated that he carried out instructions of Jawaharlal Nehru in building grassroots democracy in India. It was Nehru's vision that was translated into action by the Ministry. Nehru outlined the functions and responsibilities of the new governance structure in his address when he inaugurated the Panchayati Raj in Nagore, Rajasthan. It is considered as basic text of Nehru's Panchayati Raj System of India. From an analysis of the framework one can gauge what kind of system he wanted to create at the bottom.

While considering the tasks for new Panchayati Raj, he made an unequivocal plea that nation building exercise has to be done from the bottom and for which politically people have to be made conscious and they have to be mobilised. The above task has to be performed by the Panchayats as per his vision. He unequivocally called the people to engage themselves to reconstruct India. People of India should have all necessities of life. All these things could be achieved only through hard work and not through charity. By making this statement Nehru underlined the importance of dignity, empowerment and entitlement of the people in the rural areas. He said that "India will make real progress only when the people living in villages become politically conscious". He wanted to raise the consciousness of the people as he defined development as consciousness. The reason for making this statement is that people should be politically conscientised and by which an informed citizenry could be created. The basic assumption is that an informed citizenry will create enlightened activities at the community level. People at the grassroots have to take more responsibilities and by which they should be in a position to make the government machinery accountable to them. At Panchayat level responsibilities of administration should be handed over to the people. By continuous engagement of the people in development and governance, people will always be at the centre and as a result there will not be any gap between the government machinery and the people. People nearer to the government will empower people and reduce corruption and government will be made accountable to the people. Hence, he emphasises continuous engagement of the people in development and governance. The whole argument projected above can be epitomised as trust

in people. His faith in Indian masses unshakable. It is to be recognised that there is a quiet opposite view from Nehruvian days to present. It was elaborated by S.K. Dey in his Bangalore address after the demise of Nehru. Here one has to look at the broader and narrower view of decentralisation. Broader view of decentralisation refers to the establishment of institutional mechanism for governance and work for economic development through a process of involvement of the citizens. It requires citizens and more specifically the informed citizens. Law of subsidiarity will be the base for such a kind of activities. Narrower perspective of local governance or decentralisation or Panchayati Raj refers to entrustment of some responsibilities of the government departments to the local bodies to deliver certain services to the people. There was a school of thought which considered that local bodies are considered as mere implementing agencies of the central and state governments. Because there was no government down below the state. There was no boundary fixed for local government. Law making power was not given to local bodies. Hence, at the maximum the local bodies can play a role of an implementing agency. Broader view of decentralisation essentially encompasses deepening of democracy, empowering people and achieving economic development. The above could be done only when citizens are mobilised, conscientised and involved in all kinds of development activities. Citizenship building is crucial to strengthening of local government and local democracy. Basically, it is a democracy promotional activity[4].

Nehru had taken a broader perspective of building up of local democratic institutions and processes, enabling the community to achieve economic development, and achieving higher consciousness. These are the two essential functions of the Panchayati Raj Institutions in India. Nehru's vision of Panchayati Raj is not only a broader perspective of decentralisation but it moves beyond it as people's movement. Its boundaries are human capabilities. While putting this argument he knew the conditions and consciousness level of the people at the ground. He knew that country came out from a worst crisis of religious conflicts because of the creation of Pakistan and the emerging ethnic, caste and social conflicts in Indian society. Yet he found representative democracy was the only option for redeeming the situation. While carving out institution for government he wanted to give a link between the state and the people through local governance process. In his opinion people have to build a vision for India. They have to work for the nation through local action. This could be possible only by enhancing the level of consciousness of the people. Thus people have to play

both the citizenship role namely community citizenship and constitutional citizenship. According to him, the idea of Indian nation should become the integral part of the activities of the people. In this context, he lamented that people have to be conscientised emotionally for the cause of the country. He recalled the exercises leaders have done during the freedom struggle. People have perished their differences for the cause of the nation. They entertained a new hope in the new nation. It has to continue to achieve development for all. It needs larger people's engagement. In this way peoples larger attachment has to be activated. While analysing the first part of his speech, one can easily identify the logic behind it. He wanted to link it with oceanic circle theory of M.K. Gandhi. People have to take part in the affairs of the country only through a process of engagement at the grassroots. It has to start from panchayat. Basically Nehru wanted the Gandhian framework of Gram Swaraj to be fixed into the established representative democratic government at the centre and the states. It is to be noted here that there was an argument in the Constituent Assembly that it will take time to evolve such a framework for Panchayati Raj to suit the requirements of the community. Article 40 came out based on the above argument. But Nehru made it clear that "the responsibilities of administration should not be in the hands of big officials only but they should be divided equally aiming our 400 million people". It will bring strength. It is a learning process. He considered people are the strength however they are poor or illiterate. His trust and faith in people is unshakable. Hence, he wanted a dynamic institutional framework at the ground for the engagement of the people. He designed institutions synergistically at the grassroots. They are Panchayati Raj, cooperatives and primary schools. They are the trinities of local democratic governance and development paradigm. They have to work together to reconstruct the communities, rebuild the economy and to conscientise the people on development and democracy. Panchayati raj is to establish governance, and enable people to participate in governance. Cooperative is a growth engine and primary schools are to conscientise and educate the people.

He made it clear that the design of the cooperative institution should not be a prototype for the whole of the country. It should not be in a conventional type of institutions. It should move beyond credit to farmers. Cooperatives should be the centre of economic activities. The cooperative institutions are of different kinds. In his perspective they should be allowed to function independently in consultation with stakeholders. While designing the cooperatives, Nehru in unequivocal terms explained that the

functions of a cooperative society should depend upon the needs and conditions of the area in which it is formed. In his perspective cooperative institutions should have enough scope for activities based on the vision and needs of the communities in which they function. How to run the cooperative union is the key question as it has lot of hopes and visions? To realise the same he suggested training for the leaders, representatives and officials on managing the cooperative institutions in an innovative way based on the needs of the area and the stakeholders. Nehru's vision of cooperative union is broader and it has got a perspective.

He tried his level best to operationalise the Gandhian framework of Gram Swaraj. He lamented that in India our farmers are having small land holdings and they are deprived of the opportunity of using modern technologies for agriculture. Everyone knows in the absence of adoption of modern technologies and scientific farm practices, agriculture output cannot be increased and profit out of agriculture will not be increased. How to help farmers to adopt modern technologies is the key issue. He suggested that the cooperative should take such a kind of responsibility. Making the farmers to use technologies for increasing production lies in the hands of the cooperatives. The cooperatives should have the abilities, capacities and capabilities to extend all kinds of handhold support to the small farmers for their farm production and marketing activities. It is not only an engine to provide credit but also to extend ideas, vision and innovation. It has to protect the farmers from exploitation. Hence, he argued that it should enjoy independence, and autonomy to meet the requirements of the local small farmers. From the above argument one can easily understand that what kind of Panchayati Raj System he wanted? Cooperatives and Panchayats cannot be seen in isolation. They are the two powerful institutional mechanism work for political and economic democracy.

The third pillar he carved out in the framework is school for education. It is not education for children alone. People in the villages are in need of education as people have to go with time. Transformation has to be created and managed and for which education is necessary. Education is key for people to lead a decent dignified, scientific and happy human life. While doing so, he reiterated the fact it should be for both men and women. In this context, he emphatically argued that women not only to contribute for family welfare but also to the nation. Education is necessary for them to move out from homes and to integrate them with the society. He argued that the establishment of school not only to increase the literacy rate. He reiterated the fact that every rural populace needs education. To make use of

the new opportunities for development villagers needs education. To transform the conditions of rural life, villagers need education. His concept of school is not linking to literacy alone. It is an institutional mechanism to transform the community to lead a scientific human life.

He emphasised that panchayats, cooperatives and schools are the three pillars of village life. How to bring synergy among these institutions is yet another question answered by Jawaharlal Nehru. In his lengthy inaugural address he mentioned at least how our elected representatives and officials have to work in this transformational process. He brought in the concept of democracy and its core value 'equality' in the transformational process. He indicated that the society is liberated from the colonial yoke jointly by the rich and the poor. It raised the image of the Indian society. In the same way, Indian society has to work for achieving development for the people. It is a process of bringing the social energy for reconstructing the society and economy. It needs strategies. The strategy is to work with others and working together. He argued that the people of India have demonstrated to the world that by uniting together and by subsuming all the differences India was liberated. In the same way people of India have to demonstrate to the world that they would work for liberating people from poverty and achieving prosperity. A new transformational model has to be evolving through this local institution by involving the people. This is not an isolated event. It needs collective efforts, organisational and institutional efforts. It needs a new mindset. Unless one has that mindset, it is very difficult to maintain equality. Officials and the elected representatives have to give up the tendency of dominating each other. The spirit of equality is the need to get the cooperation of every segment of the society. He further mentioned that in India everyone is equal politically as everyone has got one vote. Through the democratic practice of maintaining equality in the governance process social equality has to be achieved. Economic equality has to be achieved by providing opportunities for economic development of the households. He has underlined the equality of economic opportunities to the poor by the panchayat and cooperative organisations. Finally, he made a fervent plea that everyone should be involved in raising consciousness among the people to lay a movement for democracy and development. In this context, he touched upon the core values of democracy. Equality, respecting the dissent voice, fairness, justice, and equity have to be intact in the activities of the panchayats. Here one has to understand why Nehru always underlines the importance of consciousness. He infact wanted to engage the people for the purpose of elevating them from the practices

which were antithetical to democracy and leading scientific human life. This process is not so easy. It requires leadership. Hence, he reiterated the need of training for the people who are taking responsibilities in panchayats and cooperatives. The training which he mentioned is transformational in nature and character.

Democratisation and development engagement are the twin objectives incorporated into the framework of Panchayati Raj envisaged by Nehru. His conviction stems from the argument that unless people are involved in the process of governance and development however weak they are, one cannot build full citizenship among the people. It needs leadership for Panchayati Raj and cooperative institutions. The tasks assigned to the grassroots institutions are huge. There is no demarcation as stipulated in 11th Schedule. To carry out the above tasks the leaders of local bodies and cooperative unions require skill, capacity and capability. It is a major question whether steps have been taken at different levels to shape transformational leadership at the grassroot level. In a caste ridden hierarchical society with feudal and patriarchical mindset, decentralisation and democratisation have to cross huge barriers in the process. Because decentralisation and democratisation will deal with power equation and it requires a new mindset and behaviour among the people who keep power with them for a long. To create such a condition, a movement has to be built up from below. This new movement could be built up by the efforts of the transformational leaders. The country witnessed sea of transformational leaders trained through a life process in M.K. Gandhi's Ashram. Such Ashrams could have been converted into training centres for the preparation of transformational leaders. Unfortunately it did not take place.

Evolving a suitable framework of local governance based on the vision of M.K. Gandhi and fitting into the larger framework of governance modelled on the west is not a simple task. It requires huge mobilisation of masses more than the mobilisation of masses for freedom struggle. Since faith in state system gained currency at the dawn of independence, decentralisation could not attract and draw the attention of the society. But after 30 years of experience of the big state approach the whole world started moving towards decentralisation as the big government approach failed[5]. Even in subsequent wave of decentralisation one would find barriers and obstacles. Hence, it becomes only rhetoric not a fact. Decentralisation is inevitable. It cannot be resisted. The major problem in decentralisation is that governments are committed yet it is only in philosophy and not in fact. It is because most of the governments are not interested in taking hard decisions

in reshaping taxation, expenditure, borrowing and budgetary powers (Shahid et al, 2000). It is also established that rural economic activities have contributed for economic development of the country (David et al, 2005). While looking at the vision, framework of decentralisation conceptualised by our founding fathers and the experiences what we gained sofar in our country, one has to recognise the struggle of the leaders. Because from M.K. Gandhi to Jayaprakash Narayan the global conditions and local conditions were totally against the decentralisation process. But when Rajiv Gandhi reconceptualised the decentralisation through constitutionalisation, the global conditions are favourable to decentralisation (Manor, 1999). More than 60 countries took earnest efforts to introduce decentralisation. The institutions which shape economic activities in the world come out openly that decentralisation is the only way to create a new world social order. Countries cannot escape from decentralisation. It becomes inevitable now. These are all positive factors for decentralisation now. But these factors were not present at the dawn of independence. We had leaders with vision, ideas, and commitment at the dawn of independence. But conditions were not conducive for transformation. Now conditions are favourable for transformation but we find dearth of leadership in the political sphere to move further[6].

Conclusion

Jawaharlal Nehru took a broader perspective of democratic decentralisation. His vision of Panchayati Raj is not only for governance and administration of service delivery but also for building a vibrant rural economy emerging from agriculture and to integrate it with industrial economy. It is meant for social transformation and economic development. The tasks assigned to Panchayati Raj System are huge and the institutions are meant for engaging the public. It is aimed at empowering the people by raising the voice of the poor, and the marginalised. The tasks assigned to the panchayats are heavy and they are to be internalised and conscientised by the leaders of Panchayati raj. What he expected from the leaders of Panchayati Raj is not mere management of services but more of innovation for economic development. The leadership what he conceptualised was transformational in nature. Nehru wanted to integrate the key elements of the framework of Gram Swaraj of M.K. Gandhi with representative democratic system established for governance in India through the Constitution. It is unfortunate that the governance system established at the Centre and State had not developed proper perspective and system to

integrate Nehru's vision on Panchayati Raj. It is yet another failure that the Gandhian institutions and leaders had not mobilised people to build a strong peoples' movement for Gram Swaraj. The forces which were and are against decentralisation had always been powerful and systematic. But the forces which were and are for decentralisation had always been fragile, weak and sporadic. Althrough it is a struggle between state and the people, poor and rich and dominant and oppressed. The poor and the oppressed could win through a process of struggle by using decentralisation and democratisation. To achieve the above what we need is democracy promotion, transformational leadership creation and building up of a strong intellectual movement along with peoples' movement.

Notes

1. S.M. Vijayanand, Secretary, Government of India delivered A.K. Venkatasubramanian Endowment Lecure on 5th November, 2015 in Gandhigram Rural Institute on Social Democracy. In his lecture he emphasised that the benefit of political democracy could be enjoyed by the poor only when social democracy is created at the grassroots. Social democracy could be achieved at present through the Panchayati Raj system and the rising power of women through SHG.

2. Inaugural Address of Jawaharlal Nehru in Nagore, Rajasthan on 2nd October, 1959 while inaugurating the Panchayati Raj, All India Congress Committee Economic Review 1960 (The speech was in Hindi. It was translated into English).

3. Special address by A.K. Dey, then Minister for Community Development and Panchayati Raj in the Fourth National All India Panchayat Parishad Conference, Bangalore on 18th July, 1964; Presidential Address of Jayaprakash Narayanan, in the Fourth National all India Panchayat Parishad Conference, Bangalore on 18th July, 1964; All India Panchayat Parishad, Panchayati Raj: Perspective and Programme New Delhi: All India Panchayat Parishad, 1965.

4. Many of the western countries kept democracy promotional activity as one of the aspects of their foreign policy and allocated huge resources for democracy promotion activities through local bodies in the developing countries. For more details see Peter Burnell "Promoting Democracy" in Daniele Caramani (ed) Comparative Politics, New York; Oxford University Press, 2008, PP 625-650.

5. Hans Binswanger Mkhize, De Regt, Jacomina P. and Stephen Spector, Local and Community Driven Development: Moving to Scale in Theory and Practice, Washington DC: World Bank, 2010; Mansuri G.V. Rao, Localising Development: Does Participation Work? Washington DC: World Bank, 2012; Sheri Torjman and Anne Makhoul, Community Led Development, Ottawa: Caledon Institute of Social Policy, 2012; The Hunger Project, 2014 State of Participatory Democracy Report, New York: The Hunger Project, 2014.

6. Leadership is crucial for any transformation. Leadership enhancement is a difficult task to be performed. Leadership school of a different order is the need of the day. For more details on leadership see, Peter G. Northouse, Leadership: Theory and Practice New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2007.

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Violation of Human Rights and Dignity: Gender Perspectives in India

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Providing equal dignity, respect and value to all individual is as easy to articulate but is actually difficult to deliver. All individuals are entitled to certain basic rights under any circumstances. Human rights articulate the need for justice, tolerance, mutual respect, and human dignity for all and should be distributed equally. These rights when are not equally distributed among the citizens of India or world, violates the rights of human rights. This paper is focusing specifically violation of women's rights which also means violation of human rights and their demand for justice. This may include certain civil liberties socio-economic and political rights, the most fundamental of which is the right to life and their security. When women are excluded from the society's decision-making processes and when rights to adequate food, housing, employment, and cultural life are denied, social unrest develops in society. Such conditions often give rise to demand for justice and their basic needs be met. Demand for justice arises when women lacks support for fundamental function of a human life. They face greater obstacle in entering workplace, in intimidation from family or spouse, sex discrimination in hiring and sexual harassment at workplace.

Thirty years after the adoption of the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), many women and girls still do not have equal opportunities to realise rights recognised by law. In many countries, women are not entitled to own property or inherit land, social exclusion, 'honour'

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killings, female genital mutilation, trafficking, restricted mobility and early marriage among others, deny the right to health to women and girls and increase illness and death throughout the life-course. We will not see sustainable progress unless we fix failures in health systems and society so that girls and women have equal access to health information and services, education, employment and political positions.

- Dr Margaret Chan.

Introduction

Dignity is protected by the implementation of human rights. If human rights are violated, dignity gets violated too. Providing equal dignity, respect and value to all individual is as easy to articulate but is actually difficult to deliver. All individuals are entitled to certain basic rights under any circumstances. Human rights articulate the need for justice, tolerance, mutual respect, and human dignity for all and should be distributed equally. These rights when are not equally distributed among the citizens of India or world, violates human rights. This paper will be focusing specifically violation of women's rights which also violate their dignity and their demand for justice. This may include certain civil liberties socio- economic and political rights, the most fundamental of which is the right to life and their security. When women are excluded from the society's decision-making processes and when rights to adequate food, housing, employment, and cultural life are denied, social unrest develops in society. Such conditions often give rise to demand for justice and their basic needs be met. Demand for justice arises when women lacks support for fundamental function of a human life.

Martha Nussbaum in her article 'Women's Capabilities and Social Justice' describes that women are less well nourished than men, less healthy and more vulnerable to physical violence and sexual abuse. They are much likely than men to be literate and still less likely to have pre-professional or technical education. They face greater obstacle in entering workplace, in intimidation from family or spouse, sex discrimination in hiring and sexual harassment at workplace. Similar obstacle often impedes their effective participation in political life as well their equal status under the law. They do not have the same property rights as men, the same right to make a contract, the same rights of association, mobility and religious liberty. They are burdened often with the double day of taxing employment and full responsibility for housework and childcare. In all these ways, unequal social and political circumstances give women unequal human capabilities.

Ample of evidences can be traced out from year 2013, a year filled with rampant violence and sexual abuse against women shows pervasive

human rights violations worldwide. This means that such violence is directly related to the unequal distribution of power and to the asymmetrical relationships that exist between men and women in our society, which perpetuate the devaluation of women and their subordination to men. Respect for women's rights, is respect for human rights which is also an essential condition for the development of our countries.

The article tries to explain the gender based violence and its linkages to violation of human rights and rights of women in India. It will also focus the implications of gender discrimination at different spheres of life. Therefore, an attempt here is to seek attention of the academicians, researcher and policy makers towards bringing gender equality through implementation of proper gender justice in Indian society. The study is based on the secondary sources of the subject. It concludes that sustainable progress is not possible unless we fix failures of systems and society so that women have equal access of their rights in each and every aspect of life. Otherwise human rights will be more a dream than reality.

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. Yet many women struggle daily to have their most basic rights protected. We always wish to live in a world where all women have their own dignity, have an adequate standard of living and a decent home, where they are not disadvantaged in the workplace because of their gender and where violence has no place. This is about respecting everyone, every day, everywhere. But at the same time more and more disparities have been found when we see India on gender perspective. All these have raised questions, are all these considered as real improvement or not? It is obvious, the humanistic characters are gradually diminishing in this present era. The current statistic on different issues like health, literacy, labour work force participation, poverty etc. shows that in this advance age, women are not getting just and equal treatment in the various spheres of life. It has been recognised that dignity and equality are essential amongst the needs of human beings and when these are taken away from women in the form of violence than it is basically violating human dignity and human rights of them.

Human rights are inherent in everyone's life by virtue of being humans, but for women the story is different. Women have no voice; they are violated in their homes, in the public sphere, including their places of work. But no justice is accorded for them. Through this piece of writing, it is an attempt to examine the links between human rights and human dignity in reference to gender justice. However, gender justice is a challenge that faces the world currently, but with the tremendous efforts and laws, it is still far

from being achieved. The demand for equal rights and justice emerging in all parts of the world should have a gender analysis, as men and women experience these rights differently. Gender perspective is imperative and significant in contemporary times for generating viable analysis. Gender perspective not only covers the issues of women but also men. It basically tries to highlight the rights and justice enjoyed by both the sexes in the society. When we talk about gender in real sense then it draws a lucid picture of a man and a woman and creates a comparative analysis in each term.

The general society, inclusive of some scholars, believes that gender implies the state of being male or female. Still, on the other side, the term has increasingly obtained a social meaning to show the connection between males and females in society. To begin with, Peterson and Runyna (1999), gender refers to socially learned behaviour and expectations that distinguish between masculinity and femininity. By mentioning that, the difference between gender and sex is clearly stressed. The latter is comprehended as the biological distinction between males and females. As societies place different values on masculine and feminine attributes, Peterson and Runyna (1999) further consider gender as the basis for relations of inequality between men and women. Additionally, they attest that gender is a particularly powerful lens through which all of us see and organise reality.

Numerous feminists acknowledge what Bradley has called 'sexual dimorphism' of human species; they identify the physiological and physical differences between women and men (Bradley, 2007). Nevertheless, they insist that gender is a cultural phenomenon, and that gendered forms of behaviours were learned – and thus could be unlearned. In her work, *Subject Women,* Oakley (1981) has utilised the functionalist theory of 'socialisation' to analyse gender and gender roles. She states that by the process of socialisation, we learn how to become human through different agents of change, such as families, schools, workplaces, literature, mass media, etc. With the same process and through the same agents, girls and boys are taught behaviour deemed appropriate for their gender.

Finally, regarding inequality, Spivak (1985) explains gender in relation to a subaltern. She says that if in the contest of colonial production, the subaltern has no history and cannot speak, the subaltern female is even more deeply in shadow. According to her, subaltern women are subjected to more oppression than subaltern men. They have no proper representation and consequently are not able to voice their opinions or share their stories. No one is aware of their daily struggles; they are ghosts in society. She

further says it is not only colonialism that silences the subaltern, but also those of us who are watching the oppression taking place around the world and not doing anything about it.

However, by virtue of their gender, women and girls have not enjoyed their human rights, as seen from the various violations against them. Gender justice will only be truly realised in an event where the universality of human rights is fairly acknowledged. Donnelly (2003) insists that human rights are universal in the sense that today we consider all members of the species *Homo sapiens* to be 'human beings' and thus holders of human rights. However, Bunch and Frost (2000) argue that the idea that human rights are universal also challenges the contention that the human rights of women can be limited by culturally specific definitions of what count as human rights and of women's role in society (Anuja, 2014).

Human dignity is something which cannot be measured and something that is equal amongst all humans. The idea of dignity is to preserve one's self esteem, self regard and self respect. It is something that cannot be replaced, by money or anything of equal value, dignity is personal and irreplaceable. Article 1 of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights (UDHR) states that, 'All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and in rights.' Human rights define the value and worth of each person and their relationship to government and society. They identify standards regarding the quality of life that each of us can expect to enjoy. Human rights are inherent, inalienable and universal. Due to some social structures, traditions, stereotypes and attitudes about women and their role in society, women do not always have the opportunity and ability to access and enforce their rights on the same basis as men.

What are 'rights', and how do 'human rights' differ from other kind of rights? The concept of 'rights' is closely connected to that of 'right'. All societies have standards of right, but it is often said that many cultures have no conception of people 'having rights'. The idea of everyone having 'human rights' is said to be especially alien to most cultures. Social scientists neglected human rights until recently. However, the increasing importance of the concept of human right in national and international politics has stimulated the interest of some social scientists. Political science has shown ambivalence towards the concept of human rights, because it has been influence by positivism, which is hostile to the concept of rights, and by normative political philosophy, which is the source of the concept. Sociology has had less to say about human rights, because it shares with political

science the influence of positivism but has, historically distance itself from its origins in political philosophy (Freeman, 2003).

The sociologist Bryan Turner has extended this analysis by arguing that the institutionalisation of human rights through the United Nations is an important feature of the social process of globalisation, and human rights can be viewed, in sociological terms, as a global ideology. Turner draws on Max Weber's argument that the historical 'rationalisation' of society had undermined the religious and metaphysical foundations of law and rights. Positivism and relativism were the consequences of secularisation. Sociologically, the concept of human rights can be explained by the need to protect vulnerable human beings by social institutions, which in their turn pose threats to human being. The social legal institutionalisation of human rights is the predominant modern attempt to resolve this dilemma that is inherent in modern societies (Turner, 1993; 1995). Howard's structural approach to the sociology of human rights did not exclude the role of culture. His sociology shows how social structure may lead to human rights violations and obstruct change. It may even suggest how change may come about. But it cannot, as he wants it to, tell us why we should welcome such changes (Freeman, 2003).

Woodiwiss adopts a 'discourse' approach. He makes use of the concept of 'patriarchalism', which he defines as a discourse that assumes the naturalness of social inequalities and justifies them by reference to the respect due to a benevolent father. Patriarchalism, Woodiwiss argues, is as compatible with respect for human rights as liberalism, except in the area of gender relations. The exception of gender relations is, of course, a large one, and the dissociation of human rights and liberalism is delivered, not from the sociological analysis of Asian patriarchalism, but from a redefinition of the concept of human rights to serve its conceptual link with equality (Freeman, 2003). His sociological analysis provides a salutary reminder of structural and cultural barriers to the achievement of equal human rights. Feminists have challenged dominant interpretations of human rights, arguing that they are based against women, because they address violations by states, and ignore the violations that women suffer at the hands of men in the private sphere (Byrnes, 1992). They argue that the subjection of women in the household often leads to their disempowerment in the public sphere. The distinction between the public domain of the state and the private domain of the family is fallacious, they say, because the family is, in all societies, regulated by the state and its law. Reproduction and child- rearing, usually considered to be private activities par excellence, are typically

regulated by men to form male and female identities so as to ensure the subordination of women. Some recognised human rights violations, such as torture are experienced by women in a distinctive way, for example by sexual violence and humiliation. Women suffer much more than men from justifications of the violations of almost all their human rights by appeals to culture. In addition, their access to legal redress is often barred by discriminatory, male dominated legal system (Binion, 1995; Peterson and Parisi, 1998; Ashworth, 1999; Desai, 199; Coomaraswamy, 1999).

Some feminists criticise the concept of equality in human rights discourse in the ground that it fails to recognise the difference of women's experience. It is valid to emphasise the difference of women's experiences, but the critique of equality for the shake of difference may be counter productive because cultural groups often justify treating women unequally on the ground of cultural difference. Feminism has energised the cause of women's human rights and drawn the attention of the UN, governments and human rights NGOs to the many serious human rights violations that are suffered exclusively or predominantly by women.

Feminism refers to an ideology which believes in establishing equality among men and women. The feminist discourse started with taking women's oppression as a category and thereby pursuing realisation of women's rights in different spheres such as politics, economy and society. This too had to be connected with the discourse on democratic rights. The women's right to her body, right to choose a partner in life and right to conceive or not conceive a child, and right to choose safe contraceptives were as important as right to education, employment and political participation. Gender is used as a social category and has to be seen in a cultural and historical context. Policies of the Indian state, particularly in the sphere of education and employment, ostensibly aim at realising the constitutional objective of gender inequality. Inequality between men and women is one of the most crucial disparities in many societies and this is particularly so in India. Jean Dreze and Amartya Sen in one of their articles on 'Gender Inequality and Women's Agency' have discussed how Indian's development process has discriminated against women in the spheres of education, health and other social opportunities (Mohanty, 2004). They have also highlighted the problem of female deprivation, illiteracy and high infant mortality rates in India. They said that women's exclusion from social and economic participation in society results in low female labour-force participation. The two most significant factors for social and economic development in India which have been analysed by these sociologists are female literacy and

women's ability to earn an independent income through paid employment. It is amazing what a close connection exists between women's agency and women's well being and improvement in society. Yet India has dismally neglected the girl child, women, their health and education. "The persistence of extraordinarily high levels of gender inequality and female deprivation are among India's most serious social failures. As Dr`eze and Sen said gender inequality is not only a social failure in itself, it leads to other social failures also (Anuja, 2014).

