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Message from the Chief Editor

Dear Readers,

I have immense pleasure to present the latest Issue of BJPA (Vol. XVII No. 1, Jan-June, 2020) before you. The Indian Institute of Public Administration (IIPA), Bihar Regional Branch, Patna has been endeavouring tirelessly to bring the burning topics of Public Administration to the fore through this Journal. Regular publication of journal is a step forward towards the venture; that, too, amidst financial exigencies and other difficulties. The Branch has been conscious of maintaining high order of the journal in order to make it useful for teachers, researchers, students, policy makers and administrators. I am delighted to mention that the efforts of the editorial team, to maintain its high standard, have resulted in its presence in UGC-CARE Reference List of Journals and its wide circulation through Branch's website.

The present Vol. XVII No. 1 has been brought out amidst tough conditions of Covid-19 pandemic and lockdowns. The Journal has been receiving a large number of contributions from across the country on various issues like environment, education, governance, economy, development, and fighting Covid-19 epidemic etc. It has also encompassed variety of areas related to governance concerning education, saving rivers, gender, prohibition, FDI, poverty and Covid-19. Finally, I express my thankfulness to the editorial team, anonymous referees, learned contributors and scholars from institutions of higher education who have extended helping hands to our venture.

Er. Jugal Kishore Singh
Chairman cum Chief Editor
30th June, 2020

Editorial

I feel privileged to present Vol. XVII No. 1 January-June, 2020 of Bihar Journal of Public Administration before the readers. I cannot check myself to express my pleasure for the fact that BJPA has retained its place in the UGC-CARE Reference List of Quality Journals. The present Issue has been brought out in the tough conditions of Covid-19 pandemic lockdown which have affected Bihar in serious way. Though we wished to have some contributions on the aspects of role of administration in fighting the pandemic, we could not get time to invite papers on this aspect of governance; nevertheless, we received two papers on the aspects of the pandemic, worth publishing, which have been included in the Issue. It will not be out of place to mention that the Bihar Regional Branch of Indian Institute of Public Administration has organised a national webinar on "Covid-19 Pandemic, Governance and Politics" and invited learned contributions on the governance aspects in handling the pandemic for the next Issue of the Journal.

The present Vol. XVII No. 1 of BJPA has covered a wide range of subjects related to public administration, governance, development and crisis management. The important issues related to public administration and governance like environmental policies, administrative accountability, educational governance, state interventions for women empowerment and amelioration of dalits, policy on prohibition in Bihar, Growth Story of Bihar, women's role in fighting Covid-19 pandemic, uniform civil code, judiciary and legal authority, poverty and rural employment, politicians-bureaucracy relationship, cultural aspect of Indian polity and policy aspects of transnational impacts have been covered by the present Issue of the Journal. Although we missed to include book reviews in it, yet thought provoking research notes on significance of culture in polity and ground realities of politician-bureaucrat relations have been given due space.

The papers in the Issue can be categorised threefold - exploratory, analytical and explanatory - in the context of variegated aspects of public administration and governance. The editorial team hopes that all the contributions are worth reading. However, the Editor solicits suggestions for further improvement in the Journal and invites books for review.

R.K. Verma,
Editor

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HINDI SECTION

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CLIMATE CHANGE AND INDIAN AGRICULTURE: A POLICY AND PROGRAMME IMPLEMENTATION PERSPECTIVE

Yasmin*

Abstract

With more than two third of its population living in rural areas, who are dependent on agriculture and allied activities, India faces an aggravated challenge to sustain food, nutritional and livelihood security to a billion plus growing population. Formulated in 2008, the National Action Plan on Climate Change or NAPCC acknowledges that climate change may alter the distribution and quality of India's natural resources and climate-sensitive sectors such as agriculture may face a major threat because of the projected changes in climatic conditions. In 2014, the Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India, launched the National Mission for Sustainable Agriculture or NMSA as a programmatic intervention to make Indian agriculture more resilient to climate change. NMSA envisages identifying and developing new varieties of crops, especially thermal resistant crops and alternative cropping patterns, capable of withstanding extremes of weather, long dry spells, flooding, and variable moisture availability. This paper aims at analysing the policy and programme implementation perspectives of the NMSA, which is one of the critical eight National missions identified by NAPCC for mitigation and adaptation to climate change. The study finds that strengthening the present implementation process with proper coordination between relevant stakeholders and creating synergies with other national-level programmes with respect to agriculture, food security, and development will be necessary to enhance the effectiveness of the NMSA.

Keywords: Climate Change, Indian Agriculture, National Mission for Sustainable Agriculture (NMSA), National Action Plan on Climate Change (NAPCC)

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INTRODUCTION

Recognizing that India is faced with the challenge of sustaining its rapid economic growth while dealing with the global threat of climate change, the Government of India, in 2007, constituted the Prime Minister's Council on Climate Change or PMCCC to formulate broad policies for mitigating climate change risks in the country. The council, chaired by Prime Minister, had twenty six members comprising of ministers, independent experts and retired government officials.

In June 2008, the PMCCC, in coordination with other government departments, published the National Action Plan on Climate Change (NAPCC). NAPCC envisages eight sectoral missions[1] which were to be overseen by six union ministries. Since then, all these sectoral missions are approved by the PMCCC and are being implemented.[2] To decentralize planning and implementation, the government advised all states to prepare their respective State Action Plans on Climate Change (SAPCC).With NPACC, India, ahead of the Copenhagen Climate Summit 2009, became one of the very few nations in the world to have developed such a consolidated policy tool to address climate change.

With more than two third of its population living in rural areas, who are dependent on agriculture and allied activities for their livelihood, India faces an aggravated challenge to sustain food, nutritional and livelihood security to a billion plus growing population. Studies show that the over-dependence of rural and coastal communities on agriculture and marine fisheries substantially exposes them to climate risks that can drastically reduce their income or even displace them from the homeland. NAPCC (2008) acknowledges that climate change may alter the distribution and quality of India's natural resources and climate-sensitive sectors such as agriculture may face a major threat because of the projected changes in climatic conditions. Accordingly, it envisages the National Mission for Sustainable Agriculture (NMSA) to devise strategies to make Indian agriculture more resilient to climate change. NMSA envisages identifying and developing new varieties of crops, especially thermal resistant crops and alternative cropping patterns, capable of withstanding extremes of weather, long dry spells, flooding, and variable moisture availability.

The long term vision of NMSA is to make Indian agriculture to be progressively adapted to changing climatic condition and to orient Indian agricultural research systems to monitor and evaluate climate change and recommend changes in agricultural practices accordingly. The focus of NMSA would be on improving the productivity of rain fed agriculture and to work towards an ecologically sustainable green revolution.[3]

CLIMATE CHANGE PROJECTION FOR INDIA

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) defines climate change as changes in the state of the climate that can be detected, using statistical tests, by changes in mean and/or variability of its properties which occurs for an extended period of time, usually decades or more. This applies to any climate change over time, whether due to natural variability or from human activity.[4]

India experiences varied climatic conditions ranging from hot-humid in the north-eastern region to dry-arid in the north-west and from extreme winters in the north to more tropical conditions in the southern peninsula. The most significant feature of the Indian climate is the summer monsoon, which is the primary source of total annual rainfall for most part of the country and a major source of water supporting the country's agriculture.

Significant warming of the order of 0.4°C has already been observed in the past century (1901-2000) in India's mean seasonal and annual surface air temperature. Significant and consistent warming of the sea surface has also been recorded over the Indian Ocean, the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea, during the 20th century.[5]

Overall, an increase in the temperature (maximum and minimum) of the order of 2-4°C is projected over the southern region, which may exceed 4°C over the northern region of the country. Observational data for the day and night-time temperatures have also shown an increasing trend in the maximum temperatures.[6]

While annual average monsoon rainfall at the all-India level for the same period has been without any trend and variations have been random in nature, an increase in monsoon seasonal rainfall has been recorded on the west coast, northern Andhra Pradesh and northwest India. Alongside, decreasing rainfall has been observed over north-eastern India and parts of Gujarat, Kerala, eastern Madhya Pradesh, and its neighbouring areas.

Projections for the 2050s, give an indication of the increase in the extreme rainfall events, such as floods and droughts and an overall decrease in the number of rainy days over much of the country, particularly in the Western and Central regions.

IMPACT OF CLIMATE CHANGE ON INDIAN AGRICULTURE, FOOD SECURITY AND FARMERS LIVELIHOOD

Agriculture and allied sectors in India exhibit high sensitivity to climate change induced stresses. Inter & intra-annual, seasonal, monthly and daily distributions of climate variables (primarily temperature, precipitation, and humidity), play a fundamental role in most of the physical, physiological, chemical and biological processes that drive productivity in agricultural, forestry and fisheries systems.

Thus, variability in weather and climate is regarded as the primary cause for year-to-year fluctuations in agricultural yields. Extreme weather conditions, such as floods, droughts, heat and cold waves, flash floods, cyclones, and hail storms, are direct hazards to crops. More subtle fluctuations in weather during critical phases of crop development can also have a substantial impact on yields.

Although, data of the past century indicate reasonable stability of the Indian summer monsoon rainfall (ISMR), however, the occurrence of concurrent floods and droughts, delay in onset of monsoon, extended breaks in monsoon rains, very heavy rainfall in short period of time, etc., have become very common. These phenomena, attributed to the inter-annual variability of the monsoons, affect the cropping system the most. For example, if the southwest monsoon withdraws from a region earlier than expected, the late-planted crops suffer from lack of moisture during grain filling. Conversely, a late withdrawal resulting in late-season rains generally proves to be detrimental to maturing crops. Strong monsoon circulation can also cause flooding. The withdrawal of SW monsoon during 2019, which generally commence from 1st September, was delayed by about one month resulting in excess rainfall in many parts of India during September, 2019. Incidentally, the year 2019 also witnessed a delay in the onset of monsoon, which generally starts from 1st June. The cumulative rainfall in June 2019, the sowing season for Kharif or summer crops, was 30% below average leading to delayed cropping calendar.[7]

Besides variation in rainfall, departure in maximum and minimum temperatures above or below the optimum value also influences plant physiology in many ways, the cumulative effects of which are observed in yield. For example, in wheat, grain number and weight are reduced due to prolonged high temperatures and drought conditions. On the other hand, prolonged lower temperature enhanced grain formation period resulting in higher grain weight.[8, 9, 10] Other physiological mechanisms viz., respiration, water relation and growth regulation are also affected by increased and variable temperature. There is continuous evolution in the pathogenic races of fungi and bacteria due to climate change. Thus, due to changes in climatic patterns, the incidence of pathogens affecting various crop plants are also changed.[11]

Indian agriculture faces climate associated risks at the crop level, the farm level, and at the level of food systems. At the crop level, changes in temperature patterns, rainfall patterns and extreme events (both frequency and duration) can cause direct physiological damage to crops; the magnitude of impact depending on the stage of development of the crop. Any adverse impact on the physiology of crop can inadvertently have an impact on crop yields or farm level production. Rice and wheat are the two major food crops and staple food of millions of people in India. Out of the total production of food grains during 2018-19, which is estimated to be 281.37 Million Tonnes (MT), rice contributed 115.6 MT (41%), while production

of wheat is estimated at 99.12 MT (35%); therefore, primary food security concerns are focused on improving and sustaining their productivity.[12] Most simulation studies show a decline in yield in paddy and wheat, two major crops, for an increase in temperatures or decline in rainfall, thereby endangering food security of the country.