Gender-based violence and all forms of sexual harassment and exploitation including those resulting from cultural prejudices, international trafficking are incompatible with the dignity and worth of human person and must be eliminated. The greatest tragedy of women is that she falls the victim of brutal force at the hands of those whom she loves and trusts most; husband, father, uncles and brothers and within the safe confines of home. Wife battering is a global phenomenon. The institution of marriage which is supposed to protect a woman renders her even more vulnerable to assault. One out of every 100 husbands in the state (Jharkhand) is subjected to physical or emotional torture by their wives. But, the wives still have to bear the brunt of domestic violence, with nearly four in every 10 women suffering beating or humiliation at the hands of their husbands. According to the study, 37 per cent women fall prey to some form of violence in Jharkhand, which equals with the national average. As many as 41 per cent married women in the age group of 15-49 years admitted to have been subjected to physical, sexual or emotional violence at some point in their lines, and 31 per cent of them experienced such violence at least once in the past 12 months. Though instances of sexual violence in Jharkhand are low, with only 9 per cent women agreeing to having experienced such a situation in the past year, instances of physical violence are quite high with 35 per cent women having said that they were molested by their husband in their married life. Instances of spousal violence are maximum in Bihar, where 59 per cent women admitted to having suffered some sort of violence in their married life by their husbands. It was minimum for Himachal Pradesh, where six out of 100 women are subjected to such condition in their married life (Singh, 2010).

The distribution of educational opportunity has followed emergent patterns of social differentiation and social inequalities in the country. This type of pattern represents the complex interaction and interweaving of traditional and newly evolving conceptions of status deriving out of the structures of caste, class gender, patriarchy, religion and ethnic origin. The following figure will reveal how this intricate pattern of social differentiation

is reflected in the educational system (Velaskar, 1990). Overall figure of 2011 census for literacy (74 per cent), where male literacy is 82.14 per cent and female is 65.46 per cent, enrolment in government schools (elementary education) 78.14 per cent, which shows in the country mask sharp gender imbalances. Bihar stands at the bottom of the ladder with 61.80 per cent total literacy, where female literacy rate (46.40 per cent) is lowest which is not a good sign towards making or thinking of gender equality or achieving the target set by MDG for women empowerment.

Another example of violation of women's rights is the persistent decline in female labour force participation rate (LFPR) in India in the face of consistent economic growth is a puzzling phenomenon. The latest Employment and Unemployment Survey which showed that in the period 2004-05 to 2009-10 women's labour force participation declined from 33.3 per cent to 26.5 per cent in rural areas and from 17.8 per cent to 14.6 per cent in urban areas (NSSO, 2011). According to the International Labour Organisation's Global Employment Trends 2013 report, India is placed at 120th of 131 countries in women's labour force participation. Women's participation in the labour market is influenced by social norms governing gender roles and responsibilities as much as it is by economic and structural factors. In traditional societies where the man is accorded the role of providing for the family, women's relative absence in the labour market could well reflect both their and the household's preferences, which often has class connotations.

After Independence attainment of equal status for women in every sphere of life was enshrined as one of the main objects of the Indian Constitution. Article 14, 15(3), 16, 39(i) and 51 guaranteed equality and protection for women. Article 325 prohibits sex based discrimination in relation to right to vote. The government has passed the Domestic Violence Act 2005 to give them protection against home violence. The government has started gender budgeting. The government has decided to establish Gender Budgeting Bureau under Department of Women and Child Development. A number of steps have been taken by UNO and its agencies to end gender discrimination but observing, studying and on deeper analysis of the other most significant indication of how women, by and large, are being treated in the family, in the society in day to day life, it is found that their empowerment is still for off destination. Seventy per cent of the rape victims appear from their houses. Sexual harassment at work place has become a growing concern as 98 per cent prevalence of this was revealed by Sakshi study at a cross section from five metropolitan cities.

These evil problems and unjust treatments are gradually spread over in the various parts of the globe which are basically violating the human dignity and human rights of the women. People continue to commit crimes without recognition of individual's human rights, when an offender rapes or murders their victim their dignity is immediately lost.

Conclusion

Even though human rights exist as a birthright, to be effective they need to be supported by law and able to be used in practice. Our own awareness and support for human rights is one of the most important ways to enforce them. Infact, Governments however remain accountable by protecting the women human rights by implementing few measures like: implementing of respective law and policy, providing proper reservations in politics and public sphere, equal rights in ensuring education and training, employment, health related issues, equality before law and elimination of all kinds of violence against women. The discourse of rights has instrumental value because it creates solidarity among those with similar interests, and it can easily be applied to new struggle over different issues and in different cultural contexts. It can there by create solidarity among those with different, and even to some extent incompatible, interests, such a women, ethnic minorities and indigenous people (Freeman, 2003). Therefore, the fundamental principals of human rights is to provide human dignity to women but when her human rights are not rightly explained and enforced, violation against them will never end and dream of gender equality will never become reality.

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Forest Rights Act in Odisha:
Problems and Prospects

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The India Forest Act 1927 did not address forest conservation. It was passed to serve the British's need for timber and sought to override customary rights and forest management systems by declaring forests state property and exploiting forest produce. The government progressively introduced different policies and laws that paved the way to recognise that tribal peoples, especially forest dwellers, had rights over ancestral land, including the right to earn their livelihood from forests and maintain a cultural identity that is linked to them. After many years of debate and extensive consultations, this process culminated in the enactment of the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act 2006. The Forest Rights Act, 2006 (FRA), is considered an important landmark in the history of forest resource use and management in India. The paper focuses on the current status of implementation of Forest Rights acts in Odisha and identifies important constraints involved in implementing the Act at the ground level. Besides this, it also suggests the appropriate steps to minimise these constraints in terms of taking the implementation process forward.

Introduction

Forests cover about 23 per cent of India's land mass and directly impact the livelihoods of about 200 million people living in or near them.

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However, a succession of British colonial laws and post-independence Indian laws designated forests as state property without recognising the livelihood rights of forest dwellers, thereby reducing them to the status of encroachers vulnerable to the whims of forest department officials. The passage of the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006 was a watershed event in the hard-fought and prolonged struggle of Adivasis and other forest dwellers of India. For the first time in the history of the country, the state formally acknowledged that rights have been denied to forest dwelling people. The new forest law attempts not only to right that 'historic injustice' but also give primacy to the role of the forest communities in forest management. It became active on 31 December 2007 and the notification for implementation of the provisions of the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act - 2006 commonly referred to as the Forest Rights Act (FRA) was issued on January 1st 2008 for operationalisation. The law basically grants legal recognition to the rights of traditional forest-dwelling communities, partially correcting the injustice caused by successive forest laws in the 19th and 20th centuries and it makes a beginning towards giving those communities and the public a voice in forest and wildlife conservation.

The new Act made the Ministry of Tribal Affairs the nodal agency for recognising forest rights, in recognition of the fact that forest departments were an 'interested party' which would have little incentive for ceding territory and control over forests to ancestral right holders. It also provided a transparent and democratic procedure readily accessible to tribals and other traditional forest dwellers by making the gram sabha the fact finding and verification authority (instead of an unaccountable government official). Two higher level committees comprising officials of three departments and panchayat representatives have been given responsibilities for collation and final approval of the claimed rights. The Act also provides safeguards against arbitrary eviction or relocation of tribals and other forest dwellers living in or dependent on protected areas. Finally, in its most significant and radical step, the law statutorily empowered gram sabhas to protect and manage their surrounding forests for sustainable use and for preserving their cultural and natural heritage.

Even as the law completes more than two years, the struggle for forest land, rights over community resources, habitat, and community conservation in Odisha as also in other parts of India intensifies more than ever. Therefore, after two year of its enactment, it would be interesting to see

where the things stand as far as its implementation is concerned. Is the Forest Department, the sole owner and manager of large tracks of forest land in the country, willing to share its ownership and authority? How many community-level claims have been made for managing forests as against the individual claims for cultivation on forest land? Are the communities aware that they are now 'empowered' to manage their forest? Are the liberal provisions made for legalising the land under cultivation for individuals dependent on it for subsistence alone being genuinely claimed? The raised expectations from FRA in achieving equity, efficiency and sustainability would depend on many things including the spirit with which it is implemented, and preparedness of the communities to understand its implications.

The paper is divided into two sections. The first section focus on historical context of Forest Rights Act and the present status of Forest Rights Act in India. The second section focus on current status of implementation of Forest Rights Act in Odisha and identifies important constraints involved in implementing the Act at the ground level. It suggests the appropriate steps to minimise these constraints in terms of taking the implementation process forward.

Forest Rights Act: Historical Context

The genesis of FRA lies in the historical deprivation of rights of tribal and other forest dependent communities in India (Springate-Baginski et al, 2009). It started with the colonial rule in 19th century when British started centralising and restricting the forest use for commercial exploitation through legislative measures such as the Indian Forest Act of 1864 and later on 1927 (Springate-Baginski et al, 2009).

This centralisation and reservation of forest land changed the forest-people relations (Sarin et al, 2003). This policy of reserving forests and restricting people's rights continued even after independence, which is a common feature of many postcolonial nations.

In independent India, large areas of unsurveyed community lands were transferred to the forest departments through blanket notifications without recognition of their rights or consultation with local people (Bose, 2010). In some states like present day Uttarakhand, then part of Uttar Pradesh, the notifications were accompanied with a 'forest settlement' process, where rights of communities were partially recognised. But in many areas, forests were notified as reserve and protected forests without recognition of rights (Springate-Baginski et.al, 2009; Bose 2010). In many

cases, where private feudal forests were annexed to the forest estate of the country, the situation of forest dependent people became even worse as their already existing minimal rights were not recognised (Bose, 2010). The forest estate of the country increased by 26 Mha between 1951 and 1988 through the annexations under colonial Forest Act of 1927 (Sarin et al, 2003). The Indian state became the 'biggest violator of the spirit of the Constitution' which provides for the protection of the rights of tribal people (Sarin, 2005). Similarly, the rights over major non timber forest produce (NTFP), which constitute an important part of the livelihoods of forest dependant communities, were centralised through various policies between 1960 to 1970s.

Increasing concern for the conservation of forests and wild life in the country resulted in the Wildlife Protection Act of 1972 and Forest Conservation Act of 1980. Wildlife reserves, which had minimal rights for tribal people, increased from 131 in 1975 to 572 in 1999 covering 4.7 per cent of the land area of the country (Bose, 2010). These laws made the tribal and other forest dependent communities 'encroachers' on their own lands. On the proactive efforts of a bureaucrat, government issued guidelines to regularise the pre 1980 'encroachments', in the year 1990 but these were barely implemented.

Besides the conservation concerns, there was a growing demand for development in the country. Mines, industry, large dams and other infrastructure were created. These further marginalised the tribal and forest dependent communities. They were displaced from their lands without adequate compensation. It is estimated that 21.3 million people were displaced between 1951 and 1990, out of which 8.54 million or 40 per cent belonged to scheduled tribe category, which constitute around 8 per cent of the country's population (Sarin et al, 2003; Bose, 2010). Hence, tribal communities have paid a heavy price for the 'conservation' and 'development' of the country. It is one of the main reasons for spread of left wing extremism across the tribal districts in the country.

In this historical setting, the actual trigger for the FRA came up in the year 2002, when in response to a decision by Supreme Court, the Ministry of Environment and Forests (MoEF) issued a directive to the state forest departments to evict all the encroachments from the forest land in a fixed time. This order estimated an area of 12,50,000 ha under encroachments spread across eight states. Many state forest departments started the eviction process. It is estimated that between 1,50,000 to 3,00,000 families were evicted (CSD, 2007; Springate-Baginski et al, undated). This led to a massive

uproar and protests and the MoEF had to intervene to stop the process. It resulted in a loosely united campaign of various civil society activists and organisations christened as 'Campaign for Survival and Dignity' (Springate-Baginski et.al, undated). It became a major political issue. Both the parties promised legislation to recognise rights of tribal and forest dependant communities for forthcoming elections in 2004 (MoEF and MoTA, 2010). Once the elections were won by United Progressive Alliance led by the major political party Indian National Congress, the pressure on the government mounted to fulfil its promises. The Prime Minister (PM) of the country asked the Ministry of Tribal Affairs (MoTA) instead of Ministry of Environment and Forests, which has been handling these affairs so far, to draft a bill to recognise the rights of forest dependent communities. This was a major shift because of the protests of civil society (Springate-Baginski et al, 2009; Bose, 2010). Then it took three years of strong contestation among various stakeholders before implementation of the FRA began in 2008.

The majority of the stakeholders aligned themselves into two coalitions - one strongly favoured the *status quo* based on conservation ideas and other coalition wanted a change for the tribal and forest dependant people (Sarin and Springate-Baginski, 2009; MoEF and MoTA, 2010). There was conflict within the government- MoTA and MoEF based on different ideologies, which was finally sorted out by the PM himself (MoEF and MoTA, 2010). Powerful lobbies worked on both sides. Pro rights groups advocated their cause based on the arguments of democratic rights, poverty alleviation and improved incentive for the tribal people for conservation whereas the pro conservation coalition, based their campaign on the ideas of wildlife and nature conservation (Bose, 2010). It has been argued that powerful conservation lobby influenced the media to launch a 'misinformation campaign' (Bose, 2010). Data and information provided by both the coalitions varied to a great extent. For example, the pro-conservation lobby argued that the proposed bill could result in a loss of 15 per cent of India's forest cover whereas pro-rights group argued that it dealt only with 2 per cent of India's forest land (Bose, 2010). But due to immense pressure from civil society and its potential political ramifications, the Act was passed in the parliament in the year 2006. However, there was a strong contestation on the text of both the Act and the rules between both the stakeholder coalitions. It is argued that FRA which has been enacted is a much watered down version of what was proposed initially (Sarin and Springate-Baginski, 2009).

Forest Rights Act 2006

The Act is based on the premise of historical injustice to forest dwelling communities and the condition that the communities are the legitimate stakeholders to livelihood in forests. FRA describes a form of both economic and social reproduction that is contingent upon the reproduction of the 'forest ecosystem', which the framers of the FRA assert in fact depends on the use of the forest by forest dwelling communities. This retroactive recognition of rights assigns forest land and forest resources on the basis of a claim to a particular political community, thereby redefining forest land that had been previously governed under regional variants of administrative stewardship. As the preamble to the FRA explains:

> The forest rights on their (Scheduled Tribe and Other Traditional Forest Dweller) ancestral lands and habitats were not adequately recorded in the consolidation of state forests in the colonial as well as in independent India resulting in historical injustices to the forest dwelling scheduled tribes and other forest dwellers who are integral to the very sustainability and survival of the forest ecosystem.

Among the mechanism worked out are:

- Communities will define the forests which are being used by them which forms the backdrop of the rights being allocated.
- Gram Sabha as the body that initiates the process of recognition of individual and community right.
- Duties to protect the forest and ensure compliance of the various laws in force as to ensure long term sustainability of community right on hand and the application of laws related to conservation i.e. Forest Conservation Act, Wildlife Act, Biodiversity Act etc. Except FRA supersedes the application of such Acts.

As a corrective of land based historical injustices committed against forest dwelling groups, the FRA reflects institutional theory backwards to suggest that unrecognised community resource use in the past legitimates official translations of customary rights in the present. This conception of a community based institution articulates a relationship between agriculturalists and natural resources which subsumes other determining relationships, such as local markets for firewood or rises in wages for day construction work, that may significantly impact so-called collective priorities of maintaining or stabilising a resource pool. The entitlements argued for by proponents of the FRA frequently invoke this dual

productivist logic of the imagined community institution, improvements to the natural resource pool as a condition of developmental improvement.

Forest Rights Act: Present Status in India

Table 1
Status of implementation of the Scheduled Tribes and
Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006
in India (As on 31.01.2015)

S. No.	State	Total number of claims received	Total number of titles deeds distributed/ ready	% of titles distributed over number of claims received
1	Tripura	1,82,617	1,20,473 distributed	65.97%
2	Kerala	37,535	24,599 distributed	65.53%
3	Odisha	6,09,722	3,45,473 distributed	56.66%
4	Andhra Pradesh	4,11,012	1,69,370 distributed	41.20%
5	Rajasthan	69,775	34,147 distributed	48.93%
6	Chhattisgarh	8,17,809	3,36,590 distributed	41.15%
7	Madhya Pradesh	5,92,643 (5,52,142 individual and 40,501 community)	1,98,103 distributed (1,79,552 individual, 18,551 Community and 20191 ready	33.42%
8	Jharkhand	42,003	15,296 distributed	36.41%
9	Maharashtra	3,50,908	1,45,469 distributed	41.45%
10	Assam	1,31,911	36,267 distributed	27.49%
11	Gujarat	1,90,051	72,418 distributed	38.10%
12	West Bengal	1,40,309	34,165 distributed and 16,904 ready	24.34%
13	Uttar Pradesh	93,635	18,474 distributed and 465 title deeds ready for distribution	19.74%
14	Himachal Pradesh	5,692	346	6.07%
15	Karnataka	2,60,679	7,700	2.93%
16	Bihar	2,930	28	0.95%
17	Tamil Nadu#	21,781	3,723 ready#	0.00%
18	Uttarakhand	182	Nil	0.00%
	Total	39,61,194 (38,64,161 individual and 97,033 community)	15,61,918 (15,32,020 individual and 29,898 community) and 41,243 ready for distribution	39.43%

Source: Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Govt. of India, 2015
High Court's restrictive order.

The States have progressed in varying degrees in implementation of the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of

Forest Rights) Act, 2006. While the States like Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Odisha, Rajasthan, Tripura and West Bengal have established the prescribed structures and procedures have received a large number of claims and have started distributing the title deeds, other States, because of various reasons, are still to catch up. As per the information collected till 31st January, 2015, 39,61,194 claims have been filed and 15,61,932 (15,32,020 individual and 29,898 community) titles have been distributed. Further, 41,243 titles were ready for distribution. A total of 32,90,522 claims have been disposed of (83.06 per cent). A statement on claims received and distribution of title deeds in various states, as in (table 1) is being maintained.

Forest Rights Act: Present Status in Odisha

Forest Department in Odisha, as in case of other states, too views the Forest Rights Act as a threat to its standing forest. Notwithstanding the provision of the act that specifically mentions that only the lands under cultivation are to be regularised, and no new forests are to be cut down for the purpose. The Government of Odisha has taken measures to implement the Forest Rights Act which aims to ensure that tribals and traditional forest dwellers obtain legal access to forest resources and protection from exploitation. Recognition of Forest Rights of individual and community under provisions of the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006 in Odisha has progressed swiftly. Recognition of 3,62,136 individual community, 3300 community and 2287 CFR claims over forest land of 77,23,417.22 (543253.72 under Individual, 109391.46 under community 7772.0 acres under Community) claim respectively have been approved till 31st January, 2015. The status of Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTG) right holders on forest land is 16,822 households over 26,008 acres. Approximately, 15.37 per cent of total ST households of the State have become forest right holders over 2.86 per cent of total forest area of the State. Further, 6,09,722 claim applications have been received by Forest Rights Committees upto 31st January, 2015 are in the process of examination and approval of three tier prescribed committees i.e. Gram Sabha, Sub-Divisional level committee and District level committee. Odisha stands first in the country in distribution of titles of Forest Rights in respect of individual claims in accordance with implementation of the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006.

Forest Rights Act in Odisha: Problems and Prospects

The government claimed to have formed more than 30,000 Forest Rights Committee) (FRCs) during two days in March, 2008, when gram sabhas were called. In reality FRC formation began around this time and continued up to June, at which time official figures said around 42,000 FRC's had been created. FRC's have been constituted at the revenue village level. There were attempts in some areas to convert the JFM Committees into Forest Rights Committees, but these were mostly stopped. Subsequently, the revenue secretary sent a letter to all district collectors asking them to give due importance to implementing the Act. It also said that the maps prepared by FRCs need not be to scale. The SDLCs would have the responsibility to prepare proper maps based on the received claims. Organisations have made claim forms available in some areas where the officially printed ones had not reached. In most areas filing of claims was claimed to be largely complete as of mid-August, 2008. On closer perusal, however, it was found that many irregularities had taken place in the process of submitting claims to SDLCs and that the vast majority of claims were only for individual land pattas, with barely any claims for community rights. The Forest Department has been spreading misinformation about the Act and seeking to divide villages. Non-ST's were initially prevented from filing claims at all and continue to face difficulties. Tribals are facing acute problems in obtaining ST certificates.

There have also been many cases of the FD forcibly undertaking plantations on cultivated lands both under government programmes and a Japanese funded forestry project in total violation of the law. In several incidents in 2008, adivasis were severely beaten by FD supported goons for resisting such plantations. More recently, the FD has been enticing people to opt for JFM with the lure of Rs 15 to 20 lakh per village, instead of claiming statutory rights over their CFRs, as with the latter they won't get any funds. In Sunabeda Sanctuary and the Simlipal Tiger Reserve, the villagers are facing a lot of problems due to the forest department not permitting even awareness raising meetings. This has intensified after attacks by Maoists inside both the protected areas.

On July 23rd, 2008, the Odisha High Court issued an interim order barring grant of pattas or felling of trees until further notice (very similar to the February order of the Madras High Court), but allowing the process of the Act to continue. On July 2nd, an application by the petitioners for a complete stay on the Act had been rejected by the Court. Ironically, 45 minutes after issuing the interim order of staying grant of pattas, a different bench of the same High Court directed the State government to implement the Act and make a final decision on all claims within three months of

receiving the claim. This order was ignored. The High Court interim order against grant of final titles initially led to demoralisation and a lull in activities as an impression was created that the implementation of the Act had been stayed. However, the court later clarified that the order only barred issuing of titles and not other processes of filing claims and their verification. Finally, in August 2009, the High Court vacated its earlier interim order and allowed the implementation of the Act to proceed normally. There have been numerous local and district level demonstrations throughout the State against violations of the Act and demanding its proper implementation, including a large rally of more than 5000 people in Bhubaneshwar on August 3rd, 2009.

CSD Odisha also launched a campaign for filing claims for community forest rights which has borne fruit. A large number of claims for community forest rights have been filed from all areas where organisations are active. At least in some of the districts, the SDLCs and even some DLCs have been very open and supportive, depending on the attitudes of the concerned IAS and ITDA officers. However, unfortunately verification of claims for CFRs is yet to take place and no CFR rights have yet been recognised. Government reports claim to have approved a number of community claims but these seem to be claims for land for development facilities under section 3.2. As in other states, officials continue equating claims for development facilities with claims for community forest rights.

In some cases, the SDLCs are sending verification teams consisting of forest, tribal and revenue officials, who are visiting the villages for on site verification of claims. This is apparently being done as FD staff did not show up when intimated by FRCs that they were planning field verification of the claims. During their initial visits, the verification teams have only dealt with claims for individual land rights while leaving out claims for community forest rights. This is being partially rectified now after persistent demands by local organisations.

Claims are also being verified in wildlife sanctuaries, although there continues to be forest department resistance to cooperate with the process in the tiger reserves. Titles for individual land have been granted at least in two wildlife sanctuaries (Badrama and Karlapat) but community rights are yet to be recognised in them. In 2009, interference had increased in protected areas and in areas slated to be granted for mining, where the government was not allowing the process to proceed. This is now beginning to change after MoEF issued it's order of July 30, 2009. This requires evidence that the process of recognition of rights has been completed and the consent of gram sabhas

obtained for diversion of forest land for other uses, as pre-conditions for granting forest clearance.

Recognition of the rights of residents of unsurveyed villages which do not come within any panchayat, conversion of forest villages into revenue villages and recognition of the habitat rights of Odisha's PVTGs is lagging behind. OTFDs are also facing immense problems in proving 75 years of residence as there are hardly any record available for the purpose. A state level workshop focused on community rights in early September 2009 has generated a positive response from the Tribal Welfare Department which has initiated a process for getting the rights of PVTGs recognised with the help of micro-project staff and NGOs. The department has also promised to give greater attention to the recognition of other community rights including CFRs and NTFPs.

By late October 2009, over 43,000 individual claims had been approved and 28,400 individual titles issued. A number of community rights are also stated to have been approved but it remains unclear whether these are actually land for development facilities or community forest rights.

A major problem being faced in Odisha is that all the finally approved claims or pattas are for revenue forest land and none for reserve forest land with the forest department. No maps are available for much of the reserve forest land as it has never been surveyed. Absence of maps is being given as the official reason for non-recognition of claims on such forest land. Due to increased government pressure on officials to hasten the speed of issuing titles to contain growing tribal unrest in the state, in some areas officials have apparently issued titles over village forest land without following the claim making process.

There are also disturbing news about the impact of arrival of para-military forces in Malkanagiri district for anti-naxal operations is beginning to have on local tribals. 50 Sarpanches petitioned to the Collector to stop combing operations in their area as there were not any naxals. Instead of accepting their demand, 14 of the sarpanches were arrested. The para military forces are reported to have shot dead two Koya tribal youth who ran out of fear on seeing them. This has created such a scare in the area that the Koya tribals of 10 to 12 villages have abandoned their homes and lands and moved down to lower areas. Instead of having their rights recognised such people face losing the little they already had due to the government's 'Operation Green Hunt' being started.

Table 2
Status of implementation of the Scheduled Tribes and
Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006
in Odisha (31-1-2015)

S.No.	Activities	Status
1	Appointment of a Nodal officer	Yes
2	Status of formation of various Committees (a) SDLC (b) DLC (c) SLMC	Yes Yes Yes
3	Translation of the Act and the Rules into the regional languages and distribution to Gram Sabha, FRCs etc.	Yes
4	Creation of Awareness about the provision of the Act and the Rules	Yes
5	Arrangements made for the training of PRI officials, SDLC, DLC members	Yes
6	Constitution of Forest Rights Committees by the Gram Sabhas	Yes
7	No. of claims filed at Gram Sabha level	6,09,722 (5,97,222 individual and 12,500 community)
8	No. of claims recommended by Gram Sabha to SDLC	4,84,788 (4,79,201 Individual, 3300 community and 2287 CFR claims)
9	No. of claims recommended by SDLC to DLC	3,73,691 (3,68,104 individual 3300 community and 2287 CFR claims)
10	No. of claims approved by DLC for title	3,67,723 (3,62,136 individual 3300 community and 2287 CFR claims)
11	Number of titles distributed	3,45,473 distributed (3,41,999 individual and 3,474 (2146+1328) Community
12	Extent of forest land for which title deeds issued (in acres)	77,23,417.22 (5,43,253.72 under Individual, 1,09,391.46 under community 7,772.0 acres under Community)
13	No. of claims rejected	1,55,546 (1,55,245 individual and 301 community)
14	Projected date for distribution of title deeds	Balance certificate of title to be distributed
15	Problems/Remarks: Certain forest land in the State is un surveyed & detailed maps/records are not available	

Source: Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Govt. of India, 2015

Implementation of Forest Rights Act: Critical Issues

Despite the progress, there are many issues like low rate of acceptance of claims, low recognition of community rights and institutional issues, which have marred the implementation of process. These issues are as follows.

The Gram Sabhas, which have the authority under the Act to determine rights, arguably lack the information and capacity in the form of documents, maps, evidence, and technical support necessary for the determination and verification of claims. Ensuring that the Act is effectively

utilised by forest communities will require a massive and concerted effort to raise awareness about the Act and its procedures and to develop the capacity of the implementing agencies.

Another issue is that forest communities who are not scheduled tribes remain excluded from the implementation process, due to the restrictive criteria of three generations (or 75 years) of habitation and the insistence of the authorities on documented evidence. Even though the list of evidence accepted under the Rules of the Forest Rights Act includes oral and physical evidence, authorities insist on documented evidence when considering claims, which is often not available, particularly for customary rights. In this case, the government authorities should be proactive in adhering to the existing provisions of the Act that allow for the processing of unrecorded rights with the help of oral and physical evidence.

In addition, the lack of awareness and understanding of all levels of government authorities of customary rights themselves and of the process for their recognition under the Forest Rights Act has led to their disregard. For example, in the tribal districts of Odisha, the traditional practice of shifting cultivation is not recognised by implementing agencies as a right. This is due to their faulty interpretation of the Forest Rights Act, stipulating (incorrectly) that it only recognises rights over forest land under continuous occupation, not under seasonal occupation (which is the practice in shifting cultivation), as well as the general prejudice within government conservation agencies against the practice of shifting cultivation as being detrimental to forests. Other important community rights of the PVTGs over their habitats and sacred areas are similarly ignored. This knowledge deficit can be overcome by focusing on capacity building of the authorities and implementing agencies.

Furthermore, the tendency to privatise commons and exclude rights, a legacy of past conservation policies, still arises in the implementation of the Forest Rights Act. Rights in reserve forests and protected areas (including wildlife sanctuaries, national parks, and tiger reserves), although recognised by the Act, are not considered by the authorities. Seventy five per cent of the forest lands recognised under the Act so far are located in revenue forests (forests within a village boundary) and many claims on reserve forests are rejected by the forest authorities. Rights in protected areas and tiger reserves are also not recognised in many cases. In the Simlipal Tiger Reserve, tribal families were relocated, contradicting the rights of the local communities of Khadia, Mankadias, and Kolha and ignoring the fact that their traditional rights are beneficial to the conservation of the forests. This exclusionary

conservation approach therefore needs to be redefined along the rights-based framework mandated by the Forest Rights Act for the benefit of local communities and conservation aims alike.