Rain fed agriculture is complex, diverse, and risk-prone, characterised by low levels of productivity and low input usage. The economic survey (2017-18)[13] emphasized that agriculture in India remains vulnerable to weather vagaries because close to 52% cropped area is still unirrigated and heavily dependent on rainfall for farming. The survey further states that climate change would adversely impact farm yield, especially in rain fed areas, in three major ways viz., rise in average temperatures, reduction in average rainfall and increase in the number of dry-days. In addition, climate induced impact on soil quality, water resources, pest, disease, weed distribution, farm practices etc. can further aggravate the vulnerabilities of these cropping systems and reduce the yield per hectare of land or per livestock unit.

Climate change will lead to increased farm expenditure which the farmer will have to bear in order to sustain farm productivity. This includes increased expenses to fertilizers, pesticides, improved stress tolerant varieties of crops and animals, increased energy requirements for irrigation, infrastructural requirements in the post-harvest stages especially to reduce spoilage under increased temperatures etc. This will lead to a substantial decline in farm income. The economic survey (2017-18) predicts that average income losses to the farmer from climate change could range from 15% to 18% while it can rise between 20% and 25% anywhere in unirrigated areas.[14]

Nelson et al. (2009)[15] have estimated that by 2050, the daily percapita calorie availability in South Asia will decline by about 8% due to climate change impact on cereal crop yields compared to levels in 2000. Kumar and Parikh (2001)[16] estimated that under moderate climate change scenarios, there could be about 9%declines in farm level net incomes in India.

The decline in total food production and farm incomes will put more and more households at risk of food insecurity and malnutrition. The marginalised sections of society with no access to support (such as monetary savings) will be worse affected if food production is hit and if market prices of food commodities are to rise. Subsistence farmers and communities directly dependent on ecosystems such as mangroves, wetlands, forests etc. for food and livelihood are expected to be at greater risk of food insecurity.

The overall impact of climate change is expected to be significant in India as agriculture plays a central role in ensuring food security and accounts for a

substantial share of gross domestic product (GDP) and employment. The agriculture sector is of crucial importance to India's stated goal of inclusive economic growth as it is central to ensuring food security in the country and contributes significantly to trade and employment opportunities. Although the importance of this sector in its contribution to GDP has been falling, it still accounted for 17.1% of the overall GDP of the country.[17]

The IPCC estimates that India's temperatures will rise by 3-4 degrees Celsius by the end of the 21st century.[18] During the same period, agricultural incomes are likely to fall by an average of 12%, which may go up to 18% in unirrigated areas, if the farming communities do not adapt to measures such as expanding irrigation coverage, shift in cropping methods, etc.

Given that India ranks 102 among 117 nations, in the 2019 Global Hunger Index,[19] fostering rapid, sustainable and broad-based growth in agriculture is thus a key priority given the likelihood of an increase in the population and keeping in mind the overall socio-economic development of the country. This has to be achieved in the light of existing vulnerabilities that relate to a shrinking land resource base and additional stressors arising from the non-agricultural sector and issues surrounding a changing climate.

THE NATIONAL MISSION FOR SUSTAINABLE AGRICULTURE (NMSA)

The Mission document on National Mission for Sustainable Agriculture (NMSA) was approved in principle by the PMCC on 23rd September, 2010. Formulated by the Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India, NMSA is one of the eight Missions outlined under the National Action Plan on Climate Change (NAPCC). It seeks to address issues related to 'Sustainable Agriculture' in the context of risks associated with a changing climate. NMSA envisages devising appropriate adaptation and mitigation strategies for ensuring food security, enhancing livelihood opportunities and thus contributing to economic stability at the national level. The strategies and programme of action (POA) as outlined in the Mission Document aims at promoting sustainable agriculture in India through seventeen deliverables that focus on ten key dimensions. NMSA also planned to embed and main streamed the measures envisaged in the document onto ongoing/proposed Missions/Progammes/Schemes of Department of Agriculture & Cooperation (DAC, now Department of Agriculture, Cooperation& Farmers Welfare) through a process of restructuring and convergence. The NMSA is an apt example of mid-course corrections being carried out wherein programmes initially identified were refurbished to be subsumed under DAC programmes, paving way for exclusive and freshly developed interventions under the mission.

MISSION COMPONENTS, IMPLEMENTATION & MONITORING FRAMEWORK

In 2014, DAC released the Operational Guidelines[20] for implementing NMSA. The guidelines outlined four exclusive interventions namely Rainfed Area Development (RAD), On Farm Water Management (OFWM), Soil Health Management (SHM) and Climate Change and Sustainable Agriculture: Monitoring, Modelling and Networking (CCSAMMN), which would not be covered through other programmes of the DAC. Subsequently, the ongoing programmes of the DAC viz., the Rainfed Area Development Programme (RADP), National Mission on Micro Irrigation (NMMI), National Project on Organic Farming (NPOF), National Project on Management of Soil Health & Fertility (NPMSH&F) and the Central Sector Scheme of Soil and Land Use Survey of India (SLUSI), were subsumed into the programmatic interventions under the NMSA. The mission components were further modified and currently, it has five programmatic interventions (Appendix-A) namely Rainfed Area Development (RAD), Sub-Mission on Agroforestry (SMAF), National Bamboo Mission (NBM), Soil Health Management (SHM) and Climate Change and Sustainable Agriculture: Monitoring, Modelling and Networking (CCSAMMN). While the components of NBM and SMAF were added later, the mission component OFWM was merged with the programme Pradhan Mantri Krishi Sinchayee Yojana (PMKSY).

As per NMSA guidelines (2014),[21] all states are to formulate a multi-year state level implementation plan, which would be the aggregation of district and state agriculture plans. Annual Action Plan (AAP) emanating from state level plan would include physical and financial targets, implementation and monitoring mechanisms for each component of the mission. While the state department of agriculture will have the overall responsibility, Panchayati Raj institutions (PRIs) would also be actively involved in the preparation of the plans and implementing NMSA. For achieving convergence, a multi-disciplinary State Level Committee (SLC) will oversee the implementation. The Agriculture Production Commissioner (APC) or Principal Secretary (Agriculture) chairs the SLC with representation from concerned line departments such as revenue, animal husbandry, fisheries, forests, etc in the committee. At the national level, NMSA is to be monitored by the Project Sanctioning Committee (PSC). A National Advisory Committee (NAC), under the chairmanship of Secretary (Agriculture), was established for providing strategic direction, guidance and help in planning and effective implementation of the mission.

Currently, allocation and releases under NMSA are made to three components viz. RAD, SMAF and NBM. Financial release to States during the financial year 2018-19 was about ₹388.5 crore with RAD accounting for about 54%. During the same year (2018-19), financial releases to PMKSY was about ₹1,750 crore

(Appendix-B). Financial allocations and actual releases under NMSA indicate prominence of RAD, about ₹200 crore annually, during the first four years of implementation (2014-2018). It was only in 2018-19, a substantial allocation of ₹150 crore was given to National Bamboo Mission. While a steady growth of allocation, ranging from ₹986 crore in 2014-15 to ₹1,750 crore in 2018-19 was observed for PMKSY, actual releases made specifically in other components like SHM, CCSAMMN are not available in public domain (Appendix-B).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Since, in principle approval accorded by PMCCC in 2012, actual NMSA mission implementation was delayed till 2014. However, the time period was utilized for the significant revamping of the mission by mainstreaming the ongoing agriculture development programmes of DAC with its strategies through a process of restructuring and convergence. Currently, the NMSA comprises of exclusive interventions to cover both adaptation and mitigation of climate change impact. The challenge hereafter is to draw a roadmap for effective tracking of the Mission activities which might mostly depend on the DAC for its finances and institutional framework. Nevertheless, strengthening the present implementation process with proper coordination between relevant stakeholders will enhance the effectiveness of the NMSA. Generally, the states have limited capabilities to come up with timelines, financial targets and implementation strategies for components under the mission.

In India, about 48% of landholding and about 86% of farmers belong to the small and marginal category, which is, farming size less than 2 hectares. Even though the promotion of soil conservation practices, use of biotechnology and improved seed varieties are important components to help all farmer types, there is a need for a more dedicated approach towards enhancing climate change resilience of small and marginal farmers, who are economically more fragile. The mission focuses on sustainable agriculture but fails to recognize the importance of adaptation. No dedicated funds are allotted to adaptation and coping mechanisms especially with respect to the small and marginal farming community.

Further, given the scenario of about half of farm holdings, mostly belonging to small and marginal farmers, practices rainfed agriculture, there is an urgent need for the accelerated spreading of irrigation. However, the mode of irrigation is to be appropriately selected given in the backdrop of diminishing groundwater level in many parts of the country, especially the northern India. For sustainable agriculture, the judicious use of natural resources like water and soil needs to be ensured. This can only happen by reviewing and rationalising the subsidies (power and fertiliser) that promote indiscriminate use of water and degrade soil quality.

Indian Council of Agricultural Research (ICAR) should also step up research to develop crop varieties and cropping techniques that are more resilient to the vagaries of weather.

Going forward, the Mission's progress largely depends on designating roles and responsibilities to different coordinating institutions as identified in the Operational Guidelines and ensuring coordination between such institutions within the different tiers of governance. This would eliminate any overlap between the sector and NMSA specific interventions as well as clarify their implementation framework. Agriculture is an extremely cross-cutting sector, involving water, sanitation, rural development and environment ministries.

The success of NMSA depends on the extent to which it can be integrated with several national-level programmes with respect to agriculture, food security, and development, including the National Mission on Agriculture Expansion and Technology, National Food Security Mission, Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA), etc. However, these programmes fall under different ministries and departments, as such coordination and creating synergies will be the biggest challenge.

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APPENDIX-A

The key components of the National Mission for Sustainable Agriculture (NMSA) as Programmatic intervention:

1. Rain-fed Area Development (RAD): RAD, the most important component of the Mission, "adopts an area based approach for development and conservation of natural resources along with farming systems. This component is formulated in a 'watershed plus framework', i.e. to explore potential utilization of natural resources base, assets available" and created through watershed development and soil conservation activities &interventions under MGNREGS, NWDPRA, RVP&FPR, RKVY, IWMP etc..
2. Soil Health Management (SHM): Soil Health Management (SHM) aims at promoting location and crop specific sustainable soil health management practices including "residue management, organic farming practices, creating and linking soil fertility maps with macro-micro nutrient management, appropriate land use based on land capability, judicious application of fertilizers, minimizing the soil erosion&degradation etc."

3. Climate Change and Sustainable Agriculture Monitoring, Modelling and Networking (CCSAMMN): CCSAMMN shall provide "creation and bi-directional (farmers to research/scientific establishments and vice versa) dissemination of climate change related information and knowledge by piloting research and model projects in the domain of climate change, smart sustainable management practices and integrated farming system suitable to local agro-climatic conditions."
4. Sub-Mission on Agroforestry (SMAF): Sub-Mission on Agroforestry was launched in 2016-17 to encourage tree plantation on farm land "HarMedh Par Ped", along with crops/ cropping system. The scheme is being implemented in the States which have liberalized transit regulations for selected tree species. The implementation of the sub-mission shall result in providing additional income opportunities for farmers. An increase in tree cover through will lead to higher carbon sequestration while trees grown on farm land will help in enriching soil organic matter.
5. National Bamboo Mission (NBM): Keeping in view the vast untapped potential of the bamboo sector, the restructured National Bamboo Mission (NBM) is being implemented across the country to boost domestic cultivation of quality and appropriate species for supply to our industry.

(*Source:* Dept. of Agriculture, Cooperation and Farmers Welfare, Govt. of India, https://nmsa.dac.gov.in/frmComponents.aspx)

APPENDIX-B

Financial Releases under various components of the National Mission for Sustainable Agriculture (NMSA) and Pradhan Mantri Krishi Sinchayee Yojana (PMKSY).

Year	*Rain Fed Area Development*	*Bamboo Mission*	*Agroforestry*	*NMSA (Total)*	*PMKSY*
2014-15	304	-	-	304	986
2015-16	198	-	-	198	1091
2016-17	200	-	22.52	222.52	1488
2017-18	209	-	42.66	251.66	1641
2018-19	210	150	28.5	388.5	1750

(₹ in crore)

Source: Department of Agriculture, Cooperation & Farmers Welfare, Government of India, https://nmsa.dac.gov.in/Default.aspx&https://pmksy.gov.in/mis/frmDashboard.aspx

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BIHAR GROWTH STORY SINCE 1980: ITS DRIVER AND DIRECTION

Richa Kumari*, Dineshwar Kumar Singh & Bakshi Amit Kumar Sinha*****

Abstract

The present article intends to explain the growth story of Bihar. The story is categorised into four sub-groups in different time frames. These four time-frames are: pre-economic reform period (1980 to 1991), post-economic reform period (1991 to 2001), initial period of truncated Bihar (2000 to 2005) and last fifteen years (2005-19). The article addresses the some vital questions – when was the economy Bihar in its bad shape? Why and how much it had worsened during reform period? What were the factors that recovered economic growth during last 15 years? Who are the growth drivers? What is the direction of economy? What should be done to make this growth sustainable?

Keywords: CFMS, Economy, FRBM Act, GSDP, Growth Driver, Inclusive Growth, Per Capita Income, Public Finance Management, Sustainable Growth; (*Journal of Economic Literature* (JEL): E62)

INTRODUCTION

Bihar has had a glorious past. Its cultural heritage is world famous. We had great kings and kingdoms. Half of the major world religions had their origin in Bihar. The state produced great thinkers and philosophers who contributed to several branches of knowledge. However, the state lost its glory during medieval and colonial period. After independence, a number of policy intervention taken at the national level like fright equalization, unfairly central investment and unevenly

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foreign direct investment to already disadvantaged states like Bihar to make more backward. As a land locked state, Bihar is not able to avail the developmental opportunity of economic reform 1991. The economic growth during nineties was much lower, even sometimes negative growth had been registered. In the recent years, Bihar growth story has changed a lot. During the period 2005-06 to 2014-15, the state economy grew annually at a rate of 10.6 per cent, which is one of the highest among all major Indian states. Bihar had registered highest growth in the country during 2017-18. The high growth of nearly 6 per cent in the agricultural sector and reduction in poverty ratio indicates this growth was inclusive. Further, during 2015-19, the growth rate is still in double digits (10 per cent).

Compared to other Indian states, Bihar's economic problem is complex in nature. With rich human capital and natural resources, Bihar presents 'poverty in plenty'. Because of historical legacy of land distribution, the state was failed to progress for the last 50 years since independence. Bihar has been laggard for almost all indicators for several decades due to several reasons. During sixties and seventies, it is not as worst as during the period of new economic reforms (nineties). But the state's economy has seen turnaround since last 15 years as Bihar's economy has been growing at the rate of more than 10 per cent per annum at constant prices. Literacy has gone up to 64 per cent in 2011, compare to 47 per cent in 2001. Substantial changes have taken place in educational institution and health infrastructure of a mammoth proportion. A functioning rural health system has taken root. The economic growth of Bihar is mostly debated during the last decade around the globe. This indeed is the principal focus of this article and the analysis is presented for the long-term trends during 1980 to 2019, the last 40 years. In the above background, the article deals with the growth scenario of Bihar and its various dimensions.

METHODOLOGY

This article investigates the trend and pattern of real per capita state domestic product of Bihar. It is based on secondary data. It utilises central statistical organisation's data for sectoral gross state domestic product for the whole period of 1980-81 to 2018-19. The economic growth is based on real GSDP for all the series. The base year 2004-05 = 100 is used for the series of 1980-90, 1990-99, 2000-05, 2005-15, whereas, base year 2011-12 = 100 is used for the series of 2015-19. The Directorate of Economic and Statistics, Department of Planning and Development, Government of Bihar has released the back-series data based on factor cost at 2004-05 prices. This back-series data help to compare the whole series into one series of GSDP, however, for the period of 2015-19, the sectoral data has been computed for Gross Value Added on the basis of constant 2011-12 prices by the Central Statistical Organisation. The Directorate of Economics and Statistics has not computed the GSDP series beyond

2014-15 on the basis of factor cost at constant (2004-05) prices. Therefore, the base year of 2011-12 is used for the series of 2015-16 to 2018-19.

The article divides the whole period into the four time frames for assessment of an economic performance during the different policy initiatives i.e. new economic policy during 1991, implementation of Fiscal Responsibility and Budget Management Act 2006, etc. These four time frames are 1980-81 to 1990-91, 1990-91 to 2000-01, 2000-01 to 2004-05, 2004-05 to 2014-15 and 2015-16 to 2018-19. The first time series (1980-81 to 1990-91) provides pre-economic reform situation; whereas, second series refers to (1991-92 to 2000-01) post-reform but primarily pre-bifurcation period, while third series (2000-01 to 2004-05) tells the initial period of truncated Bihar. The last two series are framed for the new growth story of Bihar buzzed around the globe. Further, this article considers the sectoral analysis of Bihar economy to assess the sectoral growth and composition of the GSDP. This investigation also covers extended sectoral contribution of the economy to see the economy transition over the long period. The data from Central Statistical Organisation (CSO), Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Department of Planning and Development, Government of Bihar and Census of India have been used in the article to formulate time series data of Gross State Domestic Product (GSDP), Per Capita Income and population. Other sources of information are budget document, other published documents and website. These utilised to see the relevant impact of policy initiatives on the economic growth.

PER CAPITA INCOME

The per capita income (PCI) path from 1980-81 to 2014-15 presented in Figure 1. The PCI line shown by blue colour, which has abruptly increased because of the change in base year from 2004-05 to 2011-12 as already discussed under methodology section. The average PCI of the state, during the period of 1980-81 to 1990-91, was around ₹7,648. It was increased from ₹6,714 in 1980-81 to ₹8,700 in 1990-91. This figure reflects that the increasing trend of PCI during the eighties, although the increase was very nominal. The PCI of Bihar started declining and fell to the lowest level in 1995-96. During the period of 1991-92 to 2000-01, which is the post-reform period. Initially, PCI declined from ₹8,700 (1990-91) to ₹6,142 (1995-96) at its lowest level during the whole period of 1980-2019. Thereafter, it started growing but still did not touch the level of what it was in eighties. The average per capita income in nineties was ₹7,287 only, still lower than PCI of eighties. Population were increased by higher rate of 2.9 per cent annually compared to the growth of whole GSDP, which grew by only 2.8 per cent. This was on account of negative growth of GSDP in 1991-92 (–4 per cent), 1992-93 (–4.3 per cent), 1993-94 (–11.2 per cent) and 1995-96 (–11.6 per cent). There was a negative growth of (–) 4.2 per cent in 2001-02 and (–) 4.5 per cent in 2003-04 which reduced the growth of this

period. The real PCI of ₹8700 were in 1991, thereafter, Bihar economy has facing difficulties and taken 17 years to reach the level of ₹8700, that was in 2006-07.

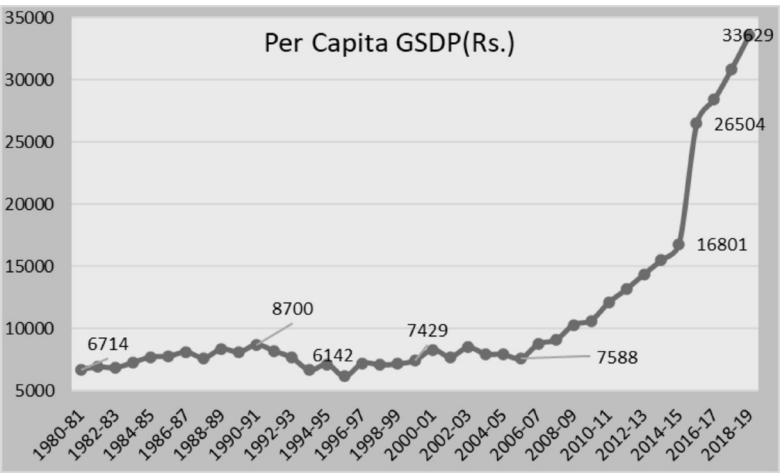

Figure 1: Trend of Per Capita GSDP of Bihar (1980-2019)

Since 2005-06, the state government has taken several strides like – prepared road map for agriculture for inclusive development for almost 90 per cent of the people resided in the rural areas and depended on agricultural related work for their livelihood. In addition, Mission Manav Vikas for health, education and livelihood promotion, Bihar Skill Development Mission for skilful labour and employment, Single Window System and Bihar's New Industrial Policy for industrialisation and investment promotion, water policy and many policy-level reforms had been taken for the overall development of the state. The Government also focused to improve physical infrastructure which formulates the development prospect of the state. The social sector was given priority to strengthen the public health and education system. Due to these efforts, GSDP has increased by nearly two and a half times from ₹77,781 crore in 2004-05 to ₹1,89,789 crore in 2014-15. As an outcome, the PCI increased by more than double and reached to ₹16,801 from ₹7914 during the same period. It further increased to ₹33,629 in 2018-19, which is more than five time compared to 2005-06 (₹7588).