Overall, it is evident that the potential of the Act may be lost in the narrow perspective through which it is currently viewed by many implementing agencies. Their common perception is that the Act is for one-off settlements of cases of so-called encroachment in forest land. As a consequence, deadlines are set by governments to complete the process of recognition of rights (which is against the provisions of the Act), causing widespread confusion among the forest communities and disturbing the implementation process. This perspective needs to change to one that understands and is confident in the given rights framework's inherent potential to ensure biodiversity conservation and restoration of ecosystems. The Forest Rights Act has to be looked at as an approach; as such, it requires a long-term plan to implement it and to ensure that the rights-based framework that underpins it informs and guides conservation governance, planning, and programmes throughout the country. The Act involves multiple disciplines in the process of determination and recognition of rights through the participation of the government departments of Tribal Affairs, Forest and Environment, and Revenue, as well as the panchayati raj institutions. This multidisciplinary approach should guide future institutional arrangements of forest management in order to ensure that social, cultural, environmental, and economic concerns and opportunities are adequately represented.

It is also becoming increasingly evident that in addition to the challenges facing the recognition of rights under the Act, the process of forest tenure reform demands a complete overhaul of the existing forest governance system. There are still laws, policies, programmes, and structures in place that run counter to the framework of rights and empowerment of local authorities enshrined in the Forest Rights Act. Thus, the full recognition and exercise of rights under the Act is actually constrained by other existing laws. For example, even though community forestry groups get recognition under the Forest Rights Act, the state policy of Joint Forest Management remains unchanged, causing confusion and conflicts at the community level. Similarly, development and extractive projects in forest areas have ignored the Forest Rights Act and have targeted community land and forests, which are protected under the Act as inalienable rights.

In view of these issues, it is necessary to create an enabling legal and policy environment by amending existing laws and policies to ensure that

they do not counteract or negate the Forest Rights Act and instead are mutually reinforcing. For example, the National Forest Policy needs to be amended to reflect the current discourse on and understanding of the inter-linkages between recognition of rights and effective conservation. At the same time, convergence needs to be sought with existing complementary laws and programmes (such as the Panchayat Extension to Scheduled Areas Act, Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, and Watershed Development Programme) in order to further strengthen legal and policy provisions to ensure the realisation of community rights and empowerment and just conservation in practice.

Suggestions

Mass campaign to epowerment of the forest dependent communities adequately require about their rights as enshrined in the Act and the rules and processes involved, and to make them aware of the need for a collective effort to implement the Act. The forest people and their mass organisations have to play the leading role in the campaign to take the Act to the masses. Where the specter of antagonism between the forest dependent communities and the forest department and the local political power is inevitable and the role of the government officials and their subservient attitude to the feudal powers are well known. It is all the more important that these issues are urgently clarified and corrected (revised). The common people are being misled and an air of uncertainty prevails among them. Therefore, it is an imminent task for the local activist groups to reach the right information in a simple language to the communities. For that the most important objective of the Forest Rights Campaign to establish organisations of the forest people and strengthen them. Inter-organisation coordination is also very important in this respect. Since the Forest Rights Act has now become a civil rights issue, the role of the civil society is very important. We have to take concrete steps in those aspects. There were some effective suggestions such as equal representation of women in FRC, Sub-divisional, District and State level Committees, where their representation is inadequate. Where female population is more, their representation should be adequately reflected. The rules are silent on the status of single women and widows. Their rights need to be established and their rights can only be established through the strengthening of the community process. The role of dalit organisations in the implementation of this act is equally important. Since a misinformation campaign is on that the act is only for the scheduled tribes, there is every possibility of the dalits being alienated from this process. Participation of the

dalits, who command a sizable number among the workers eking out livelihood from the forests, is must for the successful implementation of the Forest Rights Act. There should be constant efforts to mobilise organisations of various hues and colours in the campaign leading to a lot of ideological and organisational debates. The process of a healthy debate among the active organisations of the campaign has to be strengthened. That will also give a direction and strengthen the long term struggle. There is, therefore, a need to give primacy to the ideological struggle in the movement.

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Breaking the Shackles of Patriarchal Ideology: Engagement of Men in Prevention of Violence against Women

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The paper strives to unfold structure of patriarchal ideology inherent in the Indian society. Dissecting the gender inequality prevalent in family organisations and religions, the paper argues that male engagement in prevention of violence against woemn is the need of the hour.

There is no chance for the welfare of the world unless the condition of women is improved. It is not possible for a bird to fly on one wing.

– P.R. Sarkar

Violence against women is mainly caused by the inherent gender inequality found in the patriarchal structure of Indian society. Family and religion are the main facets of this patriarchal structure and it is here that gender discrimination and injustice and violence finds its deepest roots. Women need to protect their rights, body and space and men need to understand the need of this protection. Men consider it to be their right to enter into the space of a woman. This ideology gets rationalised by the

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patriarchal focus of society. Patriarchy is not merely a structural concept; it is an ideology. It is a mindset which has been inculcated in our thought processes through the very early years of socialisation. Sylvia Walby calls patriarchy as "a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women" (Walby, 1990).

Literal Meaning of Patriarchy

Patriarchy literally means rule of the father in a male-dominated family. It is a social and ideological construct which considers men (who are the patriarchs) as superior to women. Patriarchy is that social system in which the father, or any male, controls the other members, property and the economic resources of the family and is thus called 'The Head'. Men become the head of the family because the family legacy and lineage is drawn from them.

Meaning of Patriarchy as an Ideology

This patriarchal system of the society places men on a higher platform than women and men are considered to be the owners and masters of women. Women under this system are expected to stay within the control and subordination of men. Gender equality is skin deep in the patriarchal social structure which gets manifested in family, religion and caste. The lives of women and men, the reward for the work they do, their participation in income, the responsibilities and roles they are given and the relationships that they share are all shaped by social norms and traditions which treat women and men differently and are usually inequitable. Here in our society 'gender really matters'. The Indian joint family is the "patriarchal family" and it was constituted by a group of persons related in the male line and subject to absolute power of the senior most male member (Uberoi, 2005).

Patriarchy is based on a system of power relations which are hierarchical and unequal where men control women's production, reproduction and sexuality. This subordination and control often vary in magnitude from society to society but certain characteristics such as control over women's reproduction and sexuality cuts across class, caste, ethnicity, religions and regions and is common to all patriarchies.

Patriarchy imposes gender stereotypes in society which strengthen the iniquitous power relations between men and women. Gender stereotyping means to classify and typecast certain kinds of behaviour which are deemed as appropriate to a particular gender. Stereotyping is the part of the process by which children are socialised into sex roles and by which

adults and children are denied opportunities for more individually varied development (John and Gordon, 1998). Gender stereotyping cries out loud that boys are better than girls and that, girls are meant to be mothers so they should learn to make sacrifices. Children must be socialised to accept traditional gender roles divisions as natural and just so that the system of male domination continues to survive and thrive.

'Patriarchy' as rule of the father and 'patriarchy' as men's domination of women are synonymous with each other. It is this male idealisation that makes men forget that women too have rights and are an entity on its own. Therefore, they do not hesitate in perpetuating violence against them.

Another term close to the ideology of patriarchy is sexism. Sexism is the unconscious, taken for granted, assumed, unquestioned, unexamined, unchallenged acceptance of the belief that the world as it looks to men is the only world, that the way of dealing with it which men have created is the only way, that the values which men have evolved are the only ones, that the way sex looks to men is the only way it can look to anyone, that what men think about what women are like is the only way to think about what women are like (Zanden and James, 1990). Sexism has been faced by women from generations to generation in almost all walks of their social life. Thus sexism is a demeanor that is deeply rooted in the social milieu of Indian society.

The detrimental and unhealthy perceptions of what it means to be a man or a woman and rigid gender norms grant men the power to initiate and dictate the terms of sex. This gives men the licence to condone violence against women, and make it difficult for women to protect themselves from violence. Data from the International Men And Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES), the largest ever comprehensive survey of men's attitudes and practices suggests that a combination of social norms supportive of men's domination over women is one of the main factors that contribute to individual men's use of violence. IMAGES is a comprehensive household questionnaire on men's attitudes and practices – along with women's opinions and reports of men's practices – on a wide variety of topics related to gender equality. This survey was organised by International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) and Instituto Promundo in the year 2010. At the individual level, research has found that the extent to which men internalise/adhere to rigid or negative norms about gender and sexuality may influence their own behaviours. In a survey carried out in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, men who were more equitable in their gender attitudes also

reported lower rates of violence against women than men who were inequitable (Peacock and Barker, 2012).

In the context of Indian society, rather than holding the perpetrators accountable, it is the women victims of violence that are blamed for the deed, thus maintaining power structures and practices that tacitly support perpetrators and their crimes. They get violated at every step in their life i.e. from birth till death.

Gender Inequality Inherent in Patriarchal Family

The primary lessons of patriarchal ideology and values are learnt in the family where boys are socialised into 'being boys' and girls into 'being girls'. The males have complete control over the females reproduction, sexuality and movement. Girls are considered to be *doosro ki amaanat* and *paraya dhan* and therefore do not enjoy complete ownership of the house they born in. Boys in turn have total power over the household as they are considered as the heir and successor of the family legacy and privileges.

Family plays an important role in creating a hierarchical system as it not only mirrors the order in the state and educates its children but also creates and constantly reinforces that order (Gerda, 1986). The next generation is socialised through the family into carrying the torch of patriarchal tenets of dominance and masculinity. Boys from generation to generation learn from their family about their supremacy and girls are made aware about their subjugation. Girls learn to adhere to the existing norms while boys learn to have extra privileges as compared to girls. These gender stereotypes put women at a disadvantageous position and make them vulnerable to violence and other kinds of discriminations and injustices. Systemic deprivation and violence against women: rape, sexual harassment, sexual abuse, female foeticide, infanticide, witch killing, *sati*, dowry deaths, wife-beating, high level of female illiteracy, malnutrition, undernourishment and continued sense of insecurity keeps women bound to home, economically exploited, socially suppressed and politically passive (Gerda, 1986). Since the primary responsibility of women is to be the care giver in the family, the career goals and ambitions of women take a second seat thus making their income lower than men's. It is this limited participation of men in household chores which is acting as a major hurdle is achieving gender parity and empowerment of women.

Another limelight of a patriarchal family is the staunch belief in the rigidities of the caste system. Caste and gender rigidities are quite similar in the patriarchal power structure. The treatment meted out to women and the

shudras is the same. None have the right to wear the *janeyu* or have other religious privileges. Even under the caste system the burden of maintaining the purity of the caste came on the women. Women came to be divided into two categories a) upper caste women and b) shudra women.

The endogamous system of Indian patriarchal family ensured the restrictions of women to go to more liberal societies and races. The relationship between women purity and caste purity was central to *Brahmanical* patriarchy and women were carefully guarded and lower caste men were prevented from having sexual access to women of higher caste. The caste system not only legitimised the relations of productions but also provided justification for the subordination of women. It not only determined the social division of labour but also the sexual division of labour such that tasks came to be regarded as essentially male and female jobs (Shenoy-Packer, 2014). The conditions regarding mobility and freedom to work was all the more discriminatory for upper caste women. Women were forced to stay at home and not earn a living because it was considered a matter of pride and a sign of prosperity since it reflected that men in the family have the ability to provide for the women. The internalisation of *stridharma* or *pativartadharma* by women makes them to follow the patriarchal ideologies and this cut across all caste whether upper or lower. The overall realities of subordination and subjugation of women diminishes the dividing line of upper and lower caste status of women. All are dominated and are given unequal rights. Women are the Fifth Caste and in that to *shudra* women occupy second citizenship.

Gender Inequality Inherent in Religion

Religion has been linked to the path of life duties. The social practices of patriarchal society get its license from religion and its propagators. These constructions consider males as superior to women and the laws and norms regarding family, marriage, divorce and inheritance are placed under the male control. Religion plays a very important part in the lives of Indian. All throughout the life their main aim is to attain *moksha* and 'to go to heaven (*swarga*)'. This journey, as believed, can be completed by following the righteous path of religion.

Proper conduct of gender duties and roles become imperative to be deemed as a religious and god fearing person. The above, when applied to women, clearly explains how and why does it become important for women to accept and follow the gender roles assigned to them by the society. The blindfold following of the commands of the *Manu Smriti* that a woman's only

duty is to obey and please her husband and she will for that reason alone be exalted in heaven is so deeply entrenched in the mindset of Hindu Indian society that no matter how rigid and inequitable these roles and duties may be, women are willing to follow them. Be it the *parda* system, restrictions on moving outside the house or, avoiding public appearances are all the repercussions of this entrenchment. This is mainly because we have been socialised to become submissive and obedient daughters, dutiful and faithful wives and selfless and devout mothers.

The patriarchal ideology gets reflected in the religious practices and beliefs which fortify male dominance. However, much people might indulge in tall talk, in no country or age were women given full freedom in religious and social matters, nor are they given their rights even to this day (Sarkar, 1995). Every religion existing today discriminates in some way against women. The scriptures of all religions degrade and denigrate women, put them down and designate women as being inferior to men. This may or may not be the fault of the original prophet who created that particular scripture. But, it is for sure the fault of the men who later on over the years, revised the text of those scriptures.

In the *Vedic* and *Puranic* era, if a woman or a lower-caste person heard the *Vedas* (Hindu scriptures) being recited, molten lead would be poured into their ears, to deafen them forever (Agrawal, 1999). In Hinduism the Laws of Manu insist that since women by their very nature are disloyal they should be made dependent on men. The husband should be constantly be worshiped as a god, which symbolised that man is a lord, master, owner, or provider and the *shudras* and women were the subordinates. It legitimised that a woman should never be made independent, as a daughter she should be under the surveillance of her father, as a wife of her husband and as a widow of her son (Chakravarti, 2006). The *Manu Smriti* says that it is the nature of women to seduce men in this world; for that reason the wise are never unguarded in the company of females. In one of its verses, it says that one should not accept meals from a woman who has extra marital relations; nor from a family exclusively dominated/managed by women. Promoting the supremacy of men it says that men may be lacking virtue, be sexual perverts, immoral and devoid of any good qualities, and yet women must constantly worship and serve their husbands. Women are impure and represent falsehood. Women have no divine right to perform any religious ritual, nor make vows or observe a fast. It is the duty of all husbands to exert total control over their wives. Even physically weak husbands must strive to control their wives.

Breaking the Shackles of Patriarchal Ideology

In Buddhism, the scripture describing the conduct to be followed by Buddhist monks and nuns is called the *Vinaya*. It describes how to live the life that Buddha himself lived. However, if we study this *Vinaya*, we see immediately that the rules and regulations were quite different for women than for men. In one published version there are 250 rules for monks but more than 350 rules for nuns. While during Buddha's lifetime it is possible that nuns were treated similarly to men, due to negative societal elements, nuns could not go out alone asking for alms as the monks did, and were therefore escorted by the monks. Thus, it evolved that even for the nuns' religious ceremonies, monks also had to be present – the kind of thinking developed that the women could not do anything without the presence of the men. Buddhism became a patriarchal power structure that viewed women as lustful temptresses immersed in sensuality and not in *dharma*. According to Buddhist monks, because a female body is associated with evil, lust and greed, it is not possible for a woman to become spiritually realised. However, if she desires to become a man and mentally becomes a man, she can get realisation.[1]

Christianity originated as a cult, but it gradually grew into a mainstream religion, absorbing the misogyny characteristic of those times. We can easily find quotations of women's oppression from the *Bible*, for example, I Timothy 2.11-12, where it says "Let the woman learn in silence with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence." In Ephesian 5.22-24, Paul says, "Wives, submit yourselves to your husbands, as unto the Lord…." And further, "The head of every man is Christ, and the head of the woman is the man"…. Man is the image and glory of God; but the woman is the glory of the man." The apostle Peter says (in I Peter 3.1-2,6) that let wives "be in subjection to your own husbands" and have "chaste conversation coupled with fear" (MacHaffie, 1992).

Muslim scriptures simply excel in their persecution of women. Islam regards women as physically, intellectually, morally and spiritually inferior. This belief is explicitly stated in the *Kuran* – the scripture which is claimed not to have been altered even by one word since the time of Mohammed – and is corroborated by the *hadiths* (sayings ascribed to the prophet that are deemed reliable by Muslim theologians). One cannot ignore the *ulama*. The *ulama* are the Muslim priests, or *mullahs* – learned doctors of Islamic law who by their *fatwas* (decisions/dictates) regulate the lives of all Muslim citizens. *Ibn Al-Ghazzali*, the famous Islamic theologian said that "The most satisfying and final word on the matter is that marriage is a form of slavery. The

woman is man's slave and her duty therefore is absolute obedience to the husband in all that he asks of her person." Prophet Mohammed himself stated, "We have not been left any calamity more detrimental to mankind than woman"(Klein, 2005). Islam is a religion for men alone – both in the present and in the future when men reach paradise.

Engagement of Men in Gender Equality

One of the common factors enjoyed by men across all age, religion and caste is the gender privilege that he gets. Since they are at the advantageous position in the patriarchal structure therefore, regardless of their positioning in other hierarchical structures, they are interested in defending the existing structure and do not challenge their gender privilege. This becomes the part of the established culture. The privileged group want to maintain the *status-quo*. They become blind to the differences and inequality prevalent in the system. Not having to think about gender is one of the patriarchal dividends that men gain from their position in the gender order. Men tend not to think of themselves as 'gendered' beings, and this is one reason why policy makers and development practitioners, both men and women, often misunderstand or dismiss 'gender' as a women's issue. Men continue to be implicated rather than explicitly addressed in development programmes focusing on gender inequalities and the advancement of women.

However, we stand by the view that it is impossible to achieve gender equality without changing the mindsets of men and by engaging them in this effort. "In the gender and development literature men appear very little, often as hazy background figures" (White, 1997). There is a developing need to understand and chalk out the relationship between men and gender equality efforts for the advantage of women. Therefore, in order to bring men and women on the same platform and to bring about gender equality and gender justice, engagement of men in this process becomes pertinent because men are an equal component of it. Patriarchal family values, patriarchal knowledge base, patriarchal religious ideologies and patriarchal caste structure all need to change so as to move towards protection of a woman's space, rights and body.

Gender equality is not a 'women's concern' but the responsibility of all individuals and of the society as whole and requires the active contribution and input from both women and men.

Earlier the campaign gender parity equality has mainly been taken up by women and for women. However lately, there has been an increasing

acknowledgement of the crucial role of men in building gender equality as equal partners with women. Men and masculinities have consequentially increasingly become subjects of studies and part of gender equality policies in the European Union. Men continue to occupy positions of power and privilege in patriarchal social systems, and without their active engagement and involvement, a gender equitable society can neither be achievable, nor be sustainable.

Engaging Men as a Solution to Gender Equality

Over the last two decades or various efforts have been made which gives additional focus on engaging men and boys as inherent associates and advocates for gender equality.

These efforts to engage men and boys as part of the solution recognise that men also have many strong motivations for ending men's violence against women and promoting gender equality. Many men have suffered directly as a result of violence done to them or to their female loved ones. Consider boys whose mothers have been murdered, or fathers whose daughters have been raped, or male partners of women who have been sexually harassed in the workplace. Secondly, rigid gender stereotypes makes men feel the pressure to prove their manhood by using violence against other men who are using violence against women. Thirdly, incidences of various domestic and sexual violence against women, poses all men as potential perpetrators and infuses fear and distrust on all other men.

According to a WHO policy brief published in 2010,[2] efforts to engage men and boys in achieving gender equality should be informed by a clear set of principles and offer the following:

1)   Policy and programme approaches to involving men in achieving gender equality must be framed within a human and women's rights agenda and be intended to further women's and men's full access to and enjoyment of their human rights. They must be guided by the primary goal of furthering gender equality. Gender equality work with men should seek to challenge those aspects of men's behaviour, constructions of masculinity, and gender relations that harm women. They should encourage men to develop respectful, trusting and egalitarian relations with women and with other men, and to promote positive constructions of masculinity or selfhood. Care must be taken to ensure that engaging men for gender equality does not detract from efforts to empower women and is supportive of and

furthers progress towards strengthening the commitment of national justice systems to end gender based violence.

2) Organisations working with men to prevent gender based violence and promote gender transformation should be developed and implemented in ongoing consultation with groups working to promote and protect women's rights. This might include board positions for women's rights organisations or requesting women's rights organisations to inform strategic planning processes.

3) Policies and programmes must also be committed to enhancing boys' and men's lives. They should embody support for men's efforts to change positively and affirmation of positive and health-promoting formations of manhood, and in reducing the impact and harm of violence in men's lives.

4) Approaches to engaging men in gender equality work must be sensitive to diversities among men. Men have differing needs that must be taken into account in policy design.

5) Gender equality work with men should address the social and structural determinants of gender inequalities and health inequities. Changing the attitudes of individual men is not enough; policy and programming targeting men must also include understanding the social, economic and political forces constraining the health and well-being of many women and girls and men and boys – from migration and changing labour markets to climate-related social crisis, as well as the social institutions where gender norms and power imbalances are constructed and reinforced. On this basis, work with men must draw attention to the need for a more just economic and social order.

Back in 2006, the Council of the European Union adopted conclusions on 'Men and gender equality' noting that "in order to improve the status of women and promote gender equality, more attention should be paid to how men are involved in the achievement of gender equality, as well as to the positive impact of gender equality for men and for the well-being of society as a whole." Two years before, in 2004, the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) agreed conclusions on "The role of men and boys in achieving gender equality". The CSW emphasised that men must take joint responsibility with women for the promotion of gender equality and recognise that men and boys can and do make contributions to gender equality in their many capacities, and in all spheres of society.

From its side, the European Commission's strategy for equality between women and men 2010-2015 also stresses the need for an active contribution and participation of men in order to advance gender equality: "Gender equality needs the active contribution, support and participation of men and policies should also address gender-related inequalities that affect boys/men such as literacy rates, early school-leaving and occupational health." The European Commission produced a study "The role of men in gender equality – European strategies and insights" to fill the gap of specific and in-depth knowledge of the role and position of men in gender equality issues.

Conclusion

The patriarchal conceptualisation is so deeply rooted in the Indian social system that the best results for any kind of successful social intervention can only be achieved if the men are also actively engaged in the process since men are the primary guardians of this conceptualisation. Programmes aiming at gender equality should focus on men for sustainable change. 'Caring masculinity' should be encouraged as an alternative model based on care-giving roles of men instead of breadwinner roles. 'Caring masculinity' is already taking place in the everyday lives of men, when they take over care-giving practices, especially within families. Traditionally, this kind of work has been framed as 'unmanly', but the situation has changed within the last decades. Men need to be approached as partners in solving the problem rather than as perpetrators.

However, we do understand and acknowledge that there are many challenges and barriers for men who promote or have belief in this changed ideology of gender equality. Husbands who help and listen to their wives are called 'petticoat husbands' or *joru ka gulam*. Such statements are considered derogatory by men. Even though some men may be willing to participate in this changed role dynamics the fear of being made fun of stops them from internalising this ideology. Men who propagate the rights of their wives and women or who stand up in support of them by challenging the dominant culture are often looked with suspicion and their masculinity is ridiculed.

There are these confrontations, threats and challenges which need to be overcome in order to bring about meaningful changes in the patriarchal power structures which in turn will result in gender equality. No society can be called as progressive if gender equality and gender violence issues are not taken into serious cognizance. The rights of women need to be protected and

respected and equal space of standing need to be given to women for any kind of concrete ideological transformation. It is time to lift ourselves above the conservative reactionary mindsets which has been flared since time unlimited.

Notes

1. https://www.facebook.com/notes/sidney-davis/the-status-of-women-in-world-religions/603681519650015

2. Flood, M. Peacock, D. Barker, G. Stern, O. Greig, A. Policy approaches to involving men and boys in achieving gender equality. Paper prepared by Sonke Gender Justice Network for the Department of Gender, Women and Health, World Health Organisation.

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Gender Differentials in Infant Mortality: Trends and Determinants in Uttar Pradesh

Nomita P. Kumar[*]

Differentials in mortality of the two sexes reflect the differences in their biological make up and the role and status of females, both within the family and in society at large. In India excess female mortality is seen across all age groups, but it is most pronounced among young children from one to five years of age. Hence an attempt is made to study inter-district variations in infant mortality and gender gap in mortality for the State of Uttar Pradesh. The chances that a child born would reach to his/her first birthday will depend on factors like sex of child, place of residence, educational and occupational level of the mother etc. To assess the strength of relationship of each variable with infant mortality, correlation analyses was done and to see the impact of the selected variables on infant mortality and sex differentials in IMR multivariate regression analysis was done.

Introduction

Decentralised district based health planning is essential in India because of large inter-district variations reported Annual Health Survey (AHS), 2011. In the absence of vital data at the district level, the state level estimates are used for formulating district level plans as well as setting the milestones thereof. In the process, the hotspots are very often get masked by using state averages. This statistical fallacy create the problems of the

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districts acutely, more so in the health sector. Using data from this AHS report and other Government reports, effort is being made to shower light on some critical issues in Uttar Pradesh.

Differentials in mortality of the two sexes reflect the differences in their biological make up and the role and status of females, both within the family and in society at large. In India excess female mortality is seen across all age groups, but it is most pronounced among young children from one to five years of age (Waldron, 1987). As a matter of fact it has been found that the mortality differentials are widest in the childhood ages.

The fact that IMR has declined from 97 per 1000 birth in 2006 to 71 by 2011 in UP is not very heart throbbing as lot remains to be achieved. Progress is also reported in the proportion of mothers who received medical attention at delivery from 15 per cent in 2006 to 48 per cent by 2011 (SRS Statistical Report, 2011). However, challenges and areas of concern still remain pertaining to population growth, health outcomes, gender inequality etc. District level studies by Rustagi (2000) and Murthi, Guio and Dreze (1997) have made an attempt to identify relatively developed and backward districts in terms of overall gender inequality. However, these studies do not focus on nature, extent and determinants of gender differentials in infant mortality rate. Hence, an attempt is made to study inter-district variations in infant mortality and gender gap (discrimination by sex and place of residence, i.e., for male – female and rural – urban) and place of residence at district level.

The study aims to analyse trends, differentials by sex and place of residence at the district level. To assess the strength of relationship of each variable with infant mortality, correlation analyses was done and to see the impact of the selected variables on infant mortality and sex differentials in IMR multivariate regression analysis was attempted. All calculations were performed by using the statistical package SPSS and STATA.

Trends and Differentials in Infant Mortality at State Level

According to Census (2011), the population of Uttar Pradesh is 199 million and accounts for 16 per cent of the population of India. The state of Uttar Pradesh lags behind other states not only on socio-economic front but also in terms of its vital rates (CBR, CDR, IMR, etc.). Fertility and mortality levels in the state are quite high as compared to other states. The infant mortality in the year in 2007 was higher in Uttar Pradesh against that of Kerala (70 as against 11). As has been revealed from the estimates of Infant mortality based on SRS and NFHS data- though the mortality level in the state has declined over time, it is still at a higher level.

Significant differences between rural and urban areas and also between male and female are reported in the state. Table 1 indicates a decline in the IMR in Uttar Pradesh which declined from about 130 (per thousand live births) in 1981 to 71 in 2011. Further, it declined from about 131 in 1981 to 69 in 2011 (decline of 62 units) for males and from about 128 in 1981 to 72 in 2011 for females (decline of 56 units). In the light of this the present section examine trends and differentials (by sex and place) in infant mortality for the state as a whole.

Table 1
Trends in Infant Mortality Rate in Uttar Pradesh

		Total	Male	Female	SRQo	Gender gap*
1981	Total	130	131	128	1.23	3
	Rural	139	140	137	1.22	3
	Urban	81	84	77	1.91	7
	R/U ratio	1.72	1.67	1.78	—	—
1991	Total	97	95	100	0.95	-5
	Rural	102	99	105	0.94	-6
	Urban	74	70	77	0.92	-7
	R/U ratio	1.38	1.41	1.36	—	—
2001	Total	83	82	84	0.98	-2
	Rural	86	85	87	0.98	-2
	Urban	62	64	61	1.49	-3
	R/U ratio	1.39	1.33	1.43	—	—
2011	Total	71	69	72	0.96	-3
	Rural	69	73	75	0.97	-2
	Urban	72	53	55	0.96	-2
	R/U ratio	0.96	1.38	1.36	—	—

Male IMR – Female IMR Source: Calculated from Census of India (SRS2010-2011)

Table 1 shows the gender gap (Sex Ratio of Male to Female IMR) in Uttar Pradesh for the period 1981, 1991, 2001 and 2011. The information is given separately by place of residence. The SRQo for rural areas is lower than that for the urban areas in 2001 (male – female ratio is 98 for rural areas and 105 for urban areas). The IMR among female children has remained higher than the IMR among male children, especially for rural Uttar Pradesh where in 2011, female IMR was 75 and male IMR was 73.

District Level Differentials in IMR

The levels of IMR for the districts are presented in Tables 2 for 2011. In the same table mean for all the four regions is given. It may be observed from Table 2 that the levels of IMR in 2011 vary from low of 36 in Kanpur Nagar to as high as 103 in Shravasti. Further IMR varied from a minimum 33 in Kanpur Nagar to as high as 102 in Shravasti for males whereas in the case of females, it ranged between 40 in Kanpur Nagar and 106 in Shravasti. In

rural areas, IMR was estimated to be at a low of 48 in Hamirpur in Bundelkhand to 103 in Shravasti in Eastern Uttar Pradesh.

There were as many as 34 districts where IMR was higher than the state average. The number of districts having a low IMR than the state average is 35 (excluding seven districts in Western region, three districts in Bundelkhand region, Kanpur, Lucknow, Rae Bareily, Fatehpur and Unnao in Central region and twenty two districts from Eastern region).

Table 2
District-wise infant Mortality Rate in Uttar Pradesh, 2011

State/District	Total	Rural	Urban	State/ District	Total	Rural	Urban
Saharanpur	78	85	51	Jalaun	65	66	64
Muzaffarnagar	54	59	37	Jhansi	42	50	30
Bijnor	62	65	0	Lalitpur	73	75	55
Moradabad	65	63	67	Hamirpur	48	48	47
Rampur	64	71	40	Mahoba	48	53	38
JP Nagar	66	69	55	Banda	60	56	84
Meerut	56	57	53	Chitrakoot	69	69	70
Baghpat	54	56	47	**Bundel khand**	57.86	59.57	55.43
Ghaziabad	52	51	53	Pratapgarh	88	88	81
GB Nagar	56	59	46	Kaushambi	83	81	103
Buland Shehar	67	62	79	Allahabad	88	96	43
Aligarh	68	69	66	Faizabad	98	99	84
Hathras (Mahamaya nagar)	57	56	59	Ambedkar Nagar	72	72	66
Mathura	46	50	37	Sultanpur	48	49	0
Agra	51	51	51	Bahraich	66	67	44
Firozabad	62	66	47	Shravasti	103	103	0
Etah	73	76	0	Balrampur	93	94	66
Mainpuri	54	50	70	Gonda	72	73	0
Budaun	91	91	89	Siddharth Nagar	91	91	88
Bareilly	78	86	56	Basti	84	85	78
Pilibhit	74	79	45	SK Nagar	65	63	0
Shahjahanpur	87	92	0	Maharajganj	87	89	0
Farrukhabad	79	83	63	Gorakhpur	61	64	48
Kannauj	78	80	71	Kushi Nagar	83	83	0
Etawah	55	55	56	Deoria	75	74	79
Auraiya	58	63	34	Azamgarh	79	79	74
Western	64.81	67.08	48.92	Mau	76	78	71
Kheri	79	81	0	Balia	72	71	80
Sitapur	82	82	80	Jaunpur	78	80	61
Hardoi	80	80	77	Ghazipur	82	81	94
Unnao	59	60	50	Chandauli	81	79	106
Lucknow	45	57	33	Varanasi	78	83	70
Rae Bareli	55	56	0	SR Nagar	80	80	82
Kanpur Dehat (Ramabai nagar)	65	68	0	Mirzapur	83	83	83
Kanpur Nagar	36	56	28	Sonbhadra	62	66	0
Fatehpur	56	59	0	**East**	78.81	79.67	55.59
Barabanki	71	72	0				
Central	62.80	67.10	26.80	**Uttar Pradesh**	71.19	69.23	48.99

Source: SRS, 2011.

Rural-Urban Differentials in IMR

With respect to the differentials in IMR by rural-urban areas, it may be noticed from the Tables 3 that in all the districts, IMR in rural areas is always higher than that in urban areas.

Table 3
Rural-Urban Ratio (Ratio of Rural IMR by Sex, 2011)

State/ District	Total	Male	Female	State/ District	Total	Male	Female
Saharanpur	1.67	1.25	2.54	Jalaun	1.03	0.89	1.23
Muzaffarnagar	1.59	1.38	1.88	Jhansi	1.67	1.40	2.04
Bijnor	-	-	-	Lalitpur	1.36	1.06	2.05
Moradabad	0.94	0.97	0.90	Hamirpur	1.02	1.70	0.68
Rampur	1.78	1.67	1.95	Mahoba	1.39	1.38	1.41
JP Nagar	1.25	0.98	1.83	Banda	0.67	1.00	0.47
Meerut	1.08	0.82	1.55	Chitrakoot	0.99	1.38	0.76
Baghpat	1.19	0.98	1.58	**Bundel khand**			
Ghaziabad	0.96	1.11	0.85	Pratapgarh	1.09	0.74	2.24
GB Nagar	1.28	1.74	0.97	Kaushambi	0.79	0.82	0.76
Buland Shehar	0.78	1.05	0.61	Allahabad	2.23	2.19	2.30
Aligarh	1.05	1.01	1.08	Faizabad	1.18	0.93	1.58
Hathras (Mahamaya nagar)	0.95	0.87	1.09	Ambedkar Nagar	1.09	1.01	1.19
Mathura	1.35	1.68	1.07	Sultanpur			
Agra	1.00	1.04	0.95	Bahraich	1.52	1.22	2.20
Firozabad	1.40	1.59	1.24	Shravasti	--	--	--
Etah	-	-	-	Balrampur	1.42	0.96	2.25
Mainpuri	0.71	0.71	0.71	Gonda	--	--	--
Budaun	1.02	1.10	0.94	Siddharth Nagar	1.03	0.85	1.30
Bareilly	1.54	1.23	2.02	Basti	1.09	1.05	1.15
Pilibhit	1.76	1.90	1.64	SK Nagar	--	--	--
Shahjahanpur	-	-	-	Maharajganj	--	--	--
Farrukhabad	1.32	1.55	1.14	Gorakhpur	1.33	1.45	1.23
Kannauj	1.13	1.21	1.07	Kushi Nagar	--	--	--
Etawah	0.98	1.12	0.87	Deoria	0.94	0.73	1.28
Auraiya	1.85	1.97	1.68	Azamgarh	1.07	1.04	1.09
Western				Mau	1.10	1.09	1.09
Kheri	--	--	--	Balia	0.89	0.82	0.97
Sitapur	1.03	1.20	0.90	Jaunpur	1.31	0.94	2.18
Hardoi	1.04	1.50	0.77	Ghazipur	0.86	1.47	0.54
Unnao	1.20	0.76	2.09	Chandauli	0.75	0.78	0.71
Lucknow	1.73	1.60	2.00	Varanasi	1.19	1.40	1.00
Rae Bareli	--	--	--	SR Nagar	0.98	1.13	0.81
Kanpur Dehat (Ramabai nagar)	--	--	--	Mirzapur	1.00	0.66	2.87
Kanpur Nagar	2.00	1.92	2.03	Sonbhadra	--	--	--
Fatehpur	--	--	--	**Eastern**	**1.45**		
Barabanki	--	--	--				
Central				**Uttar Pradesh**			

Source: Based on table 2.

Table 3 shows that out of 70 districts 35 districts show high IMR than state average of 71 in which 19 districts belong to Western region (Mathura, Agra, Ghaziabad, Muzaffarnagar, Baghpat, Mainpuri, Etawah, Meerut, GB Nagar, Hathras, Mahamaya nagar, Auraiya, Bijnor, Firozabad, Rampur, Moradabad, JP Nagar, Buland Shehar and Aligarh), five from Eastern region (Sultanpur, Gorakhpur, Sonbhadra, S.K. Nagar, and Bahraich), and Kanpur Nagar, Kanpur Dehat, Lucknow, Unnao, Rae Bareli and Fatehpur from Central region and Lalitpur, Chitrakoot, Mahoba Banda, Hamirpur and Jalaun from Bundelkhand region have higher IMR than the state average. The levels of IMR are found higher in districts belonging to Eastern (mean IMR = 78.8) and Western (mean IMR = 64.8) regions as compared to that in Central region (mean IMR = 62.80) and Bundelkhand region (with mean IMR of = 57.86).

The IMR in rural areas varies from lowest IMR of about 48 in Hamirpur to 103 in Shrawasti. The corresponding range for urban areas varies from a lowest of 28 in Kanpur Nagar to a highest of 106 in Chandauli. Further in rural areas, the levels of IMR are rather higher in districts belonging to Eastern (mean = 79.67) and Western (mean = 67.08) regions as compared to that in the districts of Central (mean = 67.10) and Bundelkhand (mean = 59.57) regions. Similar observation may also be made in case of urban areas where the mean IMR is highest (55.59) in Eastern region followed by Bundelkhand (55.43), Western (48.92) and Central regions (26.80). It may be noticed that in all the districts IMR is always higher in rural areas than that in urban areas.

Gender Differentials in IMR at the District Level

Gender differentials in IMR is the extent to which female infants are at a disadvantage in terms of health and survival compared to male infants. The ratio of male to female infant mortality has been used in many studies (Hill and Upchurch, 1995, Kishore, 1993; Murthi et al, 1995; Tabutin and Willems, 1995; Waldron, 1983). The sex ratio of IMR (SRQ0)) i.e., Gender Gap in IMR can be expressed as:

SRQ0 = Male Infant Mortality Rate / Female Infant Mortality Rate

Son preference is one explanatory factor for these gender differences in child mortality. In rural areas girls are often brought to health facilities in more advanced stages of illness than boys and taken to less qualified doctors when they are ill. While less money is spent on medicines for them compared with boys. A recent analysis of NFHS Data by Filmer et al (1998) asserts that

girls are less likely to receive treatment than boys both in rural and urban areas. However, situation is worse in rural areas.

Table 4
Ratio of Male IMR to Female (SRQo) in 2011

State/ District	Total	Rural	Urban	State/ District	Total	Rural	Urban
Saharanpur	1.00	0.91	1.86	Jalaun	0.98	0.91	1.27
Muzaffarnagar	0.89	0.86	1.18	Jhansi	1.05	0.96	1.40
Bijnor	0.94	0.87		Lalitpur	1.03	0.97	1.89
Moradabad	0.93	0.94	0.88	Hamirpur	0.98	1.13	0.45
Rampur	0.98	0.97	1.14	Mahoba	1.04	1.04	1.05
JP Nagar	0.97	0.87	1.61	Banda	0.92	1.07	0.51
Meerut	0.98	0.78	1.48	Chitrakoot	1.04	1.07	0.59
Baghpat	1.06	0.98	1.58	**Bundel khand**			
Ghaziabad	0.82	0.96	0.74	Pratapgarh	0.97	0.93	2.85
GB Nagar	0.95	1.07	0.59	Kaushambi	0.95	0.94	0.86
Buland Shehar	0.99	1.19	0.70	Allahabad	0.96	0.95	1.00
Aligarh	1.01	1.00	1.06	Faizabad	1.01	0.97	1.64
Hathras (Mahamaya nagar)	0.97	0.92	1.15	Ambedkar Nagar	0.97	0.96	1.13
Mathura	0.98	1.11	0.70	Sultanpur	1.02	1.00	
Agra	0.91	0.94	0.86	Bahraich	1.03	1.02	1.83
Firozabad	0.92	0.96	0.75	Shravasti	0.96	0.94	
Etah	0.97	0.97		Balrampur	0.94	0.91	2.14
Mainpuri	1.00	1.00	1.00	Gonda	1.01	1.03	
Budaun	0.94	0.97	0.83	Siddharth Nagar	0.99	0.98	1.49
Bareilly	0.97	0.89	1.47	Basti	0.99	0.99	1.08
Pilibhit	1.01	1.04	0.89	SK Nagar	0.96	0.95	
Shahjahanpur	0.98	0.98		Maharajganj	0.99	0.96	
Farrukhabad	0.94	0.98	0.72	Gorakhpur	0.95	0.98	0.83
Kannauj	1.01	1.05	0.93	Kushi Nagar	0.96	0.98	
Etawah	1.08	1.12	0.87	Deoria	1.00	0.94	1.63
Auraiya	1.00	1.02	0.86	Azamgarh	0.95	0.95	1.00
Western				Mau	0.94	0.93	0.93
Kheri	0.99	1.00		Balia	0.97	0.95	1.12
Sitapur	1.00	1.02	0.77	Jaunpur	0.97	0.93	2.16
Hardoi	1.01	1.11	0.57	Ghazipur	0.93	1.00	0.37
Unnao	0.84	0.75	2.06	Chandauli	0.98	0.99	0.90
Lucknow	1.02	0.93	1.17	Varanasi	1.00	1.13	0.81
Rae Bareli	1.06	1.07		SR Nagar	0.95	0.98	0.70
Kanpur Dehat (Ramabai nagar)	0.95	0.97		Mirzapur	0.99	0.89	3.87
Kanpur Nagar	0.83	0.79	0.84	Sonbhadra	0.85	0.83	
Fatehpur	1.00	1.07		**East**			
Barabanki	0.96	1.00					
Central				**Uttar Pradesh**			

Source: Based on table 2.

The measures of sex differentials in infant mortality, sex ratio of male to female infant mortality (SRQo) is used. The ratio of male IMR to that of females for 2011 is given in Table 4. It may be observed from Table 5 (ratio

of male to female combined) that in 2011, in the majority of districts (with the exception of Kanpur Nagar, Mau, Sonebhadra, Bijnore, Gorakhpur, Kushi Nagar and Maharajganj male IMR is higher by about 10 per cent or less than that of female), female IMR, on the whole is in excess of that for male in most of the districts; though their degree varies considerably from one district to another.

Table 5
Classification of Districts According to the level of SRQo
(Sex Ratio of IMR) 2011

	RURAL	URBAN
Female in advantageous position (Above 1.00)	Bahraich, Auriya, Sitapur, Gonda, Mahoba, Pilibhit, Kannauj, GB Nagar, Fatehpur, Raebareily, Banda, Chitrakoot, Hardoi, Mathura, Etawah, Varanasi, Hamirpur, Bulandshehar,	Mahoba, Aligarh, Basti, Ballia, Ambedkar Nagar, Rampur, Hathras, Lucknow, MuzzafarNagar, Jalaun, Jhansi, Bareilly, Meerut, Siddarth Nagar, Baghpat, JP Nagar, Deoria, Faizabad, Bahraich, Saharanpur, Lalitpur, Unnao, Balrampur, Jaunpur, Pratapgarh, Mirzapur
No discrimination (Equal to 1.00)	Aligarh, Mainpuri, Kheri, Barabanki, Sultanpur, Ghazipur	Mainpuri, Allahabad, Azamgarh
Female in Disadvantageous position (Below 1.00)	Unnao, Meerut, Kanpur Nagar, Sonbadhra, Muzzafarnagar, JP Nagar, Bijnor, Mirzapur, Bareily, Balrampur, Saharanpur, Jalaun, Hathras, Mau, Jaunpur, Lucknow, Pratapgarh, Deoria, Moradabad, Kaushambi, Agra, Shrawasti, Ballia, Allahabad, Azamgarh, SK Nagar, Firozabad, Maharajganj, Ambedkar Nagar, Jhansi, Ghaziabad, Budaun, Faizabad, Kanpur Dehat, Rampur, Lalitpur, Etah, SR Nagar, Farukhabad, Kushi Nagar, Siddarth Nagar, Shahjahanpur, Baghpat, Gorakhpur, Chandauli, Basti	Ghazipur, Hamirpur, Banda, Hardoi, Chitrakoot, GB Nagar, Buland shehar, SR Nagar, Mathura, Farukhabad, Ghaziabad, Firozabad, Sitapur, Varanasi, Budaun, Gorakhpur, Kanpur Nagar, Agra, Auriya, Kaushambi, Etawah, Moradabad, Pilibhit, Chandauli, Kannauj, Mau

Determinants of Gender Differentials in Infant Mortality (SRQo)

Determinants of gender differentials of IMR in the districts of Uttar Pradesh is discussed here. The SRQo is not affected by the number of sex-selective abortions, which would be reflected in the sex ratio at birth because the SRQo only captures death of children actually born i.e,. it undertstates the extent of bias against female infants (Fuse and Crenshaw, 2006).

Independent Variables

Socio-Cultural Variables

Female Education

Studies have noted the positive impact of female literacy in reducing the gender gap in mortality (Murthi et al, 1995; Bourne and Walker, 1991) as an educated mother is likely to be more knowledgeable about nutrition, health care and hygiene of the infant.

Male Education

It has been assumed in the hypothesis that male literacy has significant effect on reducing gender gap in infant mortality rate and Murthi et.al, (1995) finds that male education has an independent effect on IMR.

Caste Factor

Studies argue that women of lower caste usually participate in gainful employment and fewer restrictions are imposed on their autonomy (Kishore, 1999). Basu (1993) in an empirical study observed that the children of upper caste mothers experienced more gender differentials in mortality than the lower caste mothers.

Economic Factors

The role of economic factors and their relationship with gender disparity are debated far more often than other variables. There is an argument that gender discrimination is essentially poverty driven (Agarwal, 1988; Koeing, 1986). Krishnaji (1987) however found no clear evidence of poverty leading to an increase in gender differentials in mortality unfavourable to females. This has also been observed in district-wise analysis of data based on 1981 Census and the estimated poverty ratio from National Sample Surveys (Murthi et al, 1995).

Female Work Participation

There have been interesting observations regarding female labour force participation and its impact on child survival with the review of literature reiterating the connection between female work participation and female worth (Dasgupta *et.al.*, 2003; Miller, 1981). Female participation in labour force increases their income which enables them to feed their children better (Dyson and Moore, 1983). Therefore, theoretically female labour force participation should increase the chances of child survival. Rosenzweig and Shultz (1982), Sen (1987), Murthy *et.al.* (1995), using data from the 1992-93 NFHS, found that mother's income translates into greater control over the expenditure on resources, increased exposure and access to relevant information about child bearing and child rearing practices.

Wealth Index (Poor and High)

Higher levels of poverty are associated with higher levels of infant and child mortality. According to Murthy, Guio and Dreze (1995), the bivariate association between poverty and child mortality appears to be weak in India. There is positive relationship between poverty and sex ratio of IMR as pointed out by Dreze (1995) that higher levels of poverty are associated with lower levels of female disadvantaged in child survival.

Per Capita Income

At the international level broad inverse association can be observed between per capita income and mortality however recent research (Murthy, Guio and Dreze, 1995) suggests weak association between income and infant mortality.

Demographic Factors

Urbanisation

Urbanisation has a negative and statistically significant effect on infant mortality but urbanisation is positively associated with sex ratio of IMR (i.e. urbanisation and female infant survival move in the same direction). According to Murthi and Dreze (1995), the effect of urbanisation on male infant mortality is larger than that on female mortality, so urbanisation is associated with higher levels of female disadvantage in child survival.

Total Fertility Rate (TFR)

The relationship between fertility and gender bias in infant and child mortality is complex. Fertility decline would generally contribute to reducing gender bias in child survival (Murthy, Guio and Dreze, 1995). This conclusion receives further support from the argument that high fertility and excess female mortality in childhood derive from a common root (Basu, 1989 and 1992).

CSR (Child Sex Ratio) Indicator of Son Prefrence

Sunita Kishore (1995) finds that the relative survival chances of girls strongly depend on both economic and cultural worth. It has been argued that, with widespread son preference, improved access to medical facilities is likely to enhance the survival chances of boys more than those of girls (due to an anti-female bias in the use of additional healthcare facilities). To see the effect of son preference we have used sex ratio of child population (0-6 age group) as a proxy for son preference. There should be an inverse relationship between CSR and sex differentials in IMR.

Maternal care variables

We have incorporated maternal care variables like per cent of safe delivery, per cent of institutional deliveries, per cent of ANC coverage, Government efforts in Institutional deliveries via JSY etc.

Infrastructural variables

Two variables were taken i.e. number of PHC per lakh of population, per cent households using safe drinking water and per cent households using toilet facilities to see impact of infrastructural constraints on SRQo.

In this study the impact of socio-economic development, demographic factors, maternal care variables, infrastructural support variables on sex differentials in infant mortality (SRQo) has been analysed. The excess female infant mortality in Uttar Pradesh is likely to occur due to various kinds of discrimination against girls which results from a strong preference for son, gender discrimination, socio-economic development and demographic development indicators. To verify this and to determine the confounding effects of these factors on sex differentials in infant mortality, multiple (stepwise) regression on inter district variation in SRQ0 for 2011 is used. The sex ratio of IMR (SRQo) is regressed on some 20 independent variables derived from relevant theories. For each equation, variance inflation factor (VIFs) were used to detect problems of multi-collinearity. The sample consists of all the districts (70) of Uttar Pradesh.

Results and Discussion

The correlation between sex differentials in infant mortality and independent variables is examined. In the districts of Uttar Pradesh SR (0-6), female literacy, urbanisation, TFR, PCI, and MLR are very highly correlated (multi-collinearity problem), hence opted for different models for regression analysis.

Urbanisation, mean age at marriage, per capita income, male participation rate, male literacy and female literacy were negatively correlated with SR of IMR (SRQo). There is no significant association between gender difference in IMR and male WPR and per capita income. Positive and insignificant correlation between poverty and sex differentials in IMR (poor) has been found. Murthi, et.al, (1995) also found the weak relationship between the child mortality and the incidence of poverty.

Table 6
Correlation between SRQo of IMR and Explanatory Variables:
Inter-District Model

			Correlation Coefficient	Mean	SD
1	Female Mean age at marriage	X1	-0.1609	15.10	6.17
2	Child Sex Ratio (0-6)	X2	0.1045	23.43	11.99
3	Male Work Participation Rate	X3	-0.0036	34.44	20.00
4	Female Work Participation Rate	X4	0.0649	34.41	20.01
5	Percent of Poor	X5	0.1175	20.86	12.28
6	Percent of SC	X6	0.1179	34.31	19.75
7	Male Literacy Rate	X7	-0.0079	35.11	19.94
8	Female Literacy Rate	X8	-0.094	35.19	19.98
9	Total Fertility Rate	X9	0.0644	13.07	5.15
10	No. of P.H.Cs. per lakh of population	X10	0.3186*	2.18	0.61
11	Percent of Institutional Deliveries	X11	0.1264	32.90	18.61
12	Percent of Children below 2.5 kg at birth	X12	-0.2003	27.01	10.69
13	Percent Full Immunised	X13	0.0063	46.12	16.13
14	% of Households not having access to drinking water	X14	0.0026	24.94	14.18
15	% of Households not having Sanitation Facility	X16	-0.1394	33.77	19.19
16	Percent of Rural HHs population with any government facilities (JSY)	X17	0.3853*	82.57	8.26
17	% of women who received full anti natal care (ANC) facilities	X18	-0.0367	31.80	17.69
18	% of safe delivery	X19	0.0454	32.86	18.64
19	Urbanisation	X20	-0.2913*	20.53	15.18
20	Per Capita Income	X21	-0.1294	17540.24	8149.17
21	Infant Mortality Rate	X22	0.0528	22.03	11.36
22	Sex Ratio of IMR	X23	1.000	0.97	0.05

Table 7
Regression Results (Model 1 - 4)

Model		B	Std. Error	t-ratio	Sig.	R	R²	Adjusted R²
1	(Constant)	79.951	2.463	32.463	.000	.557[a]	.310	.300
	Urbanisation	-.532	.097	-5.487	.000			
2	(Constant)	46.448	10.283	4.517	.000	.640[b]	.410	.392
	Urbanisation	-.353	.105	-3.352	.001			
	Total fertility Rates	8.154	2.440	3.342	.001			
3	(Constant)	-78.429	53.580	-1.464	.148	.676[c]	.457	.432
	Urbanisation	-.204	.119	-1.710	.092			
	Total Fertility Rates	7.702	2.366	3.255	.002			
	Child Sex Ratio	.137	.058	2.372	.021			
4	(Constant)	-124.191	100.065	-1.241	.219			
	Urbanisation	-.074	.230	-.323	.748			
	Total Fertility Ratest	10.757	3.895	2.762	.008			
	Child Sex Ratio	.152	.082	1.847	.070			
	Female Participation rates	.056	.389	.145	.886	.689[d]	.475	.405
	Poor (Lowest 20 Percent)	-.090	.184	-.491	.626			
	Male Literacy Rate	.419	.810	.517	.607			
	Female Literacy Rate	-.168	.672	-.250	.804			
	pcy	-.0002	.000	-.823	.414			

In Model 1, only demographic variable viz., urbanisation is negatively but significantly associated with SRQo. Kyneh and Sen (1983) finds that urbanisation does not appear to significantly improve female life chances and may even decrease them. Contrary to this, the anlaysis found in Model 1 that the Demographic variable viz., urbanisation is negatively but significantly associated with SRQo.

Gender differences in mortality are also likely to be affected by the prevailing levels of fertility and infant mortality. Research suggests that mortality may sometimes be a response to high fertility (Scrim-Shaw, 1978). The inverse mortality pattern, with females showing higher mortality than males is most pronounced and are associated with strong patriarchal family structures and a cultural preference for male children. In Model 2, additional variable is taken i.e., total fertility rates to gauge its impact on the gender differentials in the districts of Uttar Pradesh. In this model both the variables are significantly associated with SRQ (0) and jointly explains 41 per cent of variation in SRQo. Total fertility rates impedes very strongly on SRQo (b=8.154; p=.001). Carrying stepwise regression forward in Model 3 another variable related to son preference (Child sex ratio) has been incorporated and explanatory power of the model increased to (R2= 45.7 per cent).

In Model 4, the total fertility rates (TFR, b=-10.757; p=.008) is significant (p=0.055), but only just so, and the coefficient is positive indicating that higher fertility rate is related to higher differential levels -- which is what one would expect. Next, the effect of child sex ratio or rather son prefernce (b=.152, p=.070) is significant and its coefficient is positive indicating that the greater the proportion of son prefernce greater is the differentials levels. All other variables like female work participation rates, male literacy rates are positively associated with SRQo but female literacy is showing negative association and per capita income denoting the level of development of the district and poorest income households are negatively associated with SRQo. This result also makes sense. Finally, the equation increases the explanation power of the model (R2= 47.5).

In Model 5, besides demographic and economic factors other health care variables like per cent fully immunised is taken. The explanatory power of the model increases (R2=54 per cent). The strongest factor is total fertility rates (b=12.351; p=.002). This analysis too shows that female work participation (b=-.234) and female literacy (b=-.444) is negatively and significantly impeding upon SRQo.

In Model 6 variable related to maternal health i.e., institutional deliveries enhances the value of R2= 57.8 per cent. In this model, one finds a

significant negative effect of female employment on SRQ (0), suggesting that female employment directly boost the status of girl children and reduce infant mortality rate of females. This exhibits that CSR is the main determinant of SRQo across districts in Uttar Pradesh.

Table 8
Regression Results (Model 5 - 7)

Model		B	Std. Error	t-ratio	Sig.	R	R²	Adjusted R²
5	(Constant)	-103.037	94.706	-1.088	.281	.735ᵉ	.540	.470
	Urbanisation	.005	.219	.022	.982			
	Total Fertility Rates	12.351	3.717	3.323	.002			
	Child Sex ratio	.120	.078	1.536	.130			
	Female Work Participation	-.234	.380	-.615	.541			
	Poor (Lowest 20 %)	.012	.177	.069	.945			
	Male Literacy Rate	.455	.764	.596	.553			
	Female Literacy Rate	-.444	.641	-.693	.491			
	Per Capita Income	-.0002	.000	-.604	.548			
	Percent Fully immunised	.322	.111	2.895	.005			
6	(Constant)	-52.724	94.036	-.561	.577	.760ᶠ	.578	.506
	urbanisation	.029	.211	.138	.890			
	Total Fertility Rates	7.449	4.176	1.784	.080			
	Child Sex Ratio	.103	.076	1.353	.181			
	Female Work Participation	-.034	.377	-.089	.929			
	Poor (Lowest 20 %)	-.009	.172	-.050	.960			
	Male Literacy Rate	.452	.738	.612	.543			
	Female Literacy Rate	-.456	.619	-.737	.464			
	Per Capita Income	-.0002	.000	-.965	.338			
	Percent Fully immunised	.295	.108	2.726	.008			
	Percent Institutional Deliveries	-.349	.152	-2.297	.025			
7	(Constant)	-11.197	108.956	-.103	.919	.764ᵍ	.583	.494
	Urbanisation	.105	.238	.443	.660			
	Total Fertility rate	6.363	4.614	1.379	.173			
	Child Sex Ratio	.084	.082	1.028	.308			
	Female Work Participation	-.114	.420	-.272	.786			
	Poor (Lowest 20 %)	-.057	.185	-.307	.760			
	Male Literacy Rate	.256	.786	.326	.745			
	Female Literacy Rate	-.417	.629	-.662	.511			
	Per Capita Income	-.0002	.000	-.816	.418			
	Percent Fully immunised	.320	.117	2.742	.008			
	Percent Institutional Deliveries	-.371	.157	-2.370	.021			
	Percent Household with safe Water	-.026	.321	-.080	.936			
	Percent Households with Toilet Facility	-.139	.179	-.775	.442			

Lastly, in Model 7, variables related with government provisioning of safe drinking water and per cent household with toilet facility were added. All variables that were significant in the full model exhibit significant

effect on SRQ (0) in the hypothesised direction. In this model female literacy, female participation rates, poverty level, per capita income and other infrastructural variables are significant and appropriately signed. The variables in this model explain about 58.3 per cent of the variance in SRQo.