SIZE OF THE ECONOMY

The long-term status of the state's overall economy as well as its various sectors are presented in the table 1. As on March 2019, Bihar is the 15th largest economy among Indian states with ₹5.6 lakh crore based on current prices and ₹3.9 lakh crore based on constant (2011-12) prices. It is only 2.8 per cent of the national economy of ₹139.8 lakh crore. The size of the economy during 1980-81 was amounted ₹348 crore, which had increase by 1.6 times to reach ₹557 crore in 1990-91. It is mainly on

account of service sectors, which supplemented 35 per cent to this growth followed by 32 per cent of each primary and secondary sectors. During eighties, the overall economy registered a growth of 4.7 per cent compared to 5.3 per cent growth at all-India level. The share of Bihar's economy declined marginally by 0.2 percentage point from 4.36 per cent in 1980-81 to 4.13 in 1990-91. Due to the high population growth of 24 per cent during the same period, the PCI increased by only ₹1986. The PCI of Bihar were substantial, if compared to the national PCI, which were 62.7 per cent in 1980-81 and gradually declined to reach 60.7 per cent in 1990-91.

The historical decision was taken at the national level and economy was opened by introduction of a new economic policy, which allowed liberalization, privatization and globalization (LPG). It opened multiple pathways to develop and flourish the economy for the nation. But all the states were not equally benefitted by this opportunity. The coastal region and south-west states were the beneficiaries. Bihar economy had enhanced by only ₹12,265 core, even less than the period of eighties ₹20,896 crore. It grew mainly on account of ₹17,118 crore in service sectors, ₹1,034 crore in primary sectors. Instead of improvement, secondary sectors registered a decline of substantial ₹5887 crore during these ten years. It is important to note here that the other states had registered high growth in industries sector. It was very disappointing for Bihar that the manufacturing sectors were doing worst during nineties in Bihar.

Further, during the first five years after bifurcation of the state (2000-05), Bihar economy had witnessed a lower growth of only 3.1 per cent annually and economy's size increased by only ₹9840 crore, even agriculture and allied sectors registered decline of ₹900 crore. The whole period of 1990-91 to 2004-05 was adversely affected to the Bihar's economy. This impacted the whole economy to push back on different development parameters including high unemployment and out migration. Overall, the share of Bihar's economy had decline in a massive way and reached to only 2.6 per cent of the national economy in 2004-05 compared to 4.1 per cent in 1990-91. The per capita income of the state had been declined from 62.7 per cent in 1980-81 to 36.3 per cent in 2004-05. This proves that the state's economy was in the worst condition during the period, whatever was the reasons.

After massive mandate gained by the Government during 2005, everywhere, people buzzed the positive changes in Bihar. The total size of the economy has been multiplied by five and a half times from ₹34,781 crore (1980-81) to ₹1,89,789 crore (2014-15), however, nearly two and a half times increased during the period of 2005-06 to 2014-15. Bihar economy was taken long 25 years to double its size. This was the result of stagnation of the growth in the primary (from ₹17,589 crore in 1980-81 to ₹23,224 crore in 2005-06) and secondary sector (₹7,574 crore in 1980-81 to ₹11,668 crore in 2005-06) during these 25 years. The service (tertiary) sector was growing steadily specially in the last decade. As a result, the share of Bihar GSDP was increase to 3.2 per cent in 2014-15 compared to 2.6 per cent in

2004-05. The PCI during the same period and improved compared to the national level from 36.3 per cent in 2004-05 to 42.1 per cent in 2014-15.

Lastly, a sum of ₹88,495 crore were added to the economy during the last four years (2015-16 to 2018-19) by registering a growth of 10.0 per cent annually. Agriculture and allied activities were grown over 6 per cent annually. It is important to note here that more than 70 per cent of the people dependent on the agriculture and allied sectors for their livelihoods.

Table 1: Sectoral Gross State Domestic Product at Factor Cost at 2004-05 Prices *(₹ crore)*

Sectors	*1980-81*	*1990-91*	*2000-01*	*2005-06*	*2014-15*	*2018-19**
Agriculture	14942	19584	22207	19300	31567	60775
Forestry and Logging	725	1108	2349	2671	2237	5948
Fisheries	328	595	795	1183	1977	5670
Mining & Quarrying	1594	3151	121	70	103	1220
Sub-total (Primary)	17589	24438	25472	23224	35884	69628
Manufacturing	5292	10004	4215	4106	7775	30632
Manufacturing (Registered)	2854	6248	1116	622	2700	–
Manufacturing (Un-registered)	2438	3755	3099	3484	5075	–
Construction	1819	3424	2805	6374	24909	5455
Electricity, Gas & Water Supply	464	841	1363	1189	2336	35579
Sub-total (Secondary)	7574	14269	8382	11668	35020	71666
Transport, Storage & Communication	1221	1817	4285	5109	17032	35498
Railways	627	919	1714	1609	2369	4328
Transport by Other means	474	697	1870	2130	5934	22399
Communication	119	200	701	1371	8729	8672
Trade, Hotel & Restaurants	2475	4533	10207	14862	46841	71876
Banking and Insurance	492	1543	2148	2941	12802	16205
Real Estate and Ownership of Dwellings	2554	3136	3385	4403	10242	34244
Public Administration	1160	2532	4661	5107	9884	20364
Other Services	1716	3409	9400	10598	22083	51119
Sub-total (Tertiary)	9617	16969	34087	43020	118885	229307
Total GSDP	34781	55677	67942	77912	189789	394350
Per Capita GSDP (₹)	6714	8700	8298	8641	18560	33629

Note:*–base year = 2011-12.

Source: Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Bihar.

DRIVERS OF THE ECONOMY

Every sector of the economy does not grow with same rate and overall growth is depended on the growth behaviour of the sectors. These sectors play an important role in the economy growth. Therefore, sectors are called the drivers of the economy which can slowdown or boost the economic growth for a given period of time. Based on the dataset given in Table 2, the growth of economy during the period of eighties (1980-81 to 1990-91) worked out to be 4.7 per cent. Banking and insurance sectors were ahead with the growth of 12.5 per cent followed by public administration (8.0 per cent), fisheries (7.7 per cent) and registered manufacturing (6.8 per cent). These sectors were the main growth drivers. It constituted 18 per cent of the total GSDP of the state. Apart from fisheries, other sectors were formal sectors. The secondary (industries) sector leading with the growth of 6.1 per cent followed by tertiary (services) sector (5.6 per cent) and primary (agriculture and allied) sector (3.3 per cent), which allowed GSDP to grow at a rate of 4.7 per cent growth during eighties. It is notable that the industries sector was leading the growth as Jharkhand was also part of Bihar.

Bihar had witnessed worst economic conditions during the post-economic reform period. The economy of Bihar was showing poor performance and most of the sectors registered negative growth. This negative growth was not in a single digit, but this was (–) 27.9 per cent in mining and quarrying, (–) 26.8 per cent in forestry and logging and (–) 13.3 per cent in registered manufacturing. These sectors constituted 20.0 per cent share in the economy. Thus, the poor performance of one-fifth of the economy created problems during 1990-2000. This resulted into whole economy growing at a poor rate of 2.8 per cent during the post-reform period, while rest of the country performed (all-India registered 6.1 per cent growth during 1991-2000) well during this period, availing the opportunity of liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation (LPG). On the other side, the sectors like communication (18.7 per cent), other services (11.0 per cent), transport and storage (10.8 per cent) and trade, hotel and restaurant (9.1 per cent) registered an impressive growth. The tertiary (service) sector was grown by 7.6 per cent. However, only 1.1 per cent growth registered under primary (agriculture) sector and a negative growth of (–) 3.3 per cent in secondary (industries) sector did not allow to the GSDP to grow more than 2.8 per cent. The primary and secondary sectors constituted 60 per cent of the economy. It was mainly on account of inefficient fiscal management as debt outstanding were accumulated more than 60 per cent of the GSDP. Therefore, the major proportion of the revenue consumed by the interest payments and other unproductive expenses. This led to shrink the needful capital expenditure on infrastructure building, both social and physical. Due to less central devolutions to Bihar as compared to recommended by the Finance Commissions, under-utilisation of funds by the departments, high unemployment rates, meagre

physical and social infrastructure, etc. were the main reasons for declining in growth rate during the period of nineties. It also led to the private investment flew in other states of India and cause a financial flow at the lowest point as indicated by credit deposit ratio of only 20.7 per cent in 2001 compared to 39.5 per cent in 1991. This was the major loss for disadvantaged states like Bihar.

Table 2: Growth Drivers of Bihar Economy *(in per cent)*

Sector	*Compounded Annual Growth Rate*					*Percentage Composition*				
	1980-91	*1991-2001*	*2000-05*	*2005-15*	*2016-19*	*1980-91*	*1991-2001*	*2000-05*	*2005-15*	*2018-19*
1. Agriculture/ Animal Husbandry	2.7	2.2	–1.1	5.8	6.1	37.6	31.8	31.3	21.6	16.2
2. Forestry/Logging	5.5	–26.8	3.8	–1.9	10.1	1.9	3.0	1.7	2.2	1.6
3. Fishing	7.7	2.5	8.4	6.4	6.8	1.0	1.2	1.7	1.2	1.5
4. Mining/Quarrying	5.9	–27.9	–30.1	5.3	–12.0	4.8	1.3	0.2	0.1	0.3
Sub Total (Primary)	3.3	1.1	–0.6	5.2	3.4	45.4	37.7	34.9	25.1	18.6
5. Manufacturing	5.8	–7.1	1.2	7.0	8.6	18.2	9.7	5.6	5.1	8.2
5.1 Registered	6.8	–13.3	–0.7	19.3	–	11.4	4.1	1.2	1.5	–
5.2 Un-registered	4.2	–1.2	1.8	3.4	–	6.8	5.6	4.3	3.6	–
6. Construction	6.8	–0.8	14.6	16.6	8.8	5.7	4.1	4.2	10.8	1.5
7. Electricity/Water Supply/Gas	7.3	6.4	–2.9	8.0	7.4	1.5	1.9	1.1	1.4	9.5
Sub Total (Secondary)	6.1	–3.9	5.7	13.1	8.0	25.4	15.7	10.9	17.3	19.1
8. Transport/ Communication	4.2	9.2	1.7	15.0	6.6	3.4	5.8	7.0	7.6	9.5
8.1 Railways	4.2	5.4	–5.8	3.9	3.7	1.8	2.5	2.7	1.8	1.2
8.2 Other Transport/ storage	3.9	10.8	2.5	11.9	–	1.3	2.6	2.6	2.8	6.0
8.3 Communication	5.0	18.7	13.8	25.4	–3.8	0.3	0.8	1.6	3.1	2.3
9. Trade/Hotel/ Restaurant	5.8	9.1	11.8	13.4	12.4	8.2	13.6	18.3	22.1	19.2
Sub-Total (8&9)	5.3	9.1	8.9	13.8	–	11.6	19.5	25.2	29.7	28.7
10. Banking/ Insurance	12.5	6.7	3.0	17.7	10.2	2.0	3.0	3.9	4.9	4.3
11. REODB	2.1	1.4	4.5	9.7	4.6	6.4	5.4	4.0	5.4	9.1
Sub Total (10&11)	4.4	3.2	3.7	13.4	–	8.4	8.4	7.9	10.2	13.4
12. Public Administration	8	5.4	1.9	8.3	17.4	3.8	6.7	7.1	5.9	5.4
13. Other Services	6.2	11.0	1.4	8.7	17.2	5.5	12.1	14.1	11.8	13.6
Sub Total (Tertiary)	5.6	7.6	5.2	12.1	11.3	29.3	46.6	54.3	57.6	61.2
Gross State Domestic Product	4.7	2.8	3.1	10.6	10.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: All figures are based on GSDP at Constant Prices. The base year 2004-05 is used for all series except base for 2015-19, which is based on year 2011-12. (Compiled by the Authors)

After bifurcation in 2000, most of the natural resources (i.e. Minerals, Industries, etc.) gone to Jharkhand and 75 per cent population of the erstwhile Bihar came to the share of new Bihar, which was mostly semi or unskilled. Even though, except the initial five years (2000-05), GSDP of Bihar grew at a faster rate of no less than 10 per cent during the period of 2004-05 to 2014-15. The principal drivers of economic growth were – communication (25.4 per cent), registered manufacturing (19.3 per cent), banking & insurance (17.7 per cent), construction (16.6 per cent), trade, hotel & restaurants (13.4 per cent) and road transport (11.9 per cent) during this period. These sectors constituted more than 40 per cent share in GSDP. The secondary (industries) sector bounced back and led the growth at a rate of 13.1 per cent followed by 12.1 per cent of tertiary (service) sector and 5.2 per cent in primary (agriculture) sector. The overall GSDP had registered a double-digit growth of 10.6 per cent during the same period. The trend and pattern of growth during 2015-19 is similar to the 2005-15, and recorded 10.0 per cent growth. This boom is an outcome of good governance and prudent management of state finance.

DIRECTION OF THE ECONOMY

The growth drivers are able to change the structure of the economy through the transition from the low growth sectors to the high growth sectors. This is called direction of the economy, which indicates the economic transition from one sector to another. Mostly, economy is based on the primary sector during the initial phase, agriculture and allied sector constitutes most of the GSDP and people are dependent on this sector for their livelihood. The trends are also telling the same story as primary sectors held half of the economy in 1980-81, which were gradually declining to 44 per cent in 1990-91 and further fallen to 38 per cent in 2000-01. This decline was compensated by secondary and tertiary sectors through improvement in their composition by 4.0 and 2.0 percentage points during eighties. It was result of higher growth in the both sectors. But the trend was reverse during nineties as secondary sector recorded negative growth, therefore, it declined by 14 percentage points. The primary sector also diminished by 6 percentage points. These shares were enhanced the tertiary sector by 20 percentage points to reach 50 per cent in 2001. It is important to note here that the tertiary sector was not only improved due to higher growth but it is also because of negative and negligible growth registered in the secondary and primary sectors respectively.

Due to lower economic growth rates in primary and secondary sectors, compared to service sector in the long run, the primary (agriculture) sector declined by 31 percentage points from 50 per cent in 1980-81 to 19 per cent in 2018-19 and the secondary sector also declined by 2 percentage points from 22 per cent to 20 per cent during the same period. As a result, these combined falls strengthened the tertiary (service) sector by 33 percentage points from only 28 per

cent to a substantial 61 per cent during the last four decades. Thus, the direction of the economy transition of the state is attracting towards the tertiary (service) sector from the primary (agriculture) as well as secondary (industries) sector.

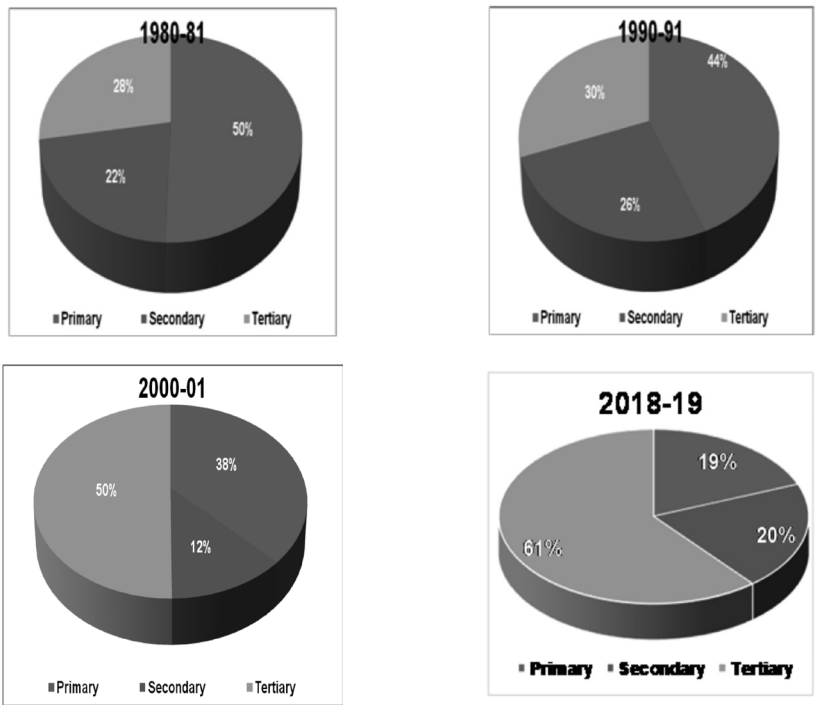

Figure 2: Direction of Bihar Economy (1981-2019) *(in percentage)*

POLICY INITIATIVES

The state government had placed its white paper on state finances and development in Bihar during the first tenure (2005-10) to fulfil the committed promises to the people of the state in the Assembly Election. It focused on sound public finance management oriented to the overall economic development. The state government had given good governance on high priority and taken many reforms in the area of state finances during 2006-10. These reforms are enactment of Fiscal Responsibility and Budget Management (FRBM) Act, 2006; implementation of Value Added Taxes (VAT), 2006; rolled out Comprehensive Treasury Information Management System (CTIMS) and digitalization of almost all government departments to reduce process time and improving fiscal management and administration of the daily routine works in the departments. Thereafter, in second term, the state government had given focus on much needed human development in the state and started work on mission mode, i.e. Mission Manav Vikas during 2010-15. Agriculture Road Map

2012-17, industrial policy 2011, Bihar skill development mission, etc. were some of the important policy initiatives. It is important to note here that the expenditure related to social and economic services were continuously increased during the period to combat poverty and other backward indicators including reduction in infant mortality rates, maternal mortality rates etc. During 2015-20, the state government has declared seven resolves to provide basic services to the people till the last mile. These services are approach roads, tap water, drainage facility, electricity, latrine facility to every households with improving digital services. It also focused to strengthen higher education by providing inexpensive loans (at 4 per cent for all except 1 per cent to disabled and to female) to the student for pursuing higher education. Implementation of Goods and Services Tax (GST), rollout Comprehensive Financial Management System (CFMS), Start-up Policy-2017, higher tax devolution during the Fourteenth Finance Commission (2015-20), etc. were the main reasons to attain this double-digit growth.

According to the state government's budget, the revenue collection has increased by more than 11 times from ₹15,714 crore in 2004-05 to ₹1,76,748 crore in 2019-20. Total budget size jumped by 10 folds from ₹20,058 crore to ₹2,00,501 crore, of which capital outlay enlarged 24 times. The developmental expenditure has also increased by 15 times during 2004-20. These efforts created multiplier and accelerator effect in the state economy. The other social parameters have also recorded an improved in the area of literacy rate (47 per cent in 2001 to 62 per cent in 2011) and decline in poverty ratio (54.4 in 2004-05 to 33.7 in 2011-12) in a big way. However, urbanisation was very low (11.3 per cent) in 2011 and private investment is a matter of worry.

CONCLUSION AND POLICY SUGGESTIONS

Bihar has a glorious past but lost its glory during medieval and colonial period. After independence, the development of Bihar has been neglected by all stakeholders including central and state governments, whatever was the reasons. But till 1991, the economy of Bihar was not as bad shape as it was around 2001 compared to the national average. Bihar economy contributed 4.13 per cent to the national GDP in 1991, which were substantially declined to reach the minimum level of 2.89 per cent in 2000-01. The per capita income of the state were more than 60 per cent to the national per capita income in 1991, which fallen to 35 per cent in 2004. During this period, the debt outstanding were as high as 60 per cent of the GSDP. The physical and social infrastructure were inadequate in any standard. Credit-deposit-ratio was at the lowest point of only 20.7 per cent. Industries sectors recorded negative growth rates. These adverse socio-economic conditions led to change the government in 2005. The new government took 'development with justice' as a resolution. There were many strong policy initiatives taken to

strengthen public finance management and administration. Women are focused for empowerment, socially and financially. Agriculture sectors were given support through a road map, industrial sectors were attracted through the implementation of new Industrial Policy in 2011 and then in 2016. Further, the services sectors also improved as evident from the service sectors contributed highest share of 61 per cent in the economy. The much-needed infrastructure, both social and physical, has been created in a massive manner. The secondary (industries) sector is leading the growth with 13.2 per cent followed by 10.0 per cent in tertiary (service) sector and 4.1 per cent in primary (agriculture) sector resulting in 8.9 per cent growth of the economy as a whole during 2001-02 to 2014-15. The pace of growth is much faster (over 10 per cent) after 2005-06. This escalating pattern directs the transition of the economy from agriculture (primary) and industries (secondary) sectors to the service (tertiary) sector. This growth drivers and determinants also support to betterment of the socio-economic indicators of the state.

As a result, the improvement has been recorded in the socio-economic parameters. Literacy rate of Bihar has increased in a big way from 47 per cent in 2001 to 62 per cent in 2011(highest increase in the country), PCI reached to ₹33,501 (2018-19) from ₹7,712 (2001-02) and poverty ratio went down from 54.4 per cent in 2004-05 to 33.7 per cent in 2011-12 (highest decline in the country) indicated that this growth is inclusive. However, urbanisation was very low 11.3 per cent (2011) with low industrial share. Thus, agricultural product and cost-effective labour should be utilised for industrial use. Further, Bihar needs urbanisation and local private investment especially in agriculture related industries for sustainable and inclusive development. The small share of industries sector is a matter of concern.