These findings suggest that a preference for sons (SR 0-6) and female literacy are important factors underlying excess female infant mortality especially for infants. It is apparent, therefore that the incidence of bias towards the girl child is not necessarily a phenomenon associated with areas of low literacy among women alone. Son preference is likely to be strong for economic reasons where the labour market is more segmented by sex. In that case, sons may be needed as a source of economic gains as well as support against economic loss.

Conclusion

The excess female infant mortality in Uttar Pradesh is likely to have been caused by various kinds of discrimination against girls. The result of the above empirical analysis can be summarised as follows:

First, percentage of institutional deliveries, drinking water facility and female literacy rate seemed to have the strongest effect on IMR. Second, male literacy and male work participation play a significant role in reducing overall infant mortality but that to independent of female literacy. Third, cultural constraints like son preference, gender discrimination along with female literacy contribute to reducing sex differentials in IMR. Thus, any improvement in these variables will have direct or indirect effects on the sex differentials in infant mortality.

The results of multivariate (step-wise) regression analysis verify the theoretical relationship between infant mortality and maternal health care variables and female literacy. This explains that maternal health care variables are the most significant and influential factor on infant mortality, maternal health must be tuned up under various healthcare development initiatives. The above analysis state that two processes have a role, which are traditionally believed to improve the position of women. The first is female education and the second is maternal care. Both of them appear to be powerful tools for changing women's position in a direction conducive to lower fertility and mortality rates.

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Ideology and Politics of Shiromani Akali Dal: Reading the Party Manifesto (1997-2012)

Hardeep Kaur[*]

The question Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD) ideology is driven by the concept of 'Miri and Piri' given by the sixth guru Hargobind Sahib Ji, which indicates that religion and politics go hand in hand. SAD's basic ideology to protect religious, social, economic and political interests of the Sikhs. But from 1997 onward SAD's ideology has been driven by development and good governance. The interesting fact which appeared while studying manifestos of SAD from 1997 onward is that where development is the dominant concern of the party; emotive issues related to ideology, religion do find mention but in an increasingly subdued manner. SAD shifts in its ideological concerns is visible as one shift through the party literature. Major argument of paper is that SAD ideology is in two parts since 1997 onwards; one is Panth Punjab and Punjabiat and second is development. This paper is based upon content analysis of parties' manifestos from 1997 to 2012 assembly elections in Punjab.

There are many reasons behind the study of manifestos especially in the period of post-insurgency: (1997 to 2012). After the long period of militancy, the normal life started coming on the roads in 90s in the state. There were elections in the state in 1997, which were considered as the normal elections in the state after militancy. The question is here why these elections are considered as normal elections? Because after 57 months of the

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president rule, there were elections in 1992 under governor rule in the state, which were boycotted by the all Akali groups except only one faction. Akali Dal had argued that in such a critical situation holding elections would not be legitimate and thus the idea of establishment of popular government would be impossible. All militant groups had called for boycott of the elections. The electorates did not support the elections; voters' turnout was very less. Mainly Hindus voted while Sikhs opposed these elections. About 24% of all the voters participated in the elections. Congress was the main party in the election field and no other main political party was there to compete. After five years rule of Congress, elections were held in the state and other political parties participated. Basically in this paper an attempt is made to study the shift in political ideology of SAD through the party manifestos. This period helps to analyse change/shift in terms of electoral/ political agenda of the party in context of changed situation.

Religion under the Shadow of Development: A Study from SAD Manifestos from 1997 to 2012

First part of SAD ideology is religion, which is basis of existence of party. By making their commitment with the secular politics based on Punjab, Punjabiat and Punjabi the party opened doors for the non-Sikhs. Their alliance with BJP is big indication that they want peace and unity with Hindus and nothing to do with the Khalistan movement. In the Akali manifestos the big change in the party's ideology appears that they did take religion but in a moulded way. 'SAD-BJP Minimum Common Programme 1997' said that they would maintain rule of law at all costs, setting up of a commission of inquiry headed by a retired judge to expose the hand of Congress and neighbouring country behind the violence in the state. Instead of highlighting the separate identity of panth and Sikhs they focused on common problems, culture and heritage of the people of Punjab. But at the end of the manifesto they asked people to vote for true symbol and soldiers of the *Panth, Punjab* and *Punjabiat.* When they are highlighting *Panth, Punjab* and *Punjabiat* they are addressing all communities of the state.

From 1997 onwards the major shift in the political ideology in terms of political-economic issues other than the ethno-religious ones, as literature reveals clearly, is visible in party manifesto of 1997. There was no more Panthic agenda in communal manner but a start of moderate and secular politics under Parkash Singh Badal. 1997 onward alliance with BJP also indicates that they want peace and cooperation with Hindus. 1997 onward the development agenda has given shape to the SAD ideology. The issue of

Punjabi identity was under the lamplight than the Panthic identity, Punjab, Punjabi, panth are in focus. From 1997 onward in the addressing note of their manifestos, the party always emphasised on words like *Panth, Punjab* and *Punjabiat.* Party mentioned that SAD is the organisation of brave soldiers who worked for humankind without any motive. It is an organisation of *Panth, Punjab* and *Punjabiat.* In their words party is representing *Punjabis* in political field, at the same time it is also representing the Panth.[1]

In 2002 assembly elections SAD ideology shows its great concern in the *Panth, Punjab* and *Punjabiat.* They mentioned in its address that SAD is the organisation of brave solders who worked for humankind without any motive. Basically it's an organisation of *Panth, Punjab* and *Punjabiat.* It cleared its historical roots and party of Sikhs by mentioning "SAD believes in principle of *miri-piri* given by our great gurus. By working according to these principles, it fights for the rights of Punjabis and represents them in political field, at the same time it also represents the *Panth.* It always works to maintain separate religious and cultural identity of Sikh panth in the country as well as in abroad also."[2] In its election manifesto SAD tried to justify its ideology of development by mentioning that why should people vote for SAD by justifying that "SAD always made efforts for economic prosperity of Punjab, developing Punjab's agriculture, bringing Punjab forward in the field of science and education, various schemes had been launched for development of dalits. In future we promise, to provide employment opportunities to the youth of Punjab."[3]

In 2007 assembly election manifesto SAD again focused to prove that it's a religious and regional organisation which worked and struggled lot for the Punjab by considering the demand for the reorganisation of state, water issue of Punjab and to implement the demand for Anandpursahib resolution. In its address they used *Panth* and *Punjab* word again and again; they said it's an organisation of *Panth* and *Punjab*, which has great concern with the social, economic, political and religious issues of Punjab. They appealed voters to vote on the name of *Panth* and *Punjab.* (*Shiromani akali dal de umeedvar da chon Nissan takdi hay, takdi da battan dba ke Panthak umeedvar nu kamjab bano).*[4] For development agenda they mentioned policies for every sector agriculture, trade, dalits betterment etc. In their vision they mentioned "SAD's vision is to make Punjab a global leader in human resource development, a model of corruption-free participatory and egalitarian governance, secular in social ethos and ethical transparent in the spiritual sphere."[5]

In the 2012 manifesto, SAD's ideological emphasis was more on development. They mentioned that SAD is moral inheritor of the tasks set by great gurus to make a society based on justice, equality and freedom. SAD has taken peace, Punjabi unity and communal harmony as its foundation vision for Punjab in future. The Panthic agenda is in silent manner. They mentioned how SAD made sacrifices to win the linguistic state based on Punjabi language and culture. They mentioned how congress party denied justice for Punjab by lifting the Chandigarh out of Punjab, not solving the interstate water dispute according to the laws of riparian principle. They also highlighted how congress inflicted pain on Sikhs in 1984 and how they tried to weaken Sikhism spiritually by supporting the demand for separate SGPC for Haryana.

For development they presented the sole interest of SAD for the overall development of all the sectors. Party is committed to strengthening the agrarian economy of the state and is also committed for the growth in other sectors like trade, industry, service sector, science and technology. During the years 2012-2017 and beyond they mentioned to build a new Punjab and to convert all the plans into reality. They said, "SAD is proud of its glorious heritage and is inspired by the Panthic ideals of universal brotherhood and welfare of all."[6] They do mention about panth but in silent tone that was also followed by the concept of unity and welfare of all communities of the state.

The 2012 manifesto of SAD is full of pictures presenting what they delivered in last five years, and showing development menu, representing the title 'Development for all'. There is drastic change in ideological theme of SAD in 2012 manifesto than earlier ones, they did not repeat *panth* word again and again like in the earlier manifestos; they used *panth* word in the whole manifesto only once. They talked about communal harmony, peace and Punjabi unity. It showed its main concern with the developmental agenda.

In 2012 manifesto they mentioned, SAD is proud of its glorious heritage and it is inspired by the Panthic ideals of universal brotherhood and welfare of all.

Development as Part of SAD Ideology: Some Aspects from the Study of Manifestos Titles

If one looks closely the titles of party manifestos they make interesting study. 1997 manifesto of SAD was under the title 'SAD-BJP Common Minimum programme-1997'. It focused on Punjabi identity. In

manifesto party language was "we developed and made Punjab peaceful area after long struggle and it's our commitment (*Pavitar Vachan*) to serve their interests."[7] 1997 manifesto is not only manifesto but a pure commitment of SAD to Punjabis world over. This Punjabi word represents all communities of the state.

The title of 2002 manifesto was 'New Agenda and Promises', which itself shows development enhancing interests. In their own words, *"jo keha, oh kar vikhya, jo kehnde ho kar vikhavage."*[8] What we promised we fulfilled and what we are promising we will do it. Which itself shows their focus upon development concerned ideology.

In 2007 election manifesto the title was 'Committed to Service and Better Tomorrow (*Raj nahi, seva*)'. The concern revolves around the development. It was the first time SAD published its manifesto in Punjabi and English, earlier SAD used to publish its manifesto in Punjabi only. In their manifesto party committed to serve the humankind on the lines set by great gurus, 'Sarbat da Bhala'.

In 2012 election manifesto title was 'Development for all'. Its title was sufficient to represent ideological concern of developmental agenda of the party.

Shifts in Agenda from Panthic to Development and Governance

The above discussion makes it clear that 1997 onward development centred agenda provided shape to SAD ideology. But the basic part which is religion, always remained the part of SAD ideology in a silent manner. Party is moulding its ideology in the changing context and tries to represent it in terms of development. Commitment in the words: 'Sarbat da Bhala'-development for all has been the party's agenda.

The basic ideology of SAD has been driven from the concept of *miri-piri* in Sikh religion according to which religion and politics go hand in hand. Ideology is basically to protect religious, social, economic and political interests of the Sikh community. However from 1997 onwards the major shift in political ideology has been in terms of their focus on political-economic issues than the ethno-religious issues. There has been decline of identity politics and start of developmental agenda. There was no more Panthic agenda in communal manner. Moderate and secular politics under the leadership of Prakash Singh Badal came into existence. 1997 onward alliance with BJP (though it's an opportunity alliance to form a government in the state) also indicates that they want peace in the state and cooperation with the Hindus. To give shape to ideology, to achieve goals, every political

party works with its strategy. SAD did the same from 1997 onward. Secular politics of SAD shows its development strategy from 1997 to 2012, economic issues were on the top priority, like development of infrastructure, rights of water, Hindu-Sikh unity etc. To increase their vote, party has focussed on price rise and used their populist measures as relief for poorer peoples. Earlier SAD was blamed that it was a party concerned only with the Jatt Sikh community. However, manifestos reveal the interesting fact that in the changed circumstances from 1997 onward, the party has equally taken measures for the welfare of other communities, like the welfare schemes for dalits and weaker sections, to attract Hindu voters. It also mentioned about its trade and industrial policies in detail. There is no doubt that all these policies helped SAD in increasing its support base. SAD is blamed as a pro-farmer party, concerned with providing free water and electricity to farmers only. But in the changing times it launched schemes for other communities also to increase its social support base and the party succeeded in it. Party has given equal space to other communities in their manifestos in the name of providing benefits for all. Year by year each community of the state was included in it. Till 2012, SAD never mentioned about Bazigar community in their manifesto, but in 2012 manifesto party assured to take bazigar community interests into consideration.

The party which was founded in 1920 with special motives of religious or social reforms and which was always accused of being religious, regional, and at one time even communal, is now trying to underline its ideology with the changed situation on the adherence to Guru Nanak Dev's principles of 'sarbat da bhala' (welfare of all) and 'manas ki jaat sabhey ek hai pehchan bo' (universality and equality of mankind). Since 1997 assembly elections, SAD has been asking for votes in the name of peace, harmony, and development.

Notes

1. Election Manifesto of SAD-1997, 'SAD-BJP Minimum Common Programme 1997', Shiromani Akali Dal, Jalandhar, P. 2.

2. Election Manifesto of SAD- 2002, *New Agenda and Promises*, Shiromani Akali Dal, Chandigarh, P. 2.

3. Election Manifesto of SAD- 2002, *New Agenda and Promises*, Shiromani Akali Dal, Chandigarh, pp. 9-12.

4. Election Manifesto 2007-2012, 'Committed for Better Tomorrow (Raj Nahi, Seva)', Shiromani Akali Dal, P. 3.

5. *Ibid*, P. 56.

6. Election Manifesto 2012-2017, 'Development for All', Shiromani Akali Dal, Chandigarh, P. 7.

7.   Election manifesto of SAD-1997, 'Common minimum program of SAD-BJP', Shiromani Akali Dal, Chandigarh, P. 2.

8.   Election manifesto of SAD-2002, 'New Agenda and Promises', Shiromani Akali Dal, Chandigarh.

Hydropower Development and its Impact on Local People of Kinnaur District: A Study of Karcham-Wangtoo Hydropower Project

Amrit Zangmo[*]

This paper tries to analyse the impact of developmental projects on local people by focusing a hydro-power project in Kinnaur District of Himachal Pradesh. In the present paper field work observation, and interviews with people constitute primary source of data. The study interviewed local people who are affected by hydropower development project. These respondents have been further divided into two categories on the basis of different impact of the project on these people. These two categories are of those who are either directly or indirectly affected by the project. Besides this; it also reviews policy documents, official reports and statistical reports from the different departments of government and non-government organisations. Although the concern of two categories are different from each other i.e. directly affected people's concern is about not getting enough compensation and lack of awareness about compensation policy at that time and no permanent job security issues in the project, indirectly affected people's concern is that no objection has been sought from them as underground tunnel construction work which is the part of project has been made at the villages where these people lives and as a result cracks has been found in the households and in the lands of these people. The responses of both categories indicated that impact of project on local people is largely negative. Findings supported by the phenomena like losses of apple economy and drying up of natural resources has been observed at the surrounding affected villages of Karcham-Wangtoo hydropower project area.

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Independent India has witnessed an impressive level of economic development. There has been a tremendous increase in the number of developmental projects taken up by the state. In this model of development planning, construction of big dams were seen as a symbol of progress and prosperity. As a result of this development, the Indian government has forced the displacement of about fifty million persons. Although oustees comprise of variety of classes and castes, in most of the cases tribals constitute largest oustees. It has been observed that most of the developmental projects like dams have been set up in the tribal areas. The reason for this is that natural resources like water and lands have been available in abundant number in these areas. Another common characteristic is that most of the time oustees come from hilly areas, the terrain in which the dams are always constructed. In this context, the question arises as whether the benefits generated from these dams projects would really help in the development of these societies where such type of projects has been set up?

In the context of India, most of the hydro-potential lies in the north and northeastern regions, which are remotely located and inaccessible. The inhabitants of these areas are virtually cut off from the outside world with no access to what is considered as the basic amenities of life. The local indigenous population-mostly tribals are socially backward communities due to the absence of basic medical facilities, non-existence of modern communication as these communities are cut off from the mainland and lead a primitive life. The development of hydropower projects in these remote areas is considered as improvement in living conditions of local population and industrial growth. So it is important to analyze the impact of these developmental projects on local people.

The present paper makes an attempts to analyse the impact of development on tribal and mountain society by having a comparative study of two groups, the first group comprising of those who are directly affected by development project as their land and houses got submerged in project and in the second group it consists of those people who are indirectly affected by the developmental project in terms of common resources uses and environmental degradation. Karcham Wangtoo Hydro Power Project in Kinnaur district of Himachal Pradesh has been selected for the study. This project played a critical role in turn around of local opinion on hydropower plant, as for the first time local people get together to oppose this project in the Kinnaur district of Himachal Pradesh. 1000 M.W. Karcham Wangtoo

Hydropower project is a one of the largest private hydropower plant so far in India set up by JayPee group of venture.

Model of Development and Explanatory Review

Construction of multipurpose dam projects has been viewed by many as synonymous with the idea of development and economic progress. However, with a growing body of knowledge (Baviskar, 1995; Gadgil and Guha, 1996; Shiva, 1991) about the performance of dams has raised the questions about the level and distribution of benefits actually delivered to the local people where this type of projects has been set up.

These projects are always located in relatively economically underdeveloped regions mostly in tribal regions because of the abundance of unexploited natural resources. The ideology of development is used to strengthen inequitable social relations in these societies, through acts like displacement. These oustees who lost their livelihood and sustenance economy are forced to depend on the market economy for survival. These people are too poor and find it difficult to influence national policies, laws and institutions that could improve their life and shape their collective future (Baviskar, 1995: 26).

The idea of development policies, justified in the name of the 'national interest' that actually contradicts poor people's ability to use natural resources. Every developmental project is presented as beneficial for the masses even though it requires poor people to surrender their land or their livelihood (Ibid 32). Ramachandra Guha and Madhav Gadgil in their book titled *Ecology and Equity* present this type of complex society (Gadgil and Guha 1996, 4). According to them, the Indian society differs greatly among themselves in their access to the resource of the earth. Omnivores, Ecosystem people and Ecological refugee, these three classes might be distinguished by their respective resource catchments. Ecosystem people depend on the natural environment of their locality to meet most of their material needs. Ecological refugees are the people who live on the margins of island of prosperity and development, but bear the burden of development as many as one third of the Indian population probably live today such a life as displaced people. They cannot freely connect to the natural world. The beneficiaries are bigger landowners with access to irrigation, lawyers, doctors, investment bankers and state actors. Not only do they have the money to pay for these commodities but they also are the beneficiaries of such projects.

Vandana Shiva tries to establish that in any conflict involving people and the state related to the distribution of resource-use like land, water and forest, politically weak and socially disorganised groups interests are seriously threatened. These are the people, whose survival is primarily dependent on the products of nature and whose resource requirements ironically are minimal in nature. The talk about this issue is rooted in the cognitive gaps associated with development planning which resulted in two India's. The significance of ecology movements does not merely lie in the fact that they are the voices of the victims of unequal sharing of the development process. The positive feature of these movements lies in the manner in which they make visible the hidden externalities of development and reveals its inherent injustice and non-sustainability (Shiva, 1991: 23).

Methodology

The present study used quantitative as well as qualitative method. The present study conducted interview with local affected people. In order to collect the perception of people, structured questionnaire has been used. This study interviewed fifty-seven respondents who were affected by the development project. These respondents have been further divided into two categories on the basis of different impact of the project on these people. These two categories are of those who are either directly or indirectly affected by the project.

The present study inculcated cluster sampling as sampling method. Keeping in view the directly and indirected affected people. Random sampling was then used to identify directly as well as indirectly affected people.

For collection of data related to directly affected people information from project officials was gathered. For information regarding indirectly affected people Panchayati Raj functionaries as well villagers were consulted for the study.

Twenty-nine people have been selected as respondents from directly project affected people. These people faces dislocation in term of loosing houses, land or shops as a result of the setting up of the Karcham Wangtoo project and project authority compensated these people for their loses. Most of these directly affected families reside in different villages like Panvi, Sapni, Runang and Punang on the left bank of Satluj River.

From the second category twenty-eight people were selected who were indirectly project affected in this project. In order to get the equal number of people from indirectly affected group, this study used systematic

random sampling by taking twenty eight respondents from four affected villages (Seven from each village). The project is set up on the basis of Run-of The River scheme[1] in which a large numbers of underground tunnel construction work has been made to convert the natural stream into artificial stream. In the construction of these projects a large number of cracks have been found in the houses and lands of these people and natural springs have been found dried. But these people haven't been regarded as affected people for their losses.

The project authority stress upon submergence as only criteria to identify the number of project affected people. But locals are also affected by blasting work used to make tunnels which is an essential element of these Run-of The River projects. Second category of the respondents resides in four different villages like Chagaon, Urni, Yula and Miru on the right bank of Sutlej. Head of the households have been interviewed for this study. Project affected people category covered under the present study constituted those people who had to move and experience involuntary ressettlement and also those who have been indirectly affected by dam projects.[2] According to these groups of people, the project plays a critical role in their livelihood since project authorities never consulted these people for the project especially about the underground tunnel construction and no objection was sought from these people.

Impact of Hydropower Development on Local People in Karcham Wangtoo Project Area

In order to understand development and its impact on local people, comparative view of directly affected as well as indirectly affected people was analysed in the study. Indicator like opinion about impact of developmental projects on local economy and knowledge about climate change phenomena has been used to measure the impact of project on local people. Some official data like losses in horticulture and drying up of natural water resources has been used to explain the argument.

With the establishment of this type of projects, it has been expected that it would expand local economy and market potential would expand at the project area. Question about the different impact of developmental project on the local economy, people responses has been analysed on the basis of following table.

Table 1

Opinion about Impact of Hydro Power Projects on the Local Economy

Respondents	It Expand Local Economy	It Makes No Difference	Negative Impact on Local Economy
Directly Affected	3.44	62.06	34.48
Indirectly Affected	3.57	67.85	28.57

Source: Field Survey

The above table shows that 3.44 per cent of the respondents from the directly affected group favoured that the project has been expanding local economy and market potential. 3.57 per cent of the respondents from indirectly affected were agreed on the point that project has led to expansion of local economy and market potential. On the other hand, 62.06 per cent of directly affected people and 67.85 per cent indirectly affected people responded that it has been making no difference in the expansion of local economy and market potential from the project. Further 34.48 per cent of directly affected people and 28.57 per cent indirectly affected people revealed that problem is increasing due to the project.

Table 2

An Assessment of the losses to the Fruit Crop

Sr. No.	Name of the Panchayat	Approximate Area under Orchard (Apple Cultivation)	Name of Up Mohal	% of Losses to Fruit Crop due to Hydro Electric Activities.
1	Chagaon	167 Hectare	I. Tapri (34 hect.) II Yashing (6 hect.) III Samkarang (84 hect.) IV Ranpanag (35 hect.) V Uravaning (4 hect.)	28-30% 12-15% 18-20% 18-20% 18-20%
2	Urni	80 Hectare	I Kutanu (24 hect.) II Urni Khas (26 hect.) III Ralsanthung (28 hect.)	28-30% 18-20% 18-20%
3	Yulla	30 Hectare	I Yulla Khas (25 hect.) II Yuldang (5 hect.) III Runang Nichla (20 hect.)	12-15% 12-15% 23-25%
4	Meeru	65 Hectare	I Cholling (9 hect.) II Meeru Khas (4 hect.) III Ghoumaruning (10 hect.)	18-20% 18-20% 12-15%

Source: Horticulture Department, Recong Peo Kinnaur District.

Kinnaur district is known in the international market for its apple economy. Instead of the development of the local horticulture based economy, there has been indication of losses in fruit crops especially apple cultivation due to hydroelectric project being executed in the area during year 2009-2010. A loss in apple production has been attributed to dust

pollution caused by various hydropower project activities in the area. To investigate this issue, Deputy Commissioner had constituted a committee consisting of the technical officers who were asked to assess the losses of fruit plant due to the construction activities of hydroelectric project in four Gram Panchayats namely Chagaon, Urni, Meeru and Yulla. The Joint Inspection Committee of Technical experts conducted Panchayat wise assessment of losses during the inspection. The inspection was undertaken between 11-13 May, 2010.

The impact of climate change can directly visible in the hilly region as compared to plain areas. In the mountainous region climate change phenomena like either excessive rain which causes land slide problem and lack of rainfall which causes drying up of natural water resources and vegetation cover can be easily seen. People living in the affected areas in the hills perceived a significant change in temperature. The knowledge about the climate change issue at the Karcham-Wangtoo project area and in this perceptions of affected people is shown in Table 3.

Table 3
Knowledge about Climate Change

Respondents	Yes	No/Don't know
Directly Affected	100	0
Indirectly Affected	85.71	14.28

Source: Field Survey

The above table shows that overall people from directly affected are of view that they are aware about climate change problem. There are also 85.71 per cent of people from indirectly affected who are aware about climate change. From this table we can assume that people of the region are very well aware regarding climate change phenomena. When discussed about this issue some people told that the increase in the temperature has been experienced in the region after setting up of these projects. They discussed many problems like landslides and drying up of natural water resources specially after setting up of different hydropower projects at the area.

The given argument was supported as natural springs of drying up of natural springs due to construction and blasting activities which is the part of *Run of the River* scheme of the project. The Satluj is not the main source of water in the area. The natural springs are the key source of water for people living in the area for their domestic consumption, livestock use and irrigation purposes. A large number of hydropower developments in

the area are causing diversion of river flow for power generation, directly putting an impact on availability of water for consumption at the area. Complete drying of various natural springs however, has been reported due to construction activities which will have adverse impact upon locals in future time.

Table 4
Joint Measurement of Discharge of Water Sources in Year 2004 to 2011

Name of village	Name of water sources	Status
Meeru	(1) Shodat Nichala (II)Bonmeech Nalang (III) Teag Nalang (IV) Duktee Dakhang (V) Garangcho Nalang	Dried
Chagaon	(I) Chhit Pane (II) Chirchirang (III) Runo Nalla (IV) Chhangla (V) Khachhang	Dried
Urni	(I) Sonoko (near Choling) (II) Choling (near Army camp) (III) Shhennalan (IV) Rochmanang (V) Kalinge	Dried
Runang	(I) Yumanang I (II) Yumanang II (III) Runang Nichala near house of Ramesh Kumar	Dried

Source: IPH (Irrigation and Public Health) Recong Peo, Kinnaur District.

From these tables we can conclude that the views of both categories of respondents are overall same on the different issues related to the Karcham Wangtoo hydropower project. It reveals that people of both categories whether they belong to the directly affected or indirectly affected categories are of the opinion that the implications of project have been overwhelmingly negative.

The case of Karcham Wangtoo provides an illustrating example of a hydropower project, which causes impoverishment of a large number of people. Since no resettlement plan has been initiated, only monetary compensation has been provided to directly affected people. Some people still complain about receiving inadequate compensation amount and express disapproval about the way displacement and resettlement policy has been worked. They also not part of the process like the planning, budgeting, implementation and compensation processes. On the other hand indirectly affected people are continuously agitating for their losses and fighting a legal battle against Jaypee Company.

It has been observed that local people who reside at different villages where underground tunnel has been made which are the part of the run of the river scheme of the project no objection has not been sought from them. This clearly goes against the Panchayat Extension to Scheduled Area (PESA) act 1996 which provided that the gram Sabha or the Panchayat at the appropriate level shall be consulted before making the acquisition of land in the Scheduled Areas for development projects.

Summing Up

Findings clearly indicate that the implications of project have been overwhelmingly negative. It has been observed from the field that in these tribal regions where such developmental projects (hydro-power projects) are constructed belongs to already marginalised communities in comparison to mainstream communities because of the geographical locations and making them further marginalised by such developmental projects. In this development it has been observed that human dimension remains excluded from the policy debate. If the purpose of development is to benefit all strata of society, then the displaced persons should be a major priority in the policy making process.

Notes

1.   The term *run of the river* has multiple meanings. Defination of the term vary around the world. Most of the 'Run of- the River' hydroelectric projects are being developed in the Himalayan region. A technology called 'Run of-the River' involve building of a dam at the point where the river is diverted into a tunnel to be dropped back into the source river several kilometre downstream. The power house is built at the point where the river is dropped back into its source. For detail see Prakash Bhandari and Manshi Asher, *In the name of clean energy: A Report on Asian Development bank financed hydropower projects in Himachal Pradesh* (Himachal Pradesh: Him Dhara, Environment Research and Action collective, May 2011), 5.

2.   According to Chris Wet affected people includes, (A) People in the area of Project settlement who do not actually have to move, but their access to resources and social networks have been negatively affected by the Developmental projects. (B) People residing in the downstream vicinity from a development project like dam, who practice flood irrigation and whose livelihood has been jeopardised by the new flood regime operated by the dam.

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Building a New Future for Women in India through Indigenous Women Leaders in Panchayati Raj

V. Pardha Saradhi[*]

Every country deserves to have the best possible leader and that means women have to be given a chance to compete. If they are never allowed to compete in the electoral process then the countries are really robbing themselves of a great deal of talent. Equitable participation of women in politics and government is essential to building and sustaining democracy. Comprising over 50 per cent of the India's population, women continue to be under-represented as voters, political leaders and elected officials. Democracy cannot truly deliver for all of its citizens if half of the population remains underrepresented in the political arena. Panchayati raj, the bedrock of rural government has fostered more and more women participants and leaders. Several states have allotted not just the required 33% of panchayat seats for women but increased it to 50%. Women reservation may be a tool to ensure not only adequate representation but also adequate delivery of local public goods to disadvantaged groups. Whatever the process underlying the effects may be, women leaders make a difference on the ground. Correcting imbalance in political agency does result in correcting inequities in other spheres as well.