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EXPLORING ADMINISTRATIVE ACCOUNTABILITY

Kumari Saroj*

Abstract

Accountability is the core characteristic of a democratic system. In contemporary democracies, ensuring accountability of ever-expanding apparatus of public administration without adversely affecting its efficiency and effectiveness has emerged as an onerous task. Earlier, Alexander Hamilton and Woodrow Wilson had stressed the need of such control. Carl J. Friedrich and Herman Finer were engaged in fierce debate over it during 1930s-40s. Contemporary scholars Barbara Romzek and Melvin Dubnick provide a framework for analysing accountability. The legislatures have devised various channels to exercise control. But growing scope and complexity of governance made securing accountability increasingly difficult that led to the adoption of departmentally related standing committees (DRSCs) in India. Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Italy were having parliamentary committees attached to various government departments. In United States of America, there are Congressional committees wielding enormous powers. Question arises as to whether DRSCs in India have turned to be a meaningful and effective mechanism. Whether the dilemma of vesting power sufficient to the purposes in view and maintaining adequate control is resolved through the system of DRSCs? It also seeks to explore as to whether the purposive, rational and effective functionalism on the part of DRSCs makes parliamentary control viable and real. The article also seeks to explore whether the tension between democratic governance and administrative effectiveness could be resolved. Both the ecological and structural functional aspects of the issue have sought to be analytically approached. It is argued that with extended the range – depth and breadth – of parliamentary scrutiny, DRSCs constituted a significant improvement in existing

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mechanisms of parliamentary control over administration in India. DRSCs have the potentiality to make parliamentary control operationally purposive.

Keywords: Democratic Governance, Administrative Accountability, Parliamentary Control, Committee System

INTRODUCTION

Democracy implies accountability of government. Democratic theory in the past implied that since power emanates from the people and is to be exercised in trust for the people. Each level of executive authority should be accountable to the next higher rung, right up to the top of the hierarchy. The executive authority as a whole is supposed to be accountable to the legislature and, thus, to the people. The most challenging issue today is not only the accountability of public administration per se, but also the ways it could be made responsible and responsive.[1] Central to the study of public administration is the tension between democratic governance and bureaucratic effectiveness. Alexander Hamilton in the Federalist papers said, "Running the nation requires an administration with large powers and unhampered discretion, yet susceptible to serious public criticism."[2] One of the fundamental questions is how to make the power exercised by career bureaucrats consistent with democratic governance. It is assumed that modern government needs the expert and efficient action that bureaucracy makes possible. The question arises as to how the bureaucracy could be made answerable to the people. The sharp conflict of views on responsibility expressed by Carl J. Friedrich and Herman Finer resulted from basically different interpretations of the nature and purposes of democratic governments. Friedrich assumed certain values in his discussion on bureaucrat's "inner check" as an instrument of control. Finer did not find these values compatible with the democratic faith.[3] Robert Dahl emphasised that the relation of public administration to its peculiar environment can not altogether be ignored, which later generated a trend under the auspices of the Comparative Administration Group.

HISTORICAL-PHILOSOPHICAL OVERVIEW

Classical Tradition

Historically, the Classical Democracy in Athens had an Assembly that was too large a body to prepare its own agenda, to draft legislation and to be a focal point for the reception of new political initiatives and proposals. A council of 500 took responsibility for organising and proposing public decisions, it was aided, in turn, by a more streamlined committee of 50, which served for one month, with a president

at its head, who could only hold office for one day, these committees functioned. While courts were organised on a similar basis to the Assembly, the executive functions of the city were carried by 'magistrates'. Although their own power was diffused by ensuring that even these posts were held by a board of ten. Nearly all such 'officials' were elected for a period of one year – with service typically restricted to two occasions in a lifetime. Further, in order to avoid the dangers of autocratic politics or clientele politics associated with direct elections, a variety of methods of election was deployed to preserve the accountability of political administrators, including the rotation of tasks, sorting or lot and direct election.[4] Striking political accountability was established in Athens. It involved direct involvement of citizens in the actual process of public decision making.[5] However, Plato was critical of Athenian democracy.

For Hegel, the most important institution of the state was the bureaucracy, an organisation in which all particular interests are subordinated to a system of hierarchy, specialization, and expertise on the one hand and internal and external pressures for competence and impartiality on the other.[6] Marx opined that Hegel failed to challenge the self image of the state and in particular, of the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy is the 'state's consciousness'. In marked contrast to Hegel and John Stuart Mill; Marx described the bureaucracy as 'a particular closed society within the state' which extends its power or capacity through secrecy and mystery. Marx views the bureaucracy as asserting itself to be the final end of the state.[7]

Weberian Construction

Max Weber was critical of democracy terming it competitive elitism.[8] Weber referred to modern representative democracy as 'Plebiscitary leadership democracy'. The growth of the party system is directly related to the erosion of parliamentary influence. In his famous essay, 'Politics as a vocation', Weber referred to the 'emotionality' of the masses, which was not a proper basis for understanding and judging public affairs. A critical question for Weber was how bureaucratic power could be checked. He was convinced that in the absence of checks, public organisation would fall prey to overzealous officials or powerful private interests. Weber believed that the capitalist development, parliamentary government and the party system provided that best obstacle to the usurpation of state power by officials. Weber was concerned to understand and to find ways of ensuring, an effective balance between political authority, skilled leadership, efficient administration and a degree of political accountability.[9] While formally parliament is the only legitimate body where law and national policy can be framed, in practice, party politics is uppermost.[10]

Contemporary Perspective

Schumpeter held that neither socialism nor democracy is threatened by bureaucracy; on the contrary, the latter is an inevitable complement to both.[11] He advances a set of conditions for the satisfactory working of democracy that include – a well trained independent bureaucracy of good standing and tradition must exist to aid politicians on all aspect of policy formulation and administration. One of the key features of competitive elitist democracy drawn from both Weber's and Schumpeter's views is that the bureaucracy is an independent well-trained administration. 20th century Marxists-Libertarians like Mattick, Pluralists like Poulantzas and also orthodox Marxists Leninists regard accountability as an essential element of democracy. It exists in every variants of democracy: classical democracy, competitive elitism, cosmopolitan democracy, democratic autonomy or developmental systems.

DISCOURSES WITHIN THE DISCIPLINE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Finer-Friedrich debate provides a classical example of discourse within the discipline. Friedrich (1940) argued that professionalism would ensure bureaucratic responsibility. Professional administrators would have technical expertise and ingrained sense of public interest, both of which would discourage them from using their power irresponsibly. The anticipated disapprovals of professional colleagues and important stakeholders would act as an inner check to encourage accountability. This argument put a premium on professional training of public administrator which would socialise them into appropriate frame of mind as well as impart specific knowledge and skills.[12] Finer (1941) distrusted the idea. His position was that accountability/responsibility would never be adequate unless bureaucratic action was restricted to the specific term of applicable statutes and regulation and bureaucrats were punished if they stepped outside these boundaries.[13]

Arthur A. Maass and I. Laurence support Friedrich's idea that professionalism is an important check on the inappropriate use of bureaucratic power.[14] They assumed that constitutional government needs an efficient administration but must find ways to restrain it. They ask two basic questions: "for what are bureaucrats responsible?" and "To whom are bureaucrats responsible?" Administrative agencies are responsible both for formulating and executing policy. They dismiss the idea that administrative agencies should have to answer directly to the people at large. However, they defend accountability to pressure groups, on the grounds that such groups represent important interests, are sources of knowledge necessary to the successful accomplishment of government mandates, and provide crucial political support for programmes.

Barbara S. Romzek and Melvin J. Dubnick emphasise that equating accountability with the simple answerability is too narrow. In practice, accountability also involves a more complex and less formalised effort to manage expectations inside and outside agency. Attempts to manage political and bureaucratic expectations may interfere with professional accountability.[15] Camilla Stivers takes a somewhat different view of responsiveness. While professional norms that rely for accountability on the bureaucrat's "inner check" are obviously important, responsiveness implies more than inappropriate bias or political influence.[16]

Many fear that legislatures are losing power because of the compelling necessity to delegate to administrators broad discretion in the initiation and execution of public policy. There is no reason; however, why delegation of power necessarily result in loss of power provided the legislature devices techniques for holding the administration responsible for the exercise of its discretion. Departmentally Related Standing Committees (DRSCs) of the Parliament of India may be viewed in this context. Maass and Radway hold that the criterion of responsibility is the willingness and ability of an agency to provide the committees with a complete, accurate and clear record of its activities. Further, the accounts of the ministries, departments and other administrative agencies are regularly audited by an independent instrumentality of the legislature. The Comptroller and Auditor General is a constitutional functionary in India that reports to the parliament.

Romzek and Dubnick say that accountability is an underdeveloped concept in Public Administration. Public administrators are accountable to the extent they are required to answer for their action. They put forward an alternative perspective. Accountability plays a greater role than indicated by the idea of answerability. Answerability involves limited, direct and mostly formalistic responses; while accountability involves the means by which public administration manage the diverse expectations generated within and outside the organisation.[17]

Direct and Indirect Responsibility

There are conflicting views on the matter. The advocates of direct responsibility point out that the legislature creates, defines the power of, and appropriates the money for each administrative agency. Many agencies also exercise sub-legislative and quasi-judicial functions which should be supervised by legislatures and courts respectively. In a presidential form of government where a chief executive's continuance does not require commanding the confidence of the legislature; administrative agency must remain directly responsible to the legislature. Advocates of indirect responsibility argue that it is of supreme importance to focus responsibility sharply. If the legislature attempts to hold each agency directly accountable, responsibility for the coordinated conduct of government programmes in broad areas of public policy will become too diffused to the made effective.[18]

Dwight Waldo argued that the tension between democracy and efficiency was the central question that was fated never to be resolved, since administrators are required not only to try to conduct their work as efficiently and effectively as possible but also to try to be consistent with democratic values.[19] The idea of "most efficient" and "most effective" practice suggests that administrators, at least overtime can figure out the best way to practice. Yet ideas of democratic administration suggests that, since citizens and their representatives are rarely unanimous about governmental purposes and practices, the single- minded search for a best way is both inappropriate and doomed to failure. Camilla Strivers concurs with Waldo as most administrative actions have political implications, because of the power administrators' exercise when they make decisions. Thus no matter how hard they search for a best way, their actions will raise debatable political questions. Thus, Strivers considers administrative accountability essential for democratic administration.