Introduction

Even though women remain underrepresented in many important economic and political positions, there has been an increase in women taking

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on leadership roles in both the public and private sectors of many countries. Local governments in India certainly have experienced an upsurge in female participation in politics (Thakur, 2010).

The Historical Factors

The position of women and their status in any society is an index of its civilisation. Women are to be considered as equal partners in the process of development. But, because of centuries of exploitation and subjugation, Indian women have remained at the receiving end and a neglected lot. They have not been actively involved in the mainstream of development even though they represent equal proportion of the population and labour force. Primarily women are the means of survival of their families, but are generally unrecognised and undervalued, being placed at the bottom of the pile.

Women's historic exclusion from political structures and processes is the result of multiple structural, functional and personal factors that vary in different social contexts across countries. Indian democracy has historically served men better than women. Patriarchy as a system of male domination shapes women's relationship in politics. Male domination of politics, political parties and culture of formal political structures is another factor that hinders women's political participation. Women are underrepresented as voters, as well as in leading positions, whether in elected office, the civil service, the private sector or academia. Structural barriers through discriminatory laws and institutions limit women's options to run for office (Nanda, 1990). Women often do not receive the support and mentoring they need to compete with their male counterparts.

However, development since independence has led to even more marginalisation of women especially in the political sphere. After independence, mass political action by women dwindled. The acrimonious politics of the post-independence era, the bitter rivalries of the ethnic-based and personality dominated political parties and the paternalistic nature of their organisation became detrimental to women participation.

Violence against Women Leaders

Women in politics face high levels of violence. The forms of violence do not only include sexual or physical, but also emotional and psychological violence, that would lead to women being unable to use their constitutional rights to participate in politics as a politician, a voter or even an actively engaged citizen.

Women in politics face higher levels of character assassination and emotional abuse in India. Women who are young, poor, new in politics, or first generation politicians are the worst affected. News papers cited personal experiences of being publicly slapped by another candidate, being forced to touch the feet of male politicians, and receiving threats from within their own political party (Mishra, 1997).

Women as Second Class Citizens

Current political, economic, social, cultural and religious constraints within both formal and informal public and private spheres make it challenging for women to receive the necessary support to become viable candidates for positions in the panchayti raj, as well as other levels of governance.

Women often take the lead and initiate change in their own local communities; yet they continue to remain under-represented in many areas of leadership and decision-making. Women have different vision and concepts of politics owning to their sex and their gender roles as mothers. Therefore, it is assumed that women in politics will bring a special caring focus and female values to politics.

Women are crucial contributors to their societies. They are the ones who see to the healthy development of their children. In reality, the situation is different. Women are not treated equally; not by their families, their communities or their governments. Women are often not treated as equal to men. In many cultures they are regarded as second class citizens, unworthy of acknowledgment or consideration.

Traditionally, not a single woman had a voice. Even when she was abused, she had to keep quiet, that was the way of living for all women and for the majority of us that life was quite normal. Now, a woman who is elected can sit near the Administrator, and can even speak in front of men.

The struggle of women to achieve parity with men in leadership and decision-making within the public institutions of states, politics and governments is an important arena of political action and discourse for contemporary women's movements.

Hidden Barriers to Women's Political Participation

Barriers to women's participation including: lack of education and confidence, illiteracy and poverty, rivalry among women, economic constraints, and other social and traditional constraints.

The 'hidden barriers' to women's political participation, which include making women feel invisible; making women look ridiculous; withholding information from women; burdening women with guilt and shame and the 'double burden' they face when they have to choose between family and work.

Women also find it hard to participate in politics due to limited time available to them because of their dual roles in the productive and reproductive spheres (Bakker and Gill, 2003). With their primary roles as mothers and wives and competing domestic responsibilities and care work, they are left with little time to participate in politics.

Triple roles of women in productive, reproductive and community management spheres must inform the efforts for creating supportive environment for women's political participation. Provision of childcare and care work is vital to enabling women to participate in the development processes.

Social Constraints on Women's Effective Participation

Patriarchal politics entails the belief that the man is the 'natural' head of household, and that this decision-making role naturally extends to the public domain of national politics. It transforms males and females into men and women and construct the hierarchy of gender relations where men are privileged. The gender role ideology is used as an ideological tool by patriarchy to place women within the private arena of home as mothers and wives and men in the public sphere.

Women involved in politics face a variety of social and cultural barriers that greatly hinders their effective participation (Bakker and Gill, 2003). These are manifested in the form of misconceived socio-cultural beliefs, prejudices and stereotypes which are generally male-dominated. These beliefs strengthen cultural values, practices and structures that pin down women to specific traditional gender roles and family responsibilities. Due to our cultural setting, the women are still pre-occupied with domestic and family obligations that take up a large portion of their time.

Women representatives face many social confronts – including restrictions on going out of the house; lack of literacy and education; the household chores of fetching water and fodder, cooking and raising children that affect their performance in office.

Women's Empowerment and Panchayati Raj

Women empowerment as a multidimensional social process refers to the process by which women acquire due recognition on par with men, to participate in the development process of the society through the political institutions as a partner with human dignity. The adoption of the 73rd Amendment by the Parliament in 1992 had a great revolutionary potential to create genuine democracy at the grassroots level. So, PRIs are one of the best ways to encourage empowerment of women.

Since the PRIs have potential to start the process of women empowerment from the village level, they can change the social scenario of the village. The PRIs provide village women, the opportunities for leadership and to take part directly in the decision making in the process of development (Gowda, 1998). It will also help in managing the violence against women.

The women in panchayati raj institutions have been able to make a considerable difference to the lives of the local community. They have been able especially to reach out to women from marginalised communities who were otherwise outside the loop. They have done this in spite of the fact that many men are not comfortable with the presence of women in the gram panchayat and have sometimes resorted to talking ill about them.

The gender representation in the PRIs has been more than satisfactory. Though only one-third of seats were reserved for women by the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments, the scheme aims to support the participation of more women candidates in elections, especially at the local level. The Panchayat Raj Act in India reserves 33 per cent of the seats of three-tiered panchayats for women. Today there are close to one million elected women leaders at the village level.

Gender quotas are the most effective fast-track method of increasing women's political representation. Women quotas symbolise a more democratic, and legitimate initiative, and then this could generate greater feelings of support for the political system by women and spur participation in the political process. Gender quotas as a tool can be used by political parties to reform, renew, and modernise themselves by expanding leadership opportunities for women. Quota is the gateway to political office and a necessary mechanism to promote women's leadership.

India has a good track record of women's political participation and the success of panchayats has often been referred to as a "silent revolution" within the democratic decentralisation process. approximately 40 per cent of all elected representatives in villages and municipal councils are now

women, following the 1993 Constitutional Amendment reserving at least one third of seats for them in 2,65,000 village governing bodies (Gochhayat, 2013). No country has achieved women's full political participation, not even USA. The expansion of women's political citizenship necessarily implies the elimination of exclusionary practices rooted in the political culture, in traditional governance structures, in political parties, and in state performance at various levels of government.

In 2009, the Union Cabinet of the Government of India, approved 50 per cent reservation for women in PRIs. Women's reservation develops women's leadership, strengthens women's organisations, and increases women's rights, and creates new political and economic opportunities for women. The move towards the empowerment of women at the grassroots, This is a good move, provided male relatives of these women representatives do not indulge in backseat driving. The panchayati raj system, being a state subject, makes it the prerogative of states, where the quota for women is less than 50 per cent, to formulate their own rules to implement the provision once it is made part of the Constitution. Enhancement of reservation in panchayats will facilitate more women to enter public sphere and this will lead to further empowerment of women and also make panchyats more inclusive institutions, thereby improving governance and public service delivery.

Good performance by the elected representatives delivers positive results, benefiting both the providers (representatives) and the beneficiaries (the community). The process of getting elected to institutions of local governance enhances one's self-esteem and instills the confidence, leading to heightened effectiveness. Greater participation of women in politics was viewed as dependent not just on fulfilling the law, but on assuring principles, democratic and meaningful administration of government. Women needed to know where and how to direct their concerns so that solutions could be found to the problems women faced.

Institutional Constraints on Women Leaders

Restricting women's participation in trade unions and cooperative movements has resulted in denying women the opportunity to gain similar experience like men, which could have enabled them to participate in mainstream political activities.

The cultural norms operate both as a restriction on a woman's mobility as well as an impediment for her participation in the public sphere (Bose, 2000). These cultural norms are perpetuated and sustained by powerful institutions of family, caste and religion. Not being able to mobilise

community support further alienates women and affects their functioning as elected representatives. It also affects their confidence and self-esteem, which are important factors that affect their performance.

Women's mobility being restricted they do not have the exposure to public life, thus limiting the scope of their interaction with others and the acquisition of information. Unequal access to information and other economic and non-economic resources is a barrier to women's political participation. the expense required for political participation such as election campaign expenditure or resources required to attend meetings, visit and interact with government officials, become an additional burden that women can ill afford, thus impeding their full participation.

As the panchayats are reserved by rotation, the selection of women candidates also led to many gimmicks and deceptions played by the local male politicians in each area. The experience also showed that political empowerment is still surface deep and women sarpanches and ward members really need to make dedicated efforts to win over their constituency, manage funds and most importantly handle hostility from the men under their watch.

Gram panchayat members coming from the lower socio-economic strata have to forego their daily wages and also incur additional expenditure for fulfilling their role as elected representatives. Further, the sitting fees allocated is also meagre and neither does it compensate for their time nor for their contribution.

Efficacy of an elected representative, particularly in the Panchayat Raj Institutions is dependent on their accessibility to government officials, as most programmes are routed through them. The resistance among the government officials due to gender insensitivity impedes the effective functioning of women elected representatives (Bhaskar, 1997).

Socio-economic background in general and political background in particular are important determinants of shaping the nature and level of participation of members in political institutions. Different studies reveal that education and participation are interrelated. In general, women members having higher educational qualification participated well in the meetings. Next, economic status gives a sense of confidence and encouragement to participate. The participation of the poor women members is found to be mostly insignificant. The middle class and rich members showed greater degree of participation. Then, age too has its impact on participation. The extent of participation of the young and the middle age women is generally more than that of old age women.

Cultural Constraints on Women Leaders

The cultural framework of values and religious beliefs, men's failure to share the household tasks and child rearing activities and lack of support services inhibit women from participating in public life and political activities (Ambedkar, 2004). Since women play so many roles in the home, the possibility of the family faring well in the absence of a woman would be quite dismal. The multiple roles of women in the home and the fear of being blamed if anything goes wrong in the home or the family contributes a lot too. Lastly, it is the lack of finance which is one of the contributing factors that discourage women from contesting as candidates.

Though there are ways to address institutional constraints, however, it is hard to legislate away social constraints. Women, who enter representative bodies, including panchayats, generally belong to influential families including politicians, and may be surrogated for the men who cannot themselves contest due to the reservation. Family and political connections are believed to help women at every step from the decision (not always an independent decision taken by women themselves) to contest, to getting successfully elected. This has been found to be generally true in the rural areas. On the other hand, under-privileged women often face threats of violence when they dare to express their intention to contest elections. Violence against women representatives is generally worse when they also happen to belong to a scheduled caste or tribe group.

Capacity-Building of Elected Women Leaders

Once elected, lack of awareness about the roles and responsibilities associated with political institutions at all levels makes it difficult for women to make informed political decisions in governance. Training ensures that women would become more educated and knowledgeable on development issues, hence enabling them to contribute with sound understanding to discussions and dialogues on issues affecting them.

Women should be encouraged to participate in 'transformative' leadership training that focuses on political change and builds their long-term capacity and strategy for change (Malik, 2002). Women should carry a message that will empower them to become strong political leaders rather than be viewed as new entrants to the political process who can easily become co-opted and exploited by parties as a result of their lack of experience.

Rural women have many more challenges. They are not exposed to bureaucratic systems, have not operated bank accounts. In workshops, they

learn about their constitutional rights, social citizenship, how to prepare plans and budgets for the village (Bhagat, 2004). Women representatives being used as rubber-stamps by *sarpanch patis* (husbands of *panchayat* heads) and male counterparts is a serious drawback. There is a deep resistance to the movement. Even then, women are becoming empowered because they are gaining exposure. This is creating an entry point for them which is possible only through reservation.

Most of the panchayat representatives particularly the newly elected women and dalit representatives can work effectively if they are provided timely support and training required to perform the tasks. The information and skill level of the representatives can be continuously upgraded given the nature and demand of the work to be done through a mechanism that provides continuous support to make Panchayati Raj System effective.

Systematic awareness-building and training is needed for enhancing rural women's capacity to take up their new responsibilities as decision-makers under *Panchayati Raj* to strengthen women's leadership skills to attain elected and appointed positions in public office and train women's groups in advocacy and mobilisation to advance their key issues and to hold government accountable.

The training of women panchayat members should be based on their own local experiences and elicit their involvement in preparing a framework that will enable them to analyse and understand their roles and responsibilities in accordance with the 73rd Constitutional Amendment.

Training workshops educate and empower women about gender issues including national development issues (Bhaskar, 1997). In this way, women will become more aware of political issues, parliamentary information, obstacles to women's participation etc.

The Government should offer to administrative personnel (men and women) a different type of training so as to promote a positive change in the image that governmental institutions have of equality between men and women.

Once women are equipped with the right information and skills, women would have the confidence to contest and there would also be a very high possibility of them emerging as winners in the panchayat elections. Education and training in areas such as leadership, gender, human rights, development issues and lobbying skills are other ways of increasing women's participation in the political arena.

Difficulties of Women Leaders

Many women politicians find it difficult to participate in an effective manner in politics, this points to a pressing need to analyse the role that women play in Indian politics. Domestic responsibilities, lack of financial clout, growing criminalisation of politics and the threat of character assassination have made it increasingly difficult for women to be part of the political framework. Moreover, women politicians point out that even within the political parties, women are rarely found in leadership positions.

Violating women's dignity instills fear thereby restraining women from entering into politics. Criminalisation and corruption are not part of women's value system and hence make them uncomfortable in the political field. Character assassination is often targeted at women who are bold, articulate and demonstrate potential for leadership. This discourages capable women from entering politics (Desai and Thakkar, 2001). This is further complicated when other traditional institutions justify these factors to prevent women from entering politics.

Lack of literacy skills affects her self-confidence and impedes her effective participation in politics. Such women would not be able to enjoy their right as elected representatives and demand for resources and participation in decisionmaking.

In some cases election materials – banners, posters, etc. are made in the name of the men rather than the women who are the official candidate, and that the man tends to assume the role of the pradhan or sarpanch, attending and even chairing the meeting in place of the elected women representative. The phenomenon of proxy or surrogate representation was, thus, prevalent in many places.

Social Exclusion of Scheduled Caste Women Leaders

Where women have fought to gain access to the political arena, caste continues to play a divisive role and fragmented the solidarity of women across caste, class and religious lines (Kumar, 2006). Caste is a distinction which has the effect of impairing enjoyment to exercise the rights by women individually and collectively.

Most elected dalit women feel they are treated differently from other local government representatives primarily due to being female and dalit. Overt discriminatory practices are prevalent in local government offices, including prohibitions on dalit women sitting on chairs alongside other elected representatives; drinking water or tea from vessels used by dominant caste elected representatives (Pai, 2001). Some dalit women attempt to

actively participate in meetings and taking decisions, but are silenced or ignored; subjected to 'no confidence' motions to remove them from office; denied information and support to undertake their duties etc.

Most of the SC women are not aware of their role in the formation of village plan due to illiteracy; they remain silence in the meetings. The simplistic appeals for increased political participation of SC women in Gram Sabha generally overlook some ground realities such as the timings of Gram Sabha meetings, problems of quorum and procedures adopted for deliberating and finalising development plans manipulation of discussions by dominant groups, helplessness of poor wage workers to loose a day's wage, illiteracy and lack of awareness of the new system of governance. SC elected representatives, on the contrary, opined that improved economic situation, education and literacy, training, personality development and honorarium for sarpanch could strengthen their role in PRIs.

Civil Society and Women Leaders

Marital status, having children staying at home and religiosity were found not to be good predictors of political activism in the general population. Nevertheless the role of marital status and children were important in distinguishing women and men's activism: married men participated significantly more than married women.

More broadly, non-governmental organisations, including women's human rights and community groups, labour unions, and other civil society institutions can contribute in various ways to the advancement of women's political participation (Pai, 1997). Priorities may include identifying women to stand as candidates, providing training on dealing with the media and other issues, developing networks to advance women in politics both within the party and across party lines, and assisting with gender-sensitive civic and voter education.

Political participation of women is essential to ensure those women's concerns and issues are integrated into mainstream decision-making processes. Increase in the female participation in politics in Indian villages resulted in a large increase in expenditures such as public investments to provide clean water. This would be a major step in facilitating women to exercise and enjoy their rights guaranteed in the Constitution, towards achieving substantive equality for women. Absence of an active civil society also deprives elected representatives particularly women of the much required support mechanism which impact their performance.

Little difference has been found between women's and men's ambitions; however the path to higher political roles for women is often more challenging. Women wanting to progress are equally as ambitious as men and opportunities for learning, development, and progression are a high priority (Palanithurai, 2001). The principle of equal opportunity has remained a marginal concern and a non-core issue for politics and as a result women find that in order to be successful they are required to fit into the prevailing norm of leadership.

Women are highly committed to promoting national and local policies that address the socio-economic and political challenges facing women, children and disadvantaged groups. Women are particularly effective in promoting honest government. Countries where women are supported as leaders and at the ballot box have a correspondingly low level of corruption.

Much has been said about women representatives in panchayats. A common picture is that of women representatives functioning as proxy candidates under the close observation and supervision of their 'guardians'. The use of phrases such as *pati pradhans* is common place. At the same time there are many women representatives and pradhans who have taken bold initiatives. They have not only set an example for male dominated society but have also demonstrated that changes are taking place, *albeit* slowly. A large number of women grassroots leaders across India are disproving the perception in a section of the media that women panchayat representatives are merely proxies for their male relatives who do not take active interest in the affairs of their panchayats.

Drinking water and roads were by far the issues most frequently raised by women. The next most important issue was welfare programmes, followed by housing and electricity. Women are in charge of collecting drinking water, and they are the primary recipients of welfare programmes (maternity pension, widow's pension, and old age pension for the destitute, who tend to be women).

The impression that women are not effective leaders thus seems to stem largely from the social perceptions of women that the policy precisely tries to address. Despite the handicaps they may face in terms of education and prior experience, and the preconception of weak leadership, women have a real impact on policy decisions (Rashmi, 1996).

Women who lead others inspire them at the same time and help them to open eyes for all that is happening in the community. Women leaders are the light and model for many others in the community.

Consequently, all the concerns of a woman are known and she is no longer excluded or isolated from society. Any violence against women must be eradicated and women must take part in decision making positions in order to fight against community or societal injustice and discrimination.

The implementation of panchayat reservations for women in rural India not only illustrates the general propensity of political quotas to enhance democracy, but it also illuminates such measures' limitations in the face of persisting gender bias, ultimately revealing that a parallel shift in culture must accompany policy reform to maximise institutional productivity and sustainably elevate the overall status of women.

Reservation has succeeded in bringing the womenfolk in rural India into the political forum. Women members have often used their position in the PRIs to engage in developmental work in their respective localities and bring in positive changes. Even tribal women are gradually getting integrated into the village organisations.

Conclusion

Given the myriad social constraints on women on their effective participation, it is clear that in pockets where women have been successful leaders, they have achieved their success against many odds. This fact provides the most obvious refutation of the simplistic argument that, because male relatives tend to run Panchayat affairs in place of their elected wives or daughters, women are either incapable of or unable to be effective representatives. Patriarchy is not overturned, or even significantly eroded, overnight. Nevertheless, across the states there are many shining examples of the potential of women's leadership, and many more may join their ranks if at least the institutional conditions for their effective participation are safeguarded.

There are several challenges still that women are facing in the local governance system. Rural women were particularly vulnerable as a group because of strong traditional values maintained in rural areas, patriarchal families, lack of women's education and access to information, poor exposure to the 'outside' world and lack of power.

A combination of constitutional provisions, government policies, social action and self awareness among rural women will eventually result in Indian women becoming part of the mainstream political power sharing and decision-making.

Pardha Saradhi

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Socialisation of Sikh Male Child:
A Contextual Perspective

Prabhjyot Kaur[*]

This paper provides a perspective on the development of the Sikh worldview and the processes involved in its transmission from one generation to another. It discusses the historical processes which led to the development of Sikhism as an institutional order as well as a distinct society. The paper describes the socialisation of the male child within a Sikh family and the processes through which socialisation takes place.

Sikhism as a religion as well as a way of life provides meaning to everyday life of its followers. It enables them to make sense of their individual experience by providing them with a common stock of knowledge. This stock of knowledge consists of historical and biographical experience which has been objectified, retained and accumulated with the help of language (Berger and Lukmann, 1967). It is this social stock of knowledge which is transferred from generation to generation and is thus made available to individuals in everyday life. Every individual knows that others share this stock of knowledge. The social stock of knowledge consists of 'recipe' knowledge. That is it permits one to know 'what to do' with regard to various events of everyday life. It supplies the followers with

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institutionally appropriate rules of conduct. For instance, a Sikh knows what to do when he goes to the 'gurudwara', he also knows that he should not go out of his house without covering his head. Any deviance from these rules is considered as departure from reality of the institutional order. In such cases crisis maintenance mechanisms of reality such as conversation, counselling, 'arousal of guilt' and so on are initiated. The social stock of knowledge also supplies with a common symbolic system to the followers of Sikhism in order to participate in interaction with each other. As long as this common stock of knowledge works satisfactorily, individuals suspend doubts about it. This enables Sikhs to reside in a world which they can take for granted. This social stock of knowledge of the Sikh world developed over the course of growth of Sikhism as an institutional order.

This paper provides a perspective on the development of the Sikh worldview and the processes involved in its transmission from one generation to another. Section I discusses the historical processes which led to the development of Sikhism as an institutional order as well as a distinct society. Section II describes the socialisation of the male child within a Sikh family and the processes through which socialisation takes place.

I

Every institution is a product of history. It is impossible to understand an institutional order without an understanding of the historical processes which led to its development. Therefore, it is imperative to look at the historical development of Sikhism. Sikhism is the youngest religion of India. It was taught by Guru Nanak at the beginning of the sixteenth century (1499). He wanted to go beyond the limitations of prevalent religions in India at that time — Hinduism and Islam. His theory regarding one God and that of name were influenced by the Bhakti and Sufi traditions. Guru Nanak's conception of God was Unitarian. He was a monotheist and believed in the concept of the unity of God. He disapproved of the worship of the idols as people tended to look upon them as God instead of symbolic representations (Singh, 1999). He advocated a form of 'nirgun bhakti' — belief in God as an abstract form. The followers of Guru Nanak's ideas came to be known as Sikhs, i.e., disciples. Though these people did not form a different sect they adopted a way of life that was different from that of Hindus and Muslims. They sang the hymns of Nanak, ate in the common kitchen of the Guru, and used 'Sat Kartar' (true creator) to greet each other. The institution of Sikhism had begun to take shape. With the appointment of a successor in 1539 this process of institutionalisation further took root.

Socialisation of Sikh Male Child: A Contextual Perspective

The Second Guru, Guru Angad, continued the teachings of Guru Nanak and organised the Sikhs into a strong organisation. He developed a script for Sikhs and called it 'Gurmukhi' (from the mouth of the Guru).The Gurmukhi script became popular and helped Sikhism to acquire a distinct and separate entity from that of Hinduism as well as Islam. Every institution requires a social apparatus to transmit the knowledge that is acquired through experience—individual as well as collective. This social apparatus consists of transmitters and recipients of stock of knowledge. Also, there are typified procedures for the passage of the knowledge. During the transmission the knowledge may have to be reaffirmed through symbolic objects (emblems) and/or actions (rituals). The third Guru (1552 onwards) provided for this social apparatus to Sikhism. Guru Amar Das set up 22 preaching centres (*Manjis*) in order to organise the Sikhs in a better way. The persons who guided the followers were called 'masands'. These 'masands' spread the message of the Gurus among the followers by way of preaching. Other than the previously typified rituals to pray, new rituals for births and deaths were introduced and followed. Similarly, many social and religious reforms were carried out. Guru Nanak had made an attempt to divinise the life of both man and woman. His path of salvation was not closed for women. His philosophy of equality for all humans was actualised and further developed by the gurus who succeeded him. They supported the stand taken by Guru Nanak, opposing practices such as, dowry, seclusion of women, and female infanticide. Guru Amar Das prohibited the practices of *Sati* and *Purdah.* Sikhism assumed the shape of new faith. The difference between the Hindus and the Sikhs became more and more visible. The Sikh universe started slowly breaking away from the old Hindu universe.

The fifth Guru (1581 onwards) edited and authenticated the Sikh philosophy by writing 'shabads' of gurus and saints. He preserved the original script through a text that was called 'Adi- Granth'. The development of a different symbolic system with different beliefs, different rituals and different philosophy indicates towards the creation of a separate universe for the Sikhs. This universe was very different from that of the Hindus and the Muslims. This alternative system of thought proved to be a threat to the Hindu as well as the Muslim religion. The creation of this new sub-universe redefined the reality of the Hindu universe. Brahmins—the 'experts' of the Hindu universe began to see Sikhism as a threat. Their response was to incorporate Sikhism under the universe of Hinduism. Sikhism was assimilated within Hindu society by designating it as an offshoot of Hinduism. The Hindu universe was flexible enough to accommodate the

newer practices and beliefs within its tradition. Such a conception was prevalent till the late nineteenth century. The response of the politically dominant group—Mughals—was different. The Mughal emperor Jahangir put the guru to death in order to contain the threat from a large organisation that the Sikh Gurus had established.

Post Guru Arjan's execution in 1606, the thought to defend one's universe from threats of nihilism from 'outsiders' germinated within the Sikh universe. The measures taken to secure one's world from the outside threat consists mainly of three steps. Firstly, to organise a strong social base, secondly, develop procedures to protect one's universe and, thirdly, limiting significant relationships to fellow-members (Berger and Lukmann, 1967). When Guru Hargobind felt the need to defend the faith against the oppression of the Mughal ruler he organised Sikhs into a military force. He wore two swords signifying the spiritual aspect and the worldly aspect of the movement. He also, built 'Akal Takht' (seat of temporal power) and installed two flags signifying the two aspects of the Sikh movement—religious and political. Gradually, the Sikhs became strong enough, in numbers and strength, to defend themselves from any attack from the Mughals and others.

Like his grandfather, Guru Hargobind, Guru Gobind (1675 onwards) took to sword to ensure that righteousness prevailed. The sword had become a symbol of self-defence as well as defence of others. Guru Gobind took the movement of Guru Nanak to the next stage and created an identity for Sikhs that was even morphologically different from that of the Hindus and the Muslims. In 1699 Guru Gobind Singh initiated the baptism ceremony for the formation of 'Khalsa' at Anandpur Sahib. It was established that in the absence of the Guru, five 'Khalsa' collectively would possess the power to make decisions on his behalf. This added to the importance of the notion of community amongst the Sikhs. The earlier concept of 'sangat' also emphasised this collective aspect of Sikh world. From baptism onwards, every Sikh was to wear five 'kakkaars'— 'kesh', 'kanga', 'karha', 'kirpan', 'kachera' at all times. According to Uberoi (1991) these five symbols represent the aspect of assertion and aspect of constraint. The 'kanga' constrains the 'kesh', the 'kara' constrains the indiscriminate use of 'kirpan' and the 'kachera' constrains the unstated term—the male organ. While the 'kesh', 'kirpan' and male organ assert human potentialities and power, the 'kanga', 'kara' and 'kachera' express the moral constraint. Therefore, in order to lead a Sikh way of life a Sikh male, as well as his body, is not to enter the world of renunciation but that of moral constraint. These five symbols not only assert

the religious identity of a Sikh, it is through these symbols that Sikh male identity is constructed. The baptised Sikhs were to give up all ritual save that sanctioned by the Sikh faith. Also, Sikh males were to add 'Singh' to their names while the Sikh females were to add 'Kaur' and not the castes. With this renunciation of caste system, the demarcation of the Sikh universe vis-à-vis Hindu universe was completed. From the times of Guru Nanak to that of Guru Gobind, Sikhism had become an institution with a symbolic language of its own. It was devoid of idolatry, caste, and the evils of priestly dominance. It had developed its own legitimating and control mechanisms. But it never fully achieved the status of a society of its own.

Post the period of the Gurus, the history of Sikhism is more political than spiritual. Due to the lack of a leader/guru the social base of Sikhism did not spread further and gradually began to be diluted. Also, the socio-religious environment lacked the stability for further development of Sikhism. It is only in the late nineteenth century that the Sikhs return to dwell upon philosophy of Sikhism. This aspect will be discussed later.