The rationale for public administration in modern times lies in the prime importance of procedural machinery in effectuating the ends of government; while the necessity for gearing administrative machinery to the basic philosophy of the state brings in control mechanism. Barry D. Karl observes that the American people see bureaucracy as an inhibiting force blocking their access to political power, so their hostility to bureaucracy stems partly from this fact.[20] David M Levitan observes that administrative authoritarianism, officiousness and arbitrariness are much more serious threats to the rights and liberties of the individual than arbitrary legislation. He emphasises that control is needed.[21] German historian, Niebuhr states "liberty depends in comparably more upon administration that constitution"

Arguing against control Francis E. Rourke said that pressures from political executive and legislature for greater political responsiveness on the part of public administration have had pernicious results. It diminishes long standing faith in bureaucrat's neutral competence and undermined the legitimacy of bureaucratic participation in national policy making.[22]

Accountability Perspective

Administrators and agencies are accountable to the extents they are required to answer for their actions. Beyond the basic notion of answerability there has been little refinement of the term, say Romzek and Dubnik.[23] They classify accountability systems in terms of source and degree of control. Bureaucratic and professional controls are internal, while legal and political controls are external. However, bureaucratic and legal mechanisms have high degree of control, while professional and political mechanisms have low degree of control. In policy making terms, the outsider is the *"lawmaker"* while the public administrator has the role of *"executer"*.

Viewed as a strategy for managing expectations, administrative accountability takes a variety of forms. The focus is on four alternative systems of public accountability, each based on variation involving two critical factors: (i) Whether the ability to define and control expectations is held by some specified entity inside or outside the agency, and (ii) The degree of control that entity is given over defining those agencies expectations. The interplay of these two dimensions generates the four types of Accountability systems illustrated by Romzek and Dubnick.

Bureaucratic Accountability: Under the Bureaucratic Accountability systems, the expectations of public administrators are managed through focusing attention on the priorities of those at the top of the bureaucratic hierarchy. At the same time, supervisory control is applied intensively to a wide range of activities. The functioning of a bureaucratic accountability system involves two simple ingredients**:** an organized and legitimate relationship between a superior and a subordinate in which the need to follow "orders" is unquestioned**;** and close supervision or a system of standard operating procedures or clearly stated rules and regulations.

Legal Accountability: In legal accountability, the relationship is between two relatively anonymous parties. For example, Parliament passes laws and monitors central government agency's implementation of those laws,;the Supreme Court or a High court passes any order and oversees its implementation, as are the case with most of the Public Interest Litigations (PILs) these days. Legal accountability involves the frequent application of control to a wide range of administrative activities. The judiciary is in a position to impose legal sanctions or assert formal obligations. In each case, the administrative agencies are legally or contractually obliged to carry out their duties and the enforcement of such obligation are very different from those found in situation where bureaucratic accountability systems are applied.

Professional Accountability: Professional accountability occurs with greater frequency as governments deal increasingly with technically difficult and complex problems. Under those circumstances, public officials must rely on skilled and expert employees to provide appropriate solution. Those employees are expected to be held fully accountable for their actions. The key to professional expertise system is deference to expertise. Unlike a bureaucratic accountability system, here the central relationship is similar to that found between a layperson and an expert. Carl J. Friedrich (1940) has made an excellent theoretical treatment of the professional accountability system.[24]

Political Accountability: Political accountability is central to democracy. If 'deference' characterises professional accountability, "responsiveness" characterises it. Earlier, Finer[25] and Paul Appleby[26] gave excellent theoretical treatment to this concept. And later on Emmette S. Redford[27] also added a theoretical context. The key relationship under these systems resembles that between a principal and agent.

Under political accountability, the primary question becomes "whom does the public administrator represent?" The potential constituencies include the general public, elected representatives, organisational heads, organisations' clientele, other special interest groups, and future generations. Regardless of which definition is adopted, the administrator is expected to be responsive to their policy priorities and programmatic needs. While political accountability system might seem to promote favouritisms and even corruption in the administration of government programmes; they also serve as the basis of a more open and representative government. The urge for political accountability, for example, is reflected in open meetings of Gram Sabhas. Right to Information can be put under political accountability.

The principal features of the four general types of accountability systems were summarised in a table by Romzek and Dubnick.

Table 1: Relationship within Accountability Systems

S. No.	*Types of Accountability System*	*Analogous Relationship (Controller/Administrator*	*Basis of Relationship*
1.	Bureaucratic	Superior/subordinate	Supervision
2.	Legal	Law maker/Law executer Principal/agent	Fiduciary
3.	Professional	Lay person/expert	Deference to expertise
4.	Political	Constituent/representative	Responsiveness to constituents

(*Source:* Romzek and Dubnick, Camilla Stivers (ed.), p. 188)

Then the question arises as to what determines the preference for one accountability approach over others in any particular situation. James D. Thompson[28] suggested that the appropriateness of a specific accountability system is linked to three factors: (a) the nature of the agency's task or technical level accountability, (b) the management strategy adopted by agency heads or management level accountability and (c) institutional context of agency operations or institutional level accountability.

Ideally accountability mechanisms could be established that "fit" at all three levels simultaneously as all four accountability types offer potentially legitimate means. No single type of accountability system is inherently more acceptable or legitimate than another. At least theoretically, it is possible for different accountability mechanisms to operate within one agency at different levels. However, in practice, the appropriateness of accountability mechanisms may be more closely tied to specific tasks or the strategic orientations or idiosyncrasies of individual administrators. For example, a professional accountability mechanism may be in operation at the technical level of an organisation while a legal accountability mechanism may be used to manage external expectations at the institutional level. In reality most public

agency tend to adapt to or have more types of accountability systems at any time depending on the nature of existing institutional environmental condition as well as their technical tasks and management orientation. Institutional pressures generated by political system are often the silent factors and frequently take precedence over technical and managerial considerations. Romzek and Dubnick observe that the challenge of managing expectations changes as institutional condition change. If the environmental changes are drastic enough they may trigger a different type of accountability system, one which attempts to reflect that new institutional condition.[29]

Power of an administrative system in a democratic society requires control, and greater the power the more need for control. How to rest power sufficient to the purposes in view and maintain adequate controls without crippling authority is one of the historic dilemmas of popular government, opined L.D. White.[30] The usurpation of power and authority by executive at the cost of the legislature is a worldwide phenomenon that increasingly necessitates development of adequate and effective mechanisms of parliamentary control.

INDIAN CONTEXT

An overview of the genesis of the parliamentary system clearly demonstrates the gradual process by which the legislature asserted its authority. The creation of Departmentally Related standing Committees (DRSCs) was an innovative step directed towards such an adaptation in the Indian context. Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Italy were having parliamentary committees attached to various government departments. In United States of America, there are Congressional committees wielding enormous powers.[31] The Indian Parliament in 1993 initiated establishment of DRSCs. The introductions of DRSCs made the administration directly responsible. Initially, 17 such committees were formed; later their number was raised to 24. The DRSCs became concerned with the following functions for the concerned ministries – drafting of legislation, annual budget and programmes, investigation and audit of accounts.[32] It was felt that the "The devices for ensuring administrative control which aim at bureaucracy have not been sufficiently focused on. Regular recurrences and ever changing patterns of bureaucratic neglect have sadly undetermined legislative control over the bureaucracy."[33]

A perusal of the Committee Reports shows that time and again mention is made of the fact that the recommendations made in the previous reports have not been implemented or taken seriously by the bureaucracy. When the committee recommendations require the bureaucracy to conclude to issuing a circular, a memo or holding out an assurance that care would be taken to ensure that lapses would not recur, they are readily accepted. However, if the committee demands stringiest action against those responsible for an irregularity, change in procedures,

or adopting new methods; the bureaucracy usually adopts a lukewarm attitude.[34] If the recommendations of these Committees were sought to be consigned to oblivious on account of official apathy, it would negate the very concept of executive accountability to the Legislature.[35]

In the pre-1993, scenario, parliamentary control over administration in India had increasingly taken the form of *ex post facto* supervision and control; its main instruments were: (i) Parliamentary questions, (ii) Motions for Adjournment, (iii) Debates and Discussions, (iv) Parliamentary Committees such as Public Accounts Committee, Estimates Committee and Committee on Public undertakings, and (v) Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG). The system of political control over bureaucracy that operated in India mainly followed the traditional model, where citizens control their representatives in the legislature (Lok Sabha and State Vidhan Sabhas) and the representatives are supposed to control cabinet and the ministers and through them the public servants.[36] Presently the above mentioned pre-1993 mechanism of parliamentary control co-exists with the DRSCs.

In order to make parliamentary control operationally more purposive and providing adequate devices to ensure effective control, a few suggestions are worth consideration. These may contribute in deepening of accountability and a widening of the public policy debate. First of all, unanimous report of the Committees must be treated as binding on the government. And only the Houses, through resolutions moved by the minister and ratified by both the Houses after due deliberation and reply of the minister, could grant exception. For this, concerned rules would have to be amended after achieving broad consensus across party spectrum. Second, the two Houses could set aside time to specifically discuss the pace of implementation of the committees' recommendations. During these discussions, ministers could inform the Houses of the steps taken in their respective ministries, to give effect to the recommendations made by the Committees. Third, the secretarial and research assistance available to the committees needs to be strengthened. Specialists from the concerned fields could be associated with the Committees in an advisory capacity. And fourthly, the pattern of open Committee meetings prevalent in Britain, Australia and Canada may also be adopted later on. The existing system of in camera committee meetings has certain benefits. It provides a relaxed and informal atmosphere. And the nature of committee proceedings is confidential. So implementation of the first three suggestions is imperative and the fourth may wait. Thus the scheme of DRSCs has a good beginning. The scheme extended the range and breadth of parliamentary scrutiny. They play positive role in strengthening the parliamentary oversight and control mechanism.

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FDI INFLOW TO INDIA: AN EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATION

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Abstract

Formulating policies to attract foreign investors always had been the prime focus of policymakers across the globe. Prior studies have focused mainly on the examining the linkage between FDI and economic growth and other macro-economic variables. To the best of the knowledge, very few studies have focused on analyzing the pattern of FDI investments in emerging economies. In other words, this study addresses the following questions (i) which are the investing countries, (ii) what is their preferred entry mode? (iii) where are they investing? We believe that the findings of the study shall be of use to policy makers and economists to formulate appropriate strategies.

Keywords: Liberalization, FDI, Foreign Policy, Multinational Corporations

INTRODUCTION

Internationalization has enabled the foreign entities to invest their funds on a global level. Past research shows that cross border investment has a positive impact on the economy. Firms have access to low cost capital, transfer of technology and know-how, attracting global talents and best practices (Ramakrishna, 2011). However,liberalization does not mean '*laissez-faire*' policy. It simply refers to establish a free market economy having fewer controls and regulations by the policy makers. With the passage of time, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) has assumed a

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great importance. Moreover, attracting FDI's has become a matter of prime concern for the policymakers of most of the countries around the world.

Prior studies in this area have examined the relationship between FDI, economic growth and other macro-economic variables.However, very few studies have addressed the changing pattern of FDI in terms of entry route wise, investing country-wise, and sector-wise. To the best of the knowledge, no studies have examined the changing pattern of FDI in emerging economies. Precisely this study addresses the following research questions (i) investing countries (which?), (ii) mode of entry (how?), and (iii) the sectoral investment (where?).