Guru Gobind Singh entrusted the task of spreading Sikhism to one of the followers, Banda Bahadur. Banda Bhahadur engaged in political activities and started a rebellion against the Mughal administration. In 1716 he was executed by Mughal guards and the Sikhs were left without a Guru or a leader. Gradually, as instructed by the Guru regarding 'khalsa' as the decision making body, the Sikhs started the tradition of deciding the matters regarding Sikh community at meetings in Amritsar. The representatives were called as 'Sarbat Khalsa'. Under the instructions of 'Sarbat Khalsa', small bands called 'jathas' were formed which started taking villages under their protection. These 'jathas'/ 'misls' had complete freedom of action but would come together to form 'Dal Khalsa' when the community faced trouble from outside. By the eighteenth century, Sikhs grew into a warrior community. The 'misls' aspired to defend Punjab from the British and rule the region. The fortunes and influence of various 'misls', depended extensively on caste 'biradaris' or brotherhoods. In order to win the loyalty of the numbers, older notions of masculine honour and appropriate warrior conduct were absorbed into the cultural practices of the Sikhs.

It is during this period that gendered understandings of collective honour became an important way of preserving and extending fragile social coalitions. Sikh women became the repositories of their families' honour and, also the 'other' in reference to which the masculine identity of Sikh warrior was created. It is during this period that Sikh women were subjected to new rules of decorum and more circumscribed rights. Thus, in the world of

eighteenth century Sikhs, the Sikh culture was that of masculine men, while women became symbols of honour, to be guarded by men. The 'misl' chiefs were in favour of establishing a hierarchical order in which they alone emerged as rulers. This creation of new social hierarchies clashed with the religious beliefs of Sikhs.

In 1792, 12 year old, Ranjit Singh became the head of one of the 'misls'. Gradually, he consolidated a strong hold over other 'misls' in order to unify the Punjab under one rule. In 1801, after establishing control over Lahore and other major territories, Ranjit Singh assumed the title of 'Maharaja'. By doing so he proclaimed to rule over not only the Sikhs but over all people who lived within the territories occupied by him. During Ranjit Singh's empire the Sikhs came closest to being a ruling fraternity. It is imperative to point out that this rule was not the rule of Sikhism as a religion rather the rule over Punjab by a Sikh. There was no relationship between Sikh doctrine and Ranjit Singh's state's policies. As stated earlier during the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century the Sikhs became more concerned with political power rather than the spiritual side of their community.

Post Ranjit Singh's death the Punjab was taken over by the British. Under the colonial rule the Sikhs moved from political defeat towards state military and emergence of a new awareness. The British, in order to win over the Sikhs, gave them employment opportunities in army. Sikhs were allowed to wear turbans and keep beards even when serving in the army. The Sikhs formed a very substantial portion of the British army and participated in both the World Wars. The British officers believed that specific 'races' were martial in the sense in which other groups were not for instance, Sikhs from central Punjab (Gandhi, 2013: 238). This further strengthened the notion of Sikh being strong, able-bodied martial men, among the Sikhs as well as the non-Sikhs.

A new awareness regarding the distinctiveness of their community emerged among the Sikhs in the later years of the nineteenth century. As stated earlier, the Sikhs never fully achieved the status of a society of its own and were within the fold of Hinduism. Till early twentieth century and even in recent years, at times, emotions are stirred by propagating that the Hindus and the Sikhs stemmed from the same stock. And that Sikhism is one of the innumerable cults of Hinduism. This association benefitted both the Hindus as well as Sikhs. It enabled Hinduism to contain a deviant view of reality within its fold. The Sikhs too preferred maintaining ties with the Hindus given their struggle with the Mughals. The Sikhs had never given up social

interaction with the Hindus. In addition to this, both shared geographical space within the villages of the central and eastern regions of the Punjab. While elaborating upon the inter-connectedness among the Hindus and the Sikhs in Punjab, Tandon (1988), states that Sikhs celebrated the same festivals, followed the same customs and revered the same idols as those of the Hindus. This semblance promoted ties of kinship amongst the two communities wherein inter-marriage became common. Traditionally, the Hindus and Sikhs of the Punjab were closely interlinked at various levels. There was lack of religious competitiveness and harmony between the two communities in contrast to later separatism.

It is as recent as late nineteenth and early twentieth century that the question of Sikh identity as distinct from Hindu identity was posed with increasing frequency. The British started conducting census from 1881 onwards. The census not only recorded caste, sub-caste and religion of Indians, but also gave numbers for each category. In the long run this recurrent exercise served the imperial strategy of divide and rule. The successive census quantified people according to religion and in turn provided data on decline/growth in percentages of followers of various religions. Gandhi (2013) points out that this helped provide fuel to competing Indians for political warfare. The policies of British administration added to the competition amongst various religions. For instance, Punjab's governor from 1887 to 1892, James Lyall, decided to favour Muslim applicants until Hindu-Muslim ratio in the government posts equalised their ratio in the population. This brought the issue of representation of religious communities within government service as well as within municipal boards to the forefront. In 1909, the Minto-Morley reforms stated that the Muslims will have reserved seats and a separate electorate, and in councils minority community will have 'weightage', i.e. a representation larger than what the population ratio warranted. The British commitment to separate Muslim electorates in India as a whole, further stressed the relations among the Hindus, the Muslims and the Sikhs.

The hostility over language also fuelled the processes of distinctiveness of various religions. In the late nineteenth century, the debate over whether Urdu or Punjabi should become the administrative language of Punjab took a religious turn as Urdu was linked to Muslims and Punjabi, mostly, to the Sikhs. Around the turn of the century Punjabi lost out and Urdu in the Persian script joined English as the language of administration in Punjab.

In addition to these issues, Punjab's political scenario was influenced by all-India developments too. These included campaigns among Hindus for 'sangathan' (organisation) and 'shuddhi' (re-conversion) and among Muslims for 'tabligh' (religious preaching) and 'tanzim' (organisation). While discussing the effects of missionary activities in Punjab, Barrier (1970) states that they led to a process of self-examination, and strengthening of communal identity among the Hindus, the Muslims as well as the Sikhs. The Punjabi-Hindus organised themselves into the Arya Samaj movement and the Punjabi-Muslims established Anjuman-i-Islamia and other such organisations to popularise religious education. Even the Sikhs began to take fresh interest in their past. They organised themselves into Singh Sabha movement. The movement aimed at restoring Sikhism to its purest form. It focussed on baptism rites, respect for the Gurus, historical continuity, differentiation between Sikhism and Hinduism, education in Punjabi, and Gurmukhi script. Sikh boundaries began to be demarcated and maintained. A renewed sense of separate political identity based on religion eventually brought the Sikhs, Muslims and Hindus into conflict with each other. For many writers for instance, Singh (1999), and Barrier (1970), this was the period when Sikh ideas on religion, society and politics crystallised.

With increasing demarcation of socio-religious and political boundaries the issue of exclusive control of religious institutions also came to the foreground. Till 1905 most 'gurudwaras' had idols of Hindu Gods and Goddesses and many 'gurudwaras' were under the control of Hindu 'mahants'. But, as Nair (2011) points out, the emphasis of Arya Samaj on doctrinal rigidity and negation of non-vedic influences, helped harden the boundaries between Sikhs and Hindus in the late nineteenth century. In 1905 all idols were taken out from Harmandir Sahib in Amritsar, Punjab. This movement to take over control of all 'gurudwaras'—the gurudwara movement— culminated in formation of Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC) in 1920. SGPC took the charge of managing all 'gurudwaras'. Also, Akali Dal was formed to train Sikhs for using force in order to oust non-conforming 'mahants' from various 'gurudwaras'.

The political interests of Hindu and Sikh leaders were increasingly proving to be detrimental to that of each other. In 1919, Montford Reforms offered Sikhs (who comprised 12 per cent of population of Punjab) special weightage of 19 per cent. This weightage came at the expense of weightage for Hindus in Punjab. This caused resentment among the Hindu and Sikh leaders. The issues of representation within British administration as well as municipal boards, issues of language and that of religious institutional

control led to growing separateness between the Sikhs and the Hindus. This growing rift can be observed, distinctly, in data of the successive census conducted by the British administration. From the period of 1881 to 1921 the Sikh percentage in Punjab rose from 8.2 to 12.4. This rise may be explained in terms of change in self-description by the Sikhs. Many Sikhs who previously called themselves Hindu had begun reporting themselves as Sikhs by 1920s, given the atmosphere of a renewed sense of separate political identity based on Sikh religion. Gandhi (2013) points out that in 1881 less than 54 per cent among the Jats of Punjab described themselves as Sikhs but in 1921 the percentage went up to 80. In comparison, the percentage of Hindu Jats went down from 40 in 1881 to less than 10 in 1921.

When the British committed themselves to Indian freedom it fuelled the politics of partition of India in general and the Punjab in specific. The Muslim League started a movement for an independent Muslim state involving the division of the land in which the Sikhs lived — Punjab. Given the circumstances of political uncertainty and a new consciousness regarding Sikhism as distinct from Hinduism, a 'Khalistan' was demanded by some Sikhs in 1940. The Khalistan movement demanded a separate country for Sikhs — Khalistan (land of the pure). Nehru, the president of the National Congress, assured the Sikhs that they would be allowed to function as a semi-autonomous unit within India. So the demand was silenced, only to be revived later on.

As the day of Independence drew closer religious tensions heightened in all areas of the Punjab. It gradually took the form of an ethnic cleansing. The violence that started in March in Rawalpindi (now in Pakistan) stretched beyond the day of independence and into October of 1947. By mid-August, half a million Sikhs and Hindus had crossed over to eastern side of Punjab but there was no comparable movement in the opposite direction. In July, retaliatory violence took place in eastern Punjab in order to push out Muslims from the region. Therefore, during the partition of India, it was Punjab — the homeland of Sikhs which suffered the brunt the most. Many Sikh families were uprooted from West Punjab and had to seek 'refuge' on the eastern side of the Radcliffe line.

The accounts of witnesses and secondary sources of history of partition (Gandhi, 2013; and Hassan, 2012; Nair, 2011; and Singh, 1999 and so on) point to the uncertainty among the people of Punjab. While the Muslims in eastern Punjab thought that the Radcliffe line will extend to include their homes and villages, the Sikhs and Hindus on the western side assumed that the change of governance will not affect their day-to-day

existence. Neither side was prepared for the large scale displacement of population or the violence that took place during partition.

The experience of partition did not end with the partition itself but became a lived-experience for Sikh community. The Sikhs never forgot their connections to various areas on the western side of Radcliffe line. The places of Guru Nanak's birth and death, important shrines such as 'Panja Sahib' lay in Muslim majority areas of Punjab and hence 'went' to Pakistan during the division. In the 'ardas' (prayer) that Sikhs perform at least twice daily, in a collective or individually, it is prayed that Sikhs be reconnected to these religious places. *"Shri Nankana Sahib te hor gurudwareyan gurdhamaa de jinha ton panth nu vichorheyaa gaya hai, khulle darshan deedar te seva sambhal da daan khalsa ji nu baksho"* (Ardas in Nitnem Gutka).

Since beginning the Sikhs have had to defend themselves against 'others'—the Mughals, the British and the Hindus. Not only did the Sikhs struggle against Mughal persecution during the early phase of their history they have had to face suppression—socio-religious as well as political—in recent times as well. Post 1947, Sikhs in order to protect their community, began to consolidate their tradition, rituals and rules. One of the consequences of this was the renewed demand of separate state for the Sikhs. Therefore, almost 20 years after partition in 1966, Punjab was again divided along linguistic lines. While Haryana was formed by separating southern region the hilly areas in north east were given to Himachal Pradesh.

This political struggle also added to religious insecurity which the Sikhs have fostered since the Mughal era. It is this need for securing community's interests and the constant need to secure Sikh universe that has given rise to the notion of self-defence among the Sikhs. This notion of self-defence finds expression in the common stock of knowledge of the Sikhs. The collective sense of self-defence has, in turn given rise to a strong sense of community-belonging among the Sikhs. It is not just one's family but the notion of 'kaum' (for the lack of a precise translating word in English, it can be translated as community or nation according to the context in which the term is being used) that provides solidarity to the Sikhs. The sense of community also finds resonance at the spiritual level. Wherein, the Gurus had placed emphasis on collectivity through the concepts of 'sangat' and the 'Khalsa'.

Other than the notion of self-defence and collectivity, the notions of distinctiveness and uncertainty find expression in the common stock of knowledge of the Sikhs. These, again, may be traced in the history of

Sikhism. The religious movement which was started by Guru Nanak not only developed into a distinct religion but also developed into a political movement. This gradual change can be classified into three watershed moments. Firstly, post Guru Arjan's execution in 1606, the thought to defend one's universe from threats of nihilism from 'outsiders' germinated within the Sikh universe. Given the atmosphere of uncertainty, the Sikhs organised themselves into a strong military base. They developed procedures to protect their community from Mughal persecution. Secondly, in 1699 the formation of 'Khalsa' at Anandpur Sahib not only added to the importance of the notion of community amongst the Sikhs, it also provided a distinct identity to the Sikhs. As stated earlier, the five symbols ('kesh', 'kanga', 'karha', 'kirpan', 'kachera') not only assert the distinctive religious identity of a Sikh, it is through these symbols that Sikh male identity is constructed. Thirdly, the period of Partition of India was not only marked by political and religious distinctiveness, it was full of uncertainty and insecurity regarding the future of Sikhs as well as that of their homeland-Punjab. As stated earlier, the experience of partition has become a lived-experience for Sikh community. Not only did Sikhs face persecution at the hands of followers of Islam for the second time, they were separated from the places that are of religious importance to the Sikh community. It is this loss that has been etched in the collective memory of the Sikhs and finds expression, among other things, in the 'ardas'.

Sikhism as an evolving religious and cultural tradition mirrors and in turn affects the environment in which it has evolved. Not only has it been shaped by the environment for instance, as stated earlier, the socio-political circumstances of eighteenth century led the Sikhs to diverge from the teachings of the Gurus on equality among men and women. It has also acted on the environment, for instance, it influenced the socio-political scenario in Punjab in the early twentieth century.

The socio-political issues of Sikhism have not been fully resolved. The 1984 riots and the resultant decade of militancy in the Punjab, the rampant drug-abuse due to poor socio-economic conditions show that the Sikh world is far from being stabilised. The recent turmoil regarding establishment of a separate SGPC for Haryana indicates that the religio-political crisis is not over yet. The prevalent caste and gender differentiation indicate that there is a schism between the philosophy of the Gurus and the practice among the Sikhs. All this indicates that the Sikh universe is still unfolding and this will have far-reaching implications for future generations.

II

This section attempts to describe the socialisation of the male child, gender as well as religious, within a Sikh family. Towards the end the section identifies the processes through which socialisation takes place within a Sikh family. Among other sources, one of the sources of this section is Rehat Maryada (2013). Rehat maryada is a literature on the code of conduct for Sikhs and various publications of such codes are available.

The social stock of knowledge (the objectivated historical and biographical experience), as stated in the earlier section, is transferred from generation to generation and is thus made available to individual to make sense of everyday life. The individual is systematically acquainted with this stock of knowledge through some form of 'educational' process. These 'educational' (socialisation) processes consist of (a) transmission of knowledge, and (b) mechanism to maintain the knowledge that is transmitted. The processes of socialisation are implicit, wherein, the individual makes sense of various beliefs and practices by participating in conversations and activities at home and otherwise.

For instance, the individual is socialised into various aspects of religion while interacting with his significant others as well as members of his religious group. The individual comes to know of the rituals, the beliefs, the meaning of language specific to his group, the intricacies of his religious system and so on. This knowledge becomes available to him because he is a member of a certain religious group. The 'outsiders' cannot come to possess or make sense of this knowledge. Also, there are in-built mechanisms which ensure the maintenance of the knowledge that is transmitted. The individual gets to know why he should perform a particular type of a ritual or use a particular type of terminology and not another and so on. For instance, the 'karah prashad' is never called 'halva' because it is blessed by 'vaheguru' and therefore is to be differentiated from 'halva' which is made in every household. Through vocabulary, proverbs, wise sayings, specific knowledge system the individual also gets to know why things are the way they are. These provide legitimation to the meanings of the institutional order. Therefore, the importance of socialisation processes in the internalisation of a religious worldview cannot be negated. Individuals come to internalise a particular religious worldview through early childhood religious socialisation.

Among the Sikh families, the child is immersed in religious environment as soon as his birth. The Sikh Rehat Maryada, code of conduct for Sikhs, states that the birth of a child is to be seen as the grace of

'*vaheguru*'. The word '*vaheguru*' is to be uttered in the ear of the new born and five drops of 'amrit' is to be given to the child and the mother. Any other kind of ritual is prohibited for a Sikh family. The Sikh child is born generally into an extended family wherein the grandparents, uncles, and their wives and children reside in the same house. These come under the category of '*sakke*' (Hershman, 1993) and are as important as lineage in Punjabi household. These 'sakke' are in-charge of taking care of the child as the child is considered the child of the house and not just that of a couple. For a Sikh family, it is inappropriate to differ between one's own children and that of one's brother. The members act according to the moral rules and trust each other to love each other's children as their own (Das, 1993). Even when the family is not a joint one, the chances are, both in urban as well as rural areas that the grandparents are living with the child's parents. Soon it is time for the child to be given a name. This ritual is done in a '*gurudwara*' wherein the '*sakke*' as well as other relatives are invited to participate. The name is kept with the beginning letter of the '*hukamnama*' that is read out from Guru Granth Sahib. If the child is a male the suffix to the name is '*Singh*' and if the child is female it is '*Kaur*'. After the naming ceremony '*ardas*' is performed and '*karah prashad*' is distributed. As a social practice, Sikh families also distribute sweets among the relatives and neighbours.

During the ceremony the child is also made to wear a '*kara*'. Unlike in Hindu households, the Sikh child does not undergo a '*mundan*' (shaving of head) ceremony which invests the child with a new religious role. The Sikh child is to never cut hair and the male child is to always cover his head by tying a '*patka*' or a turban. The '*kara*' and the '*kesh*' are two of the five '*kakkaar*' in Sikhism. '*Kanga*', '*kirpan*' and '*kachera*' are the other three '*kakkaar*'. As stated in the previous section, these five symbols not only assert the religious identity of a Sikh, it is through these symbols that Sikh male identity is constructed. In addition to these symbols, the Sikh turban (worn mostly by Sikh men and not Sikh women) has become a gendered symbol of the Sikh masculinity. It also visually distinguishes Sikh men from Hindus and Muslims. According to the rehat, four things are restricted and no Sikh is to engage in them. These are '*hukka*' (use of tabacco), '*hajamat*' (cutting of hair), '*halalo*' (meat eating), and '*haram*' (adultery). Therefore, all Sikh children are repeatedly instructed to not engage in any of the above mentioned four 'ku-rehat'.

The mother is involved in the earlier stages of socialising the child. The other females in the family — grandmother and aunts help the mother in taking care of the child. The mother takes care of all the needs of the child.

The child is intimately attached to the mother. The child's wishes are fully gratified by the mother and the child is not pressurised to learn to control his bowel movements, learn skills such as walking, eating and dressing on his own. Till the age of 5-6 years the child grows up in an environment of indulgence.

Once the boy reaches 4-5 years of age the father and other men in the house take the charge and take the boy out of home to learn about the world of men. The responsibility for the transformation and incorporation of younger males into social persons rests with fathers. However, the girl child remains in the care of the womenfolk. This does not imply that either parent is absent during a particular stage of socialisation of the male child. In her study (2005) regarding construction of masculinity among rural Sikh boys Chopra observes that the Sikh boys in these areas 'learn' masculinity during the visits to the fields with their fathers. The implications of this study cannot fully apply to urban Sikh boys as urban setting is different from the rural setting that Chopra has studied. For most urban Sikh boys such outings are limited to that of going to the market with the father/grandfather/uncles or to parks or community places where menfolk sit and talk. It is in predominantly male spaces like these that the boy learns the ways of men. The others may accompany their male elders to workshops or shops owned by their family. It is there that they may forge their male identities around work as theorised by Chopra (2005). The frequency of such participation is, however, curtailed when the child starts going to the school.

This widening of a child's world to masculine network is marked by an abrupt separation from the mother. There is a reversal of everything expected out of the male child. The child is banished from the admiring society of women and is pushed into stern male world. The son suffers the shock of separation and this has a traumatic developmental consequence. In contrast to the indulgence of the earlier phase, there is focus on good behavior and regular habits and the child has to distinguish between things to be done and things not to be done. It has irrevocable effects on the male child; the boy begins to dilute his need for emotional support, and the loss of intimacy with the mother leads to an unconscious tendency to submit to an idealised omnipotent figure (father, boss, religious 'babas' and so on) in every sphere of life—home, work, and other associations (Kakar, 1978).

While still in the care of the womenfolk the male child is initiated into listening to 'paath' and 'saakhis' and going to the 'gurudwara'. For most children the first brush with religion is in terms of listening to 'saakhis' from their elders, mostly women and going to the 'gurudwara' with them. Stories

about the Gurus serve as an exemplar of the types of masculinity all Sikh boys should try to achieve. These aspire one to be brave and a warrior but at the same time be sacrificial and tolerant. These stories about Gurus (*saakhis*) not only instil curiosity regarding religious history among children but also serve as a base for discussion regarding Sikhism. Going to the 'gurudwara' is a practice which consists of various other practices. These consist of acts such as washing hands and feet, covering head, '*mathha tekna*' (kneeling before the Guru Granth Sahib) and so on. The child internalises these practices gradually through repeated instructions by the significant others during repeated visits.

Even though the boy remains in the 'world of women' during initial years and even later the child does not internalise the women's perspective of the world. There is recognition within the family that there is a male and female version of the world and that there is a predefined dominance of male version for the male child. The child, too, internalises this difference and dominance, and identifies with the version to which he has been assigned. This recognition emerges through observing and participating in the various practices, rituals within the household which treat the males and the females differently. The use of language also shows differential treatment for boys and girls. In Sikh households special value is accorded to male children as desire for male children is high among parents and relatives. This is often seen in comments and blessings. For instance, the newly wed brides are always blessed with '*dudho nahao, puto falo*' (may u always bathe with milk and bear a son). Also, boys and girls are encouraged to adopt a different way of doing things. For instance, girls are scolded for jumping, running and are encouraged to speak softly and so on. The boys are encouraged to be outgoing, independent and risk taking. On the other hand, restrictions are placed on girls regarding space and time. They are discouraged to go out of house often as well as are expected to be back before dark. Gender based division of work gets reflected in the work assigned to boys and girls. The girls are expected to do household work and help their mothers while the boys are usually given the work that involves going to the market. Both boys and girls are constantly reminded of the 'right' behaviour in cases of deviancy, for instance, girl who does not do feminine tasks is reminded that she is not a boy hence cannot escape her fate, a boy who likes stitching is labeled as effeminate.

Another aspect of the Punjabi Sikh household which denotes dependence of females over males is the bond between a sister and a brother. The brother is entrusted with protection of his sister. He has to avenge the

attacks on her honour, if any, before her marriage (Das, 1993). Also, post marriage, the brother has to protect his sister from the husband if the circumstances demand such an action. The festival of 'raksha bandhan' denotes this aspect of dependency of the sister in the brother-sister bond. The Sikh household systemically engages into gender typing of boys and girls. Therefore, through the interaction within the family the male child internalises the difference between male world and female world and the hierarchy among them.

For the Sikh child of the school-going age, the Sikh Rehat Maryada states that 'the Sikh child is to be enrolled at school where he/she can maintain Sikh lifestyle and improve his/her Sikhi discipline'. It further states that there are two types of education—worldly and spiritual. The Sikh child is to engage with both types of knowledge. Therefore, there needs to be continuity between the world of home and that of the school.

Article 30 of Indian constitution recognises the right of minorities to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice. It also states that the state shall not, in granting aid to educational institutions, discriminate against any educational institution on the ground that it is under the management of a minority. There are many religious minority schools run by the Sikhs. These schools not only engage students in academic pursuits but also impart religious education. The Sikh minority schools serve the purpose of maintaining home-school continuity for the Sikh child. These schools also immerse the child into the ethos of Sikh religiosity. The prominent religious features of these schools are hymn singing, prayer room with 'prakash' of Guru Granth Sahib in it, 'gurmukhi' classes, 'gurbani' competitions and so on. In most Sikh minority schools the boys are instructed to wear turbans from standard sixth onwards. Till now the Sikh male covers his head wearing a 'patka'. 'Patka' is a large square-shaped piece of cloth with strings attached to all four corners. It is usually worn by young Sikhs who might find it difficult to wear a turban. As the child comes of age, a ceremony is conducted wherein he wears a turban for the first time. Again, the ceremony takes place in the 'gurudwara', or at times at home, in front of Guru Granth Sahib. This ceremony is called 'dastar bandi'. It marks the entry of the child into the adolescent world and is celebrated with relatives and other members of the community. Most Sikh boys wear turbans every day post this ceremony. For the Sikh boys who do not study in Sikh minority schools such a ceremony may take place a little later in life.

The continuity between the home and school environment is not merely limited to similar religious ethos. Schools also act as an agent of

gender socialisation. Gender is embedded in the institutional arrangements through which a school functions. The school defines and enforces masculinity among school boys through division of labour, power relations and gendered practices. Therefore, Sikh minority schools impress upon religious as well as gender identity constructed during primary socialisation.

Peer group interaction is also important in the life of Sikh boys. While most relations, especially that of father and son, within the family are hierarchical (Chopra, 2005 and Kakar, 1978) the relations within peer group are egalitarian. It is within these groups that young males explore alternative forms of masculinity by indulging into fights and other unruly behaviour (Chopra, 2005). All this happens away from the constant gaze of the elders. However, going to the 'gurudwara' with friends is a common activity for many Sikh adolescents. Mostly, the children of one's father's brothers ('sakke') form the first peer group for Sikh individuals. These are the ones who live together, play together and chances are that they go to the same school. If the Sikh male goes to a Sikh minority school then most of his friends will also be Sikhs. Therefore, the network of peer group is, generally, not very diverse for a Sikh child.

At times, an aspect of peer group that surfaces for Sikh boys is the challenge to their religious identity. It is a common occurrence for Sikh boys to be teased by their non-Sikh friends. It involves name-calling such as 'joorhi', 'antenna', 'barah baj gaye' and so on. Sikh boys face ridicule for their outward appearance and this often leads to fights and at times to discomfort regarding one's appearance. This discomfort might develop into insecurity to the extent that the adolescent might cut his hair. This has been an issue of conflict within Sikh families wherein, the elders do not appreciate the 'cutting of hair' and often take drastic measure to punish the adolescent. This is an exception to the concept of honour which otherwise is mainly attached to the conduct of girls. The act of cutting of 'kesh' by a Sikh boy is seen as bringing dishonour to the family. Nevertheless, for most Sikh male adolescents, markers of being a Sikh such as turban, 'patka', 'kara' and so on are an indispensable part of their day-to-day life. As stated earlier, these are gendered symbols of the Sikh masculinity ever since the initiation of baptism rites among the Sikhs.

As stated in the previous section, the notion of self-defence, distinctiveness, and community-belonging find expression in the common stock of knowledge of Sikhism. This is transmitted to the individual through various concepts such as that of 'sakke' wherein the family extends beyond immediate family members. The concept of 'sangat' and 'kaum' also impress

upon the same meaning of community-belongingness to the individual. The notion of distinctiveness manifests itself through physical appearance and day-to-day life. The sense of being 'different' from non-Sikh boys emerges as a Sikh boy develops the concept of self. The notion of religious distinctiveness is expressed in day-to-day experience at home, gurudwara and so on. The biographical experience of 'teasing'/disrespect by 'others', in peer group or otherwise, impresses upon the need to be strong enough to defend oneself and one's community from such attacks. The need to be strong does not limit itself to physical prowess or sword/gun wielding but extends to profound understanding of one's religion. Only when one is spiritually strong can one defend one's religion from 'others' at theoretical level as well as at the level of everyday life.

From the above description the processes through which, religious socialisation occurs within a Sikh family can be identified as follows:

1. *Providing religious knowledge:* The parents provide their children with a stock of pre-existing religious knowledge. Through this stock of knowledge the individual interprets religious experiences and makes sense of them. This is done through discussions regarding Sikhism—rehat and prohibitions, narration of 'sakhis', family experiences and so on. The individual internalises the religious worldview through interaction within the family. Therefore, the more religiously oriented the family is the more important would religion be to the individual.

2. *Modelling religious behaviour:* The individual must also learn the norms and expectations of the religious group. The family makes the individual aware of these expectations and norms. At times, the individual gradually learns these through repetitive behaviour and practices of family, and at other times the family members spell out these expectations to the individual. As described above, the Sikh child gradually internalises the practices of washing hands, covering head and 'mathha tekna' through repeated instructions by the significant others during repeated visits. Also, seeing the family members doing 'paath' daily the individual realises that doing 'paath' is an important aspect of Sikh religious life. Therefore, the family makes the individual aware of the expectations and norms by modelling the same.

3. *Maintenance of the religious worldview:* Knowledge transmitted through socialisation needs to be safeguarded from challenging definitions of reality. Also, reality is maintained in everyday life

through routine interaction among members of society. Therefore, parents encourage individuals to adopt groups which share similar religious beliefs. The Sikh child, since early childhood, lives within the extended family of 'sakke'. These include similar-aged children of the brothers' of the father who in turn may, also, form the peer group of the Sikh child. The Sikh parents also prefer sending their children to Sikh minority schools where the ethos is an extension of religious environment of home. Therefore, it is through everyday conversations with individuals who share the same set of beliefs and values that the world of religious socialisation is reinforced as well as maintained. In case of deviance, as in the case of cutting of hair by a Sikh boy, crisis maintenance mechanisms are initiated to reaffirm the reality of the religious worldview. These mechanisms include conversation, counselling, 'arousal of guilt' in the individual and so on.

To conclude, the processes for religious socialisation adopted by a Sikh family are; providing their children with a pre-existing stock of knowledge for understanding and interpreting the religious life, modelling religious behaviour at personal as well as institutional level, and encouraging their children to adopt groups which share similar beliefs. The same processes are adopted for gender socialisation. The children are provided with a pre-existing stock of knowledge for understanding and interpreting the gender stereotypes, the behaviour according to gender typification is modelled at personal as well as institutional level, and children are encouraged to adopt groups which endorse similar differentiation and hierarchy based on gender.

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Educational Status of Tribals in Jharkhand: A Comparative Study of Oraon and Santhal

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The Government of India has taken a number of steps to provide equality of educational opportunity to the scheduled tribes at all levels of education. In case of elementary education, the government has been trying to improve their educational status with the help of various policies and programmes, especially through the Right to Education Act (RTE) and Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA). Despite these, tribals have still been facing educational deprivation in one way or the other. However, this educational deprivation is not constant; it varies from place to place and it's a tribal specific. For instance, the Oraon tribe of Ranchi district is much more educated and has higher socio-economic and political status than the Santhal tribe of Deoghar district. Both the districts, in fact, belong to the same state, i.e. Jharkhand state. The paper is based on the empirical study of two specific tribal groups, i.e. Oraon and Santhal in the Jharkhand state of India.

Historicity of Tribal Education

The education of tribes has been changing with space and time. In the traditional period, the elderly persons of the tribals in India imparted education to the young ones through the dormitories in their own indigenous ways. Some of the Indian tribes still practice this method. The dormitories, for instance, *Dhumkurias* of Oraons, *Ghotal* of Mariyas, *Morung*

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of Nagas, etc., were either unisexual or bisexual in nature. These dormitories were primarily meant to educate the boys and girls of the adolescent age. These were also of residential type. Both boys and girls used to learn legends, folk songs, myth tales, music and dances. They were also guided in social, cultural and religious responsibilities so as to behave like the adult persons. The activities were being performed in groups. The youth on special occasions assisted other villages in addition to their activities of serving their own villages. They were also safeguarding interests of the village, and protecting the village from external threat. In day to today activities, both boys and girls used to sing and dance together till midnight and sometimes even till morning. Specific songs were sung on different occasions. The primary objectives of dormitories were to build unity, we-feelings, dignity of labour and social consciousness among members of the younger generation before their entrance into the marital life.

The beginning of modern education among the tribals can be traced back to as early as 1813. But due to various problems for several years, very little was done to educate them. For instance, most of the tribal communities lived in inaccessible forest areas, the poverty among them was extreme, and the villages they lived in were widely separated from one another. None of the tribal was educated to be appointed as teacher and had no knowledge of his/her dialect. Teachers from outside were reluctant to live in the tribal areas. The immense variety of tribal dialects was another obstacle. As a result of these unfavourable conditions, the tribal education had not been given proper attention for fairly long period. It was at the coming of the missionaries to India that the tribal education started in somewhat systematic way. The missionaries, through their interaction with tribal people by studying their language, and by way of preparing dictionaries and literatures in a number of tribal dialects, have been able to carry on educational programmes for tribal development.

The Indian Education Commission in 1882 also voiced that the missionaries were the most significant agents for spreading education among scheduled tribes. A study conducted on enrolment of tribal students in all the classes, during the same period, indicates that the educational achievement among the tribals was disastrous as in the Mumbai Residency the total enrolment of the tribal students in all classes was only 2733, in Bengal and Assam it was 13,078 (out of which 464 in secondary schools, 195 in normal schools and 26 in professional schools), and in Central Provinces it was only 1055. In other provinces, no beginning of tribal education was reported. Thus, it can be said that Government had failed to provide

education to the Adivasis of India. However, while examining the problems of education of scheduled tribes, the Commission had made some recommendations such as exemption of fees to tribal children and also advised the government to give more grants to private schools which were providing boarding facilities to tribal children. It had also recommended for assisting private agencies to cope with the problems of tribal education (Adivasi, 1980-81). The study has stated further that it is difficult to trace, at this stage, the then development of tribal education in the various other provinces of India as statistics are not easily and systematically available. The latest statistics (pre-Independence) available is that of the year 1936-37 during which the enrolment was quite insignificant. Even during 1947, very little was done for tribal education except in Assam because of the missionary effort (Ibid).

It is not only after Independence that the proportionate development activities focused on the tribals so as to ensure that the scheduled tribes got a fair deal. The Constitution of India made special provisions on matters pertaining to education and welfare of the scheduled tribes for development of the area and improvement of the quality of life of the tribals. Consequently, Government started implementing various socio-economic development programmes through education and other agencies from the beginning of the First Five Year Plan. Numerous developmental schemes, under the Tribal Sub-Plan are being implemented at present. Any amount of efforts for the economic and educational upliftment of tribals, however, will not yield desired results unless various methods of exploitation adopted by unscrupulous elements are eliminated effectively and promptly. With a view to preventing exploitation and for protecting their interest, the Governor of state has been vested with powers to modify the State and Central laws in their application to the Scheduled Areas and to frame regulations for peace and good governance of the areas.

Oraon and Santhal Tribes

Tribals in India constitute around eight per cent of the total population. Oraon is one of the tribal communities found in India, which mainly depends on agriculture for earning their living. They are also known as Kurukh tribes. They are mainly found in the states of Jharkhand, Bihar, West Bengal and Odisha. In the ancient days, Oraons used to make their living by chopping timber and selling forest products. Majority of the population of Oraons can be found in Northeastern states engaged in the occupation of tea cultivation.

Oraons are considered to have the second largest population of tribes in Bihar and Jharkhand. Efficient, particularly in tea garden works, Oraons are believed to have settled in the Chotanagpur Plateau centuries ago. Oraons speak Kurukh language related to Dravidian family. Majority of the Oraon tribes are Hindus and are religious minded people. They worship Gods and Goddesses but a great number of these tribes have adopted Christianity. In the ancient days, this community used to follow Sarna religion.

Oraons are further divided into sub-castes like Kudas and Kisans, who follow patrilineal family customs. There are a total of 14 clans in Oraon tribal community like, Gari, Lakra, Kispotta, Runda, Tirky, Toppo, Linda, Ekka, Kuzur, Bek, Kerketta, Bandi, Minz and Khalkho. This tribal community in India is also known worldwide as it still believes in following age old custom of human sacrifice. These sacrifices are carried out during the famous Sarhul festival celebrated before cultivation of crops, as a mark of respect to please the local deity. Festivals have been a part of life for tribals since ancient time. Sarhul and Karma are the two important festivals of these tribals. They are also very fond of music and dance. Karma, Jadur, Dassai and Kagha Parva are their most favorite dances. Traditional instruments like Nagara, Kartal and Mandar are still used by these people.

With a population of more than 49000, Santhal tribe is the third largest tribe in India. Belonging to pre Aryan period, they are found in regions of West Bengal, Bihar, Odisha and Jharkhand. Many calls them as "the tribes at extreme", a visit to their place will surely get your money worth. Santhals of India take pride in their past as historically they were at front end against Britishers, and their heroics against Lord Cornwallis are well known. Many famous personalities such as Sidhu Kanhu and Baba Tilka Majhi were part of these enthusiastic tribes of India.

Santhali is the prime language spoken by the Santhal Tribe. They have their own script called Olchiki. Apart from Santhali, they also speak Bengali, Oriya and Hindi. They have a typical tribal lifestyle. Basic needs are fulfilled by forest trees and plants and are also engaged in fishing and cultivation. They also pose a magnificent skill of making musical equipments, mats and baskets out of the plants. Dancing and music are part of their life and they play mind soothing music with instruments like *Tirio, Dhodro banam, Phet banam, Tumdak, Tamak, Junko* and *Singa*. Ironically, Santhals do not have a temple of their own and neither do they worship any idols. They follow the Sarna religion, with Marangburu, Jaheraera, and Manjhi as their God and Goddess. Santhals pay respect to the ghosts and

spirits like Kal Sing, Lakchera, Beudarang etc. Animal sacrifices in order to appease the Gods is a common practice. Karam festival which falls in the month of September and October, is the main festival followed by tedany visitor trevelling to these tribes in India. Other festivals which are celebrated include Maghe, Baba Bonga, Sahrai, Ero, Asaria and Namah. They also celebrate a festival called Disum sendra on the eve of *Baishakhi Purnima.*

Area Profile of the Studied Villages

The study was carried out on the basis of empirical investigation of two villages of Ranchi and Deoghar districts of Jharkhand. The selection of the villages— Itkithakurgaon (Itki) and Bhagwanpur was based on the largest concentration of tribal population. The selection of these villages— Itki from Ranchi and Bhagwanpur from Deoghar districts—was circumscribed by the following considerations: (a) both the villages should have concentration of tribal population, and (b) one of the villages should have all types of schools—both run by government and by the NGO, including missionaries, while the other should have less presence of one or the other type of schools. However, the Itkithakurgaon village of the Ranchi district has the largest number of schools of both Government and NGO including missionary run schools. But the Bhagwanpur village of Deoghar district does not have any single Missionary or NGO run school. The selection of tribes was not an issue in the sampling. Although different tribes are found in different districts and villages, the Oraon and Santhal tribes have been selected for our study from Itki and Bhagwanpur villages respectively as only these are living in the studied villages. Then, the respondents, i.e., the tribal children of age group 6 to 14 years, currently enrolled in the classes in different types of schools were sampled from both the villages. According to the Census of India, 2001, the ST population of Itki and Bhagwanpur villages were 2096 and 426 respectively. Out of this, the representative samples of Oraon and Santhal tribes from of Itki and Bhagwanpur villages respectively were taken as 166 and 34 (approximately 12.63 per cent) for knowing about their per cent in the ratio of 50 per cent males and 50 per cent females. The data were collected from door-to-door, i.e., through household visits from the children in the presence of household members. In addition, it has been also taken some personal interview from the local people, government officials, civil society representatives, politicians and school teachers and headmasters. The most important and interesting fact of this study is that the literacy gap between the two villages

is very high (36.70 per cent) as the literacy rates of the Itki and Bhagwanpur villages are 79.30 per cent and 42.60 per cent respectively.

Discussion and Analysis

There are many issues and points related to education of the tribals in India, as it has been discussed earlier. Here, we shall focus on the role of the government schools in educating the tribal students and its various issues on the studied villages. The first issue is the religious status of the tribal children which is closely related with the education of tribal students. In this regard, it has been found that the tribals from both the villages follow religion but their orientation towards religious values is different. In fact, the tribals of the Itki village are divided into two groups — one those who follow Sarna and the second, who follow Christianity. But maximum number of the Oraons is oriented towards Christianity as our data reveals that 23.49 and 76.51 per cent tribals belong to Sarna and Christian religions respectively. On the other hand, in the Bhagwanpur village, 100 per cent Santhals follow the Hindu religion. The basic difference between the two is the impact of missionary, which has been more on the tribals of former but not in the case of latter. The Santhals of Bhagwanpur, therefore, still follow the Hindu way of life. Another fact related to the Santhals of Bhagwanpur is that they have always been in contact with Hindu people of the adjoining areas, especially from Chulihia, Bardahiya and Mohanpur villages. Sarna religion is, basically, considered as the mixed way of both the Hindu and Christian religions. Therefore, it can be said that the network of social relationship is important here as they follow the religious identities in these villages and so is the religious orientation of the tribals.

In fact, the notion of religious identity goes into the historicity of their educational development. At this point, what Robinson discussed seems to be relevant here. In her words, "Attempts at conversion of the Santhals by the Baptists had commenced during the first half of the 19th century and a few schools had been opened. The Santhal rebellion of 1855-56 drew attention to the problems of the tribe and increased conversion efforts. The British commissioner at Bhagalpur noted that the Santhals who had attended the missionary schools were not among those who participated in the revolt. Therefore, the government cooperated with the missionaries in the establishment of more schools in the area and gave grants-in-aid to those already existing" (Robinson, 2006:807-8). Hence, the missionary efforts have always been in the forefront of development of the deprived sections, especially tribals of the most backward places.

Preference towards Educational Institution

Another interesting fact is the preference of tribal children to the educational institutions. It is mainly referred to the types of school they are admitted or the options, if any, they have to get admitted. In this context, it can be said that the availability of different types of schools, i.e., government, NGO run including missionary run schools, provide education to the children of a particular area; hence, their preference is the result of the respective educational institutions in which they are admitted. In the Itki village, tribal children like both the types of schools - the government and the NGO run schools, where they had been admitted. However, a few children have felt otherwise as they had attended earlier the other type of school. In this village, those who have joined the Shamima Girls School, an NGO run school, have intention to do a course on 'Diploma in Urdu language'. Here, out of 166 children respondents, 82 (49.39 per cent), 3 (1.8 per cent) and 81 (48.79 per cent) liked schools run by the government, NGO and missionary run schools respectively. However, it has been found that more number of children still have inclination towards government schools because of incentives provided by the government school. Enquiring about why the tribal children go to the government school, a tribal leader, from the Itki village said, "The Oraons of this village are still poor, except some who are in good condition and are in government services. But majority of tribals and their children are still labourer and they prefer to attend government schools rather than other types of schools as they get scholarship" (based on interview conducted on 6 September, 2006).

In the Bhagwanpur village, 100 per cent Santhal children liked the government school because they either did not know about or did not have any experience of or exposure to the other types of school. Therefore, lack of knowledge and experience among Santhal children about the other type(s) of school has resulted into preference for the government school. However, they have displayed the choice of the government school also, because of provisions of scholarship, textbooks and mid-day meals available there. This is evident from the fact that 31 Santhal children have accepted availability of scholarship and textbooks, 16 mid-day meals, and 13 all the three — scholarship, textbooks and mid-day meals available in the government schools. Here, the point of consideration is that despite having all the provisions, all the Santhal children were not getting all the three facilities, mentioned above. In addition, the amount of scholarship provided to the ST and SC children in the school is also very less as discussed earlier. Hence, it

can only be said that the administration has failed in implementing these provisions properly, as it was also discussed by the Sociologist Nandu Ram. More precisely, in his words, "The other facilities like stipend, exemption from tuition and other fees, free boarding and lodging, etc. are also not much effective in absence of their proper administration well in time. The amounts of stipend, scholarship and fellowship need to be enhanced at the present inflationary rate to meet the essential expenses of the SC/ST students" (Ram, 1995:122). At this point, it is necessary to implement all provisions whole-heartedly and enhance amount of stipend/scholarship urgently. In spite of having different problems in the government schools, the tribal children have preference towards such schools because of other factors, such as the location of these schools near their home, availability of adequate infra-structure like building, black board, furniture, etc. Here, they also do not have to pay any fees like the other private schools.

Regularity of Teachers and Headmaster/Headmistress

The regularity of teachers and headmaster/headmistress has been a serious issue. The punctuality or regularity of teachers and school headmaster/headmistress also determine the regularity or punctuality of students in attending the school and performing in their studies. It has been seen that the teachers as well as headmaster/headmistress in most of the schools in villages, either reach their school late or they engage themselves in other activities in the name of school work/government duties. It particularly happens as the villagers are not conscious about their children's education. However, teachers have claimed that different government programmes have compelled them to engage themselves in activities like the Census Enumeration and the Pulse Polio Abhiyan. In both surveyed villages, it has been found that the regularity of teachers is the major problem as in the Itki village, 52 per cent of the Oraon students had experienced irregularity of their teachers in the school as well as in the class contrary to only 15 per cent Santhal students in the Bhagwanpur village who had experienced so. The basic reason behind such a vast difference may be lack of awareness, interest and irregularity of the students themselves in the school in the Bhagwanpur village. On the other hand, the Itki village was more aware about what was happening in and around their school. However, the local peoples' perception on the teachers' regularity has also confirmed it. For instance, Subhash Kirketta from the Itki village rightly says, "The teachers from the government schools are absent for about 7-10 days in a month. But in the case of missionary schools the teachers, especially those

who are from our own community, are regular and also teach seriously to our children". At this point, it can be said that the teachers are somewhat irregular in the government school, whatever reason may be. In fact, a few studies (Kundu, 1984; Ambasht, 1970; 1977 and Toppo, 1979) have also confirmed that the teacher's irregularity in the schools is one of the important causes of the educational backwardness of the tribals. Another important fact related to it is the literacy rate. Therefore, it may be said that the Itki village has much higher literacy rate than the Bhagwanpur village, and hence the tribals of former are more aware about the different issues related to their education than the tribals of latter.

Another issue related to regularity of teachers in the school is whether they remain present there till the last period or not. It is a well-accepted fact that the responsibility of teachers in imparting education in the school is declining day by day. They take more interest in their private tuitions than teaching in the school. In the Itki village, 77 per cent students from the government schools have accepted that their teachers remain in the school till the last period, whereas in the Bhagwanpur village, 79 per cent students from the government school have noted their teachers' presence in the school till the last period.

In addition to regularity of the teachers in schools, their engagement in the class everyday has also been an important issue of school education. The problem of absenteeism of teachers in class has been persistent though in the recent time, there has been some improvement in this regard. In this study also, it has been found that teachers were engaging classes in the schools located in both the studied villages. In the Itki village, 62 per cent students from our sample have accepted that their teachers were engaging classes everyday. On the other hand, in the Bhagwanpur village, 67 per cent of the sampled students found their teachers engaging the classes everyday. It is interesting to note here that the engagement of classes depends on the number of teachers' availability in the school. In this regard, students-teachers ratio has always been countable when we analyse about the situation of the institution and its education level. It has been found in both the villages that the number of teachers available in the schools was inadequate; even one teacher per class was not there; hence, it was difficult to maintain the quality of teaching. In the Itki village, for instance, we found that 46 per cent of the sampled students had disagreed that their teachers were enough in number for teaching. Even, 54 per cent of the tribal students in the sample had accepted that the number of teachers in their respective schools was adequate. In the Bhagwanpur village, our findings were

somewhat closer to what we found in the Itki village. 47 per cent of the sampled students from the Bhagwanpur village had agreed that the available teachers in the schools for teaching were enough in number against 53 per cent who disagreed to it. Moreover, the problem of lack of teachers in schools in both the villages is still there and due to this, the government has recruited temporary teachers, such as para teachers, contract based teachers, etc., instead of appointing permanent teachers in the schools, especially the government run schools.

Satisfaction from Teaching in the Schools

The most important fact of school teaching is to know whether students are satisfied with the teaching patterns or not. Here, it has been found mixed response from the tribal students studying in the villages. In the Itki village, a large majority of Oraon students (62 per cent) were not satisfied with the teaching in the schools. They outlined that the teachers did not give attention to their teaching and on their personal problems. This shows that the people of this village are educationally much aware (with 79 per cent literacy rate) and they always keep eyes on happenings in the school. Those students satisfied with the teaching methods mainly gave the reason that their teachers were taking care personally and were serious about teaching. However, in the Bhagwanpur village, the situation was found to be different as 74 per cent Santhal students were satisfied with the teaching methods of their teachers. They outlined the reason for satisfaction in the sense that their teachers were helpful and serious towards their teaching because they covered all subjects in a systematic way. In addition, the other reasons pointed out by the Santhal students were that the teaching methods were good, and their teachers treated them like parents. Those who were not satisfied had said that their teachers did not teach in the Santhali language. Hence, it is also important to look at the issue of medium of instruction in schools and the fact is to keep in mind that the education must be imparted in schools to the tribal children in their mother tongue.

It is an accepted fact that each school is supposed to have globe of the world and different types of charts, such as human anatomy, the SSA programmes, and the map of India, etc. But in most of the schools in these villages these things were not there. As the data reveal that the majority of tribal students (60 per cent in the Itki village and 53 per cent in the Bhagwanpur village) studying in the schools had not seen any type of chart or map. The basic reason behind this is that even basic things related to education are not there in the government schools, as stated above.

Getting Benefit from SSA

As stated earlier, the Sarva Siksha Abhiyan (SSA) has come into effect to fulfill a long cherished goal of universalisation of elementary education (UEE) in almost all the States of India. More than 90 per cent of tribal children of these two villages have also accepted getting benefit from the SSA. In the Itki village, 97.59 per cent of the Oraon children have accepted that they were getting benefit from the SSA in the form of scholarship, mid-day meals and textbooks. Similarly, in the Bhagwanpur village, 91.18 per cent of the Santhal children have got benefit from this scheme. The tribal children who did not get all the benefits from the SSA were those admitted recently in class I in the schools. However, they got the mid-day meals, but did not get scholarship and text books. Contrarily, a few tribal children were still unaware of this programme in the schools in these villages. In this regard, Kuddu Manjhi, a Santhal from the Bhagwanpur village, rightly points out, "Last two-three years, our children have been getting many things from the schools. They get money, textbooks and also meals from the schools". The NCERT conducted a number of studies during 2005-06 which have also confirmed that the SSA has made good impact on the enrolment and retention of children in the schools.

Incentives from the School

The Sarva Siksha Abhiyan (SSA) is the most important government programme for universalisation of elementary education. Through this programme, all students, of the deprived sections, of age group 6-14 years and studying in class I to X get benefits like scholarships, text books, uniform, stationary, school bags, etc. In this connection, our study reveals that no respondent has got uniform, and stationary such as, pen, pencil, copy, and school bags. In schools located in both the villages, It has been found that most of the tribal students were getting benefit from the SSA in the form of text books and scholarship. More specifically, in the Itki village, 93 per cent tribal students were getting benefit from the SSA, while in the Bhagwanpur village, 94 per cent benefited from it.

The stipend or scholarship under the SSA programme has been considered as the basic catalyst for enrolment of children in the schools. However, holistic educational development is only possible when scholarship is provided to all the students from deprived sections of society, such as SCs, STs, OBCs, women and minorities, at all levels of education, i.e., primary, upper primary and secondary and higher, including the technical education. Our data reveal that most of the students (91 per cent tribal

students in schools in both the villages) got scholarship, except those who were currently enrolled in class I.

Moreover, the amount of scholarship, provided to the SC and ST students in the schools was very less. The data show that they needed more amount of scholarship to meet their school expenses. In schools in both the villages, most of the tribal students (96 per cent in the Itki village and 94 per cent in the Bhagwanpur village) had agreed upon the fact that they needed more amount of scholarship to join the private tuition classes, purchase school uniform, stationary, etc. The amount of scholarship from class I to X is just from Rs. 175 to Rs. 660 per annum, which is very small amount. If we calculate it on the basis of per month, the students from class I to IV are getting scholarship of only Rs. 5 per month, followed by Rs. 10 per month for the students from class V to VII. In addition, the amount of scholarship at the higher levels, i.e., from class VIII to X, has been little more than that of the earlier ones. At this point, it may only be said about the government ever since has not paid serious attention to the educational progress of the SCs and STs and the existing policy has delivered a lip service rather than the actual concern and real commitment. Here, the point made by Illyn Kujur, the headmistress of the St. Agnes Girls High School, Itki village, seems to be true. She says, "We (the tribals and also the tribal teachers) are serious about not only their (the tribals) educational development but their wholistic development at large. But the problem is that we are not getting enough funds from the government continuously; hence, sometimes, we are not able to provide even the minimum amount of scholarship, textbooks, and mid-day meals to the tribal students. The incentives, which are given under the SSA, are the motivating elements to retain the tribal children in the school".

Getting Mid-day Meal

The Mid-day Meal has been the biggest catalyst, in the recent time, to evolve and retain the children from the deprived sections in the school. It is provided by the government to all children from classes I to VIII under the SSA Scheme. In both the villages, it has been found that the mid-day meal has been given regularly in the schools to all the students irrespective of the castes and tribes. However, in the Itki village some of the tribal students have also pointed out that they have sometimes got only 3 kg rice in a month in place of cooked food. In the other village (Bhagwanpur), it has been found that all students were getting mid-day meals regularly without any disruption.

Conclusion

On the basis of above discussion, it may be said that the role of government provisions in imparting education to the tribal children, is basically implemented through schools, as is evident from the situations present in schools in the Itki and Bhagwanpur villages. The government has always been active in the formulation of policies and programmes for the upliftment of the deprived people, especially the SCs and STs. But these policies and programmes have never been implemented fully as the socio-economic and educational problems of the deprived people still exist. They still remain at the periphery of society. Our analysis of the data also shows that various Government policies and programmes have contributed little for progress of tribal education. In this regard, most of the tribals have still been facing deprivation in all walks of life. It may be said that the government has not been able to work more efficiently with the real sense of commitment. Therefore, it seems to be a political issue, which is mainly involved in what we may call a 'policy of appeasement'. However, in the recent times, the SSA scheme has made a contribution in their enrollment, retention, and completion of their school education in general and also has attempted to get the drop outs of tribal children back into the stream of education, though the scheme itself with its consequent results, is not free from many faults or drawbacks and so is its implementation as mentioned above. If the collaborative help from the civil society organisations is taken, then the task would be easier to solve the basic problems, particularly the educational problem of the tribal people.

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Book Review

Childhood in a Global Perspective

Karen Wells

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Harasankar Adhikari[*]

This book gives a detailed analysis of childhood in difficult circumstances in various places across the globe. Global processes and societal structure shape childhood in different domains of children's lives. The discussion integrates various theories and style of parenting in practice. The author emphasises the neoliberal model, which values independence, rational choice, and autonomy for adulthood. This analysis avoids the psychological aspects of growth and development of children as human resources. But it has been shown how various social, economic, cultural, and political agencies (e.g., parents, family, governments) are responsible for unhappy and lost childhoods. The author discusses the history of childhood from child survival to child rights. The main focus of the book is to promote child development. The author opined that children should be rescued from politics. Children are the future continuance of societies, and have therefore been trained to replicate the material and intellectual conditions that were/are considered essential to positive adult. Children, whether belonging to literate or non-literate societies, have been, are, and will be considered

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vulnerable members of the community who need nurturing, care, and training.

The author starts her work with a clear conception of child and childhood. The childhood is described in relation to the expectations of adulthood, and this description uses standpoint theory. They become the central hub of the network of knowledge production, and must become a member of the community. The process of bringing up a child depends on their primary guardian and the society into which they are born. The process is based on the structure and function of the micro and macro world, including parents, the family's economy, and social networks. Their dependency on adults pushes children into a difficult situation because they are the silent spectators and sufferers of poverty, illhealth, poor family relation, generational conflict, racial conflict, and government policy. They are abused by the adults as an object of pity connected to a politics of pity whereas they should be treated as a subject of rights connected to a politics of justice. Overall circumstances determine whether the children attend school or join as child worker or they would be idle child. Thus, preponderance of street children, child workers and child soldiers are increasing rapidly. Migration and child trafficking are prime causes of child abuse.

The global policies for the protection of childhood have two important aspects: child survival and child rights. Governments and NGOs have taken strategically different projects and programmes for their protection and rehabilitation. These agencies generally raise fund through using child images, which are super composed and fabricated. The child images violate the child dignity and human rights. The author also analyses how children are used as an object of toy industries for business profit. She remarks that global capitalist economy is profit oriented rather than virtual protection of interest of child as subject of future world.

Global capital economy affects structure, process and functions of family (whether it is a transnational family or a traditional family). It changes roles and responsibilities in the family which shapes future of the childhood. She refers doll studying to discuss the racial conflict in child mind.

Children's education suffers from lack of resources and strategies. The author reminds the role of school as moral technology for children's education. She states, School is an agency of nourishment and modification of children's behaviour. It teaches to adopting and integrating ideas of thinking and feeling of a moral person. It importantly shapes the lives of

children. Children learn to judge their intellectual merits as individuals which do not only ensure a qualification for work; it is a quality to lead the national progress. But inadequate opportunities of education remind the pragmatic relativism. Non-uniform economic growth and development direct that parents or state is not always in a position to meet educational cost. So, whether children should go to school or to work falling within this imitation.

In fact, children are interdependent. The author examines different dimension of abusive childhood. Due to absence of proper policy and planning, children are engulfed into various antisocial activities.

The global care chains are also defective because it does not protect them from trafficking as child soldiers. The social reproduction is also imperfect because procedure of adoption and foster care for orphan children suffer from proper implication. So, children's survival is in a critical condition and neither do they enjoy parental care nor alternative parental care.

She also explains the model of liberal childhood through child survival and child rights. She argued that the child survival is limited by charity laws and child rights are bounded with some declaration by national or international bodies. The declaration is practically not implied because these two strategies are connected with children's vulnerabilities and adult responsibilities.

The author analyses the global childhood with fact and figures. Her methodology of study and its analysis depicts a global childhood which differs from so-called studies dealing with only psychology of childhood and its effect in future life. For safe and secure childhood, there is need of provision of space for proper care and attention, and appropriate control strategies and policies.

This book is an essential guide for policy makers, NGOs, social workers and others who are engaged in childhood studies, child care and protection.

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