We believe that the findings of the study shall be of use to policy makers and economists to formulate appropriate strategies. The information about the changing pattern of FDI in various sectors andthe economy also shall have significant policy implications.

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

For the last three decades, FDI's has played an important role in the regional integration of global economy. This had a strong impact on the economic growth, foreign trade as well as production structures all over the world. FDI has been defined by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as an international investment that represents 'the objective of a resident entity in one economy obtaining a lasting interest in an enterprise resident in another economy (IMF, 1993, p. 93). According to World Bank (2019), FDI has been defined as "sum of equity capital, reinvestment of earnings, other long-term capital, and short-term capital as shown in the balance of payments".

In summary, it can be stated that FDI[1] is an investment made by a company or individual in one country in business interests in another country. This can be in the form of either establishing business operations or acquiring business assets in the other country, such as ownership or controlling interest in a foreign company. FDIs are distinguished from portfolio investments. The key distinction is FDI establishes either an effective control or at least have a substantial influence over, the decision making of a foreign business. On the other hand, portfolio investments are confined to the purchasing of equities of foreign-based companies. In a globally competitive market, multi-nationals invest a great deal of time and money in research to evaluate the best investment options. Depending upon the

1. It has three components, i.e. (i) equity capital, (ii) reinvested earnings, and (iii) intra company loans. Equity capital comprises of the shares of companies in countries foreign to that of the investor. Reinvested earnings include the earnings not distributed to shareholders but reinvested into the company. Intercompany loans relate to financial transactions between a parent company and its affiliates.

project's aims and need, investors adopt two different FDI strategies. They are: (i) greenfield sites[2] and (ii) brownfield[3] redevelopment sites.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Till 1960's FDI has been explained as a theory of movement of capital (Iversen, 1935; Aliber, 1971). Hymer (1960) viewed FDI as a medium to transfer knowledge, technical know-how and other assets to set up the production process in the host country. However, such transfers were devoid of ownership rights. While Vernon (1966) used product life cycle theory to state that firms used FDI as a medium to expand their product reach, which had been matured in their home country. A few studies stated FDI as a means of utilizing the ownership advantages (Caves, 1971 and Dunning, 1985), a few others argued FDI as a way of diversification of risk (Rugman, 1979) and knowledge transfer (Kogut, 1983).

The Ownership, location and internalization (OLI) framework proposed by Dunning (1981,1993) helps to analyze why, and where, multinationals would like to invest. While the Upsaala model explains the investment pattern of multinationals (Johanson and Vahlne, 1997). The model posits that multinationals start expanding their base with small investments. Furthermore, these firms prefer to invest in countries which are geographically as well as culturally closer. However, as time passes by, with more experience, these firms prefer to invest in large volumes and that too in countries distant on both aspects.

Another strand of theories explains the changing pattern of ownership advantages, and how multinationals route it through FDIs. They are: (i) the resource-based approach (Conner, 1991; Wernerfelt, 1984), (ii) the evolutionary perspective (Nelson and Winter, 1982; Teece et al., 1997) and the organizational management approach (Prahalad and Doz, 1987; Bartlett and Ghoshal, 1989; and Sethi and Guisinger, 2002).In short, all these theories are suggesting thatfirm's knowledge and skill have a lot to do with the ownership advantage, and it takes time. Multinationals being capable of managing complex organizational structures, sustain these benefits by leveraging on their global investments.

2. Companies go for greenfield site investments when they choose to start and establish their operations in a foreign country from the scratch. In other words, the operations are completely customized from the beginning. Emerging economies often attract multinationals to set up their greenfield investments by offering various benefits and incentives. Some of these include tax breaks, subsidies, preferential rates for import/export etc. Only those firms who wish to have better control and a higher level of customization, prefer to go for greenfield investments.
3. When a company chooses to purchase a existing business and/or facility in a foreign market, this is called brownfield investment. Firms who would like to focus on reengineering the structure and/or process and skip some of the initial paperwork and regulatory requirements shall be in support of brownfield investments.

Many studies have examined the determinants of FDI, which are based in ownership advantages. A few studies have reported a relationship between FDI and technology (Lall, 1980), size of the firm (Li and Guisinger, 1992), capital (Pugel, 1981) and product differentiation (Caves, 1971). All these studies provide the rationale for FDI and their mode of operations. However, only a handful of studies are providing the variations in investments. Particularly, studies explaining the country wise, route wise and sector wise in the context of an emerging economy is very less. It is the aspect which this study explores further.

METHODOLOGY

We have used descriptive statistics and looked the trends and patters of FDI inflow in India. These include percentages, annual growth rates as well as compounded annual growth rates (CAGR). The data from 2000 to 2017 on the variables are sourced from reliable secondary sources. These include reports of India Brand Equity Foundation (IBEF), Department of Industrial Policy and Promotion (DIPP) and bulletins and fact sheets of Reserve Bank of India (RBI).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

As mentioned earlier, the findings on the three questions are discussed below.

Which all Countries have Contributed The Most?

For analysing the country-wise investment, top seven countries contribution during the last two decades (approx) has been accounted (Figure 1). On analysing it is found that 34% of the total FDI inflows is from Mauritius, while Germany had the lowest contribution accounting to 3%. The second biggest contributor is singapore and has a share of 17% of the FDI inflows. The third and fourth positions are Japan and United kingdom with a contribuition of 7.6% and 7.2% respectively. As compared to United States, the contribuition made by Netherlands seems to be marginaly higher.

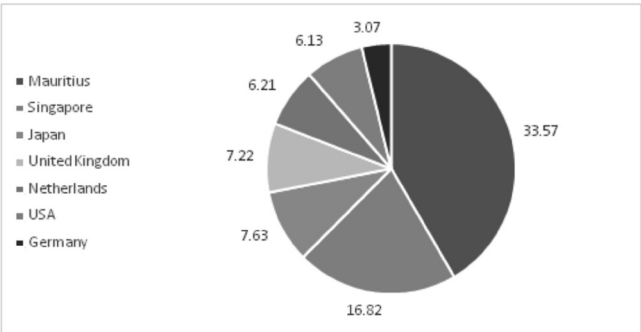

Figure 1: Country-wise FDI inflow

Source: Various issues of RBI Bulletin.

How Foreign Countries have Routed their Investments in Emerging Economy?

For this study, going by the information from the RBI bulletin the FDI can be routed via three sources viz; Equity (FIPB & Unincorporated bodies), Reinvested earnings, other capital. For examining the trend of route-wise FDI inflow percentage analysis is used. The results are given below.

Equity via FIPB route

On analysis it is found that the FDI inflow via FIPB route has registered a compounded annual rate of 19% (Figure 5.2). Further it is also seen that there has been a surge in the FDI inflow since 2007. One of the reasons for this spike could be the overall economic slowdown wherein India was the least effected economy. Post 2013, average FDI seem to be on the rise. One of the reasons could be the ability of the host country to attract FDI inflows. On an average FDI inflow seem to consistent from 2014-2017. Our findings seem to corroborate with the FDI index.[4]

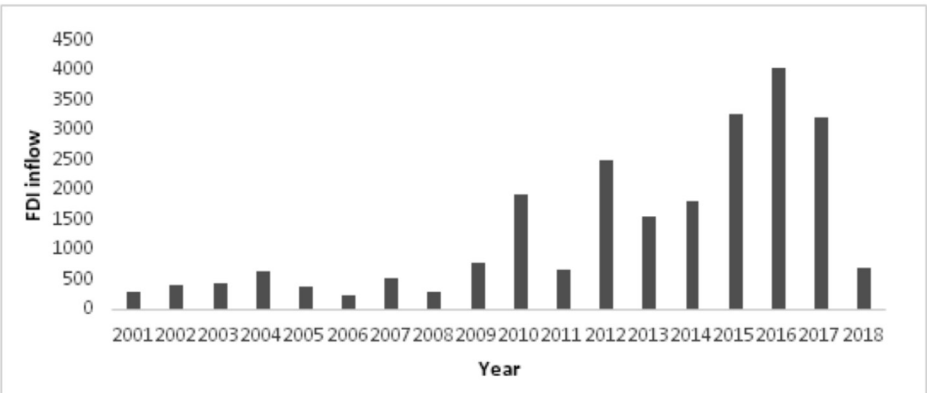

Figure 2: FDI equity inflows via FIPB route

Source: Various issues of RBI Bulletin.

Equity via Unincorporated Bodies

On analysis it is found that the FDI inflow via unincorporated bodies has registered a CAGR of 19% (Figure 3). It is also seen that there has been a sudden rise (15 times) in the FDI inflow during the period 2005. On the contrary 2009 witnessed the lowest YoY growth rate (–69%) as far as equity inflow is concerned.

4. This index is prepared by OECD. It gauges the investment climate (extent of restrictiveness or FDI restrictions) of a country. During the period 2006-2012, the average value was 0.280, whereas from 2013-2017, the average has come down to 0.236, thus hinting lowering the restrictions. (OECD). Data for the same has not be provided, same shall be made available on request.

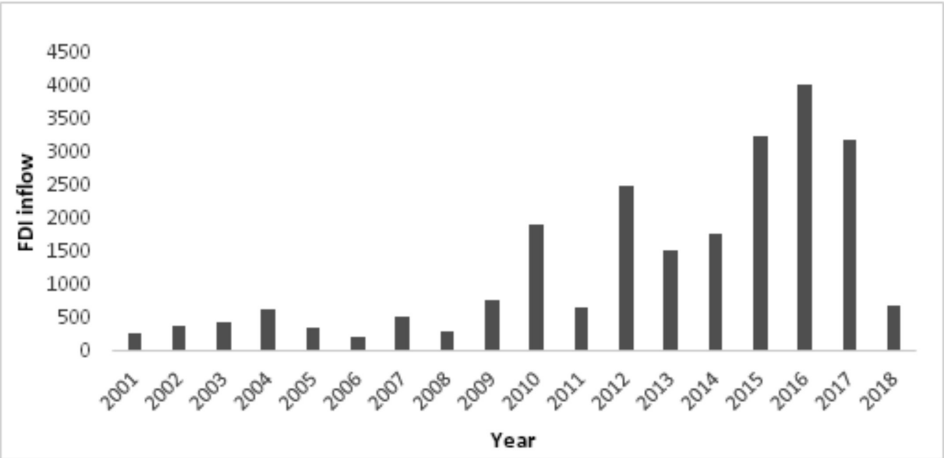

Figure 3: FDI equity inflows via unincorporated bodies

Source: Various issues of RBI Bulletin.

Reinvested Earning

On analysis it is found that the FDI inflow via FIPB route has registered a compounded annual rate of 14% (Figure 4). It is also seen that there is a high growth (111%) of FDI's via reinvested earning in the year 2007. While 2012 witnessed the lowest YoY growth rate (–31%) as far as equity inflow is concerned.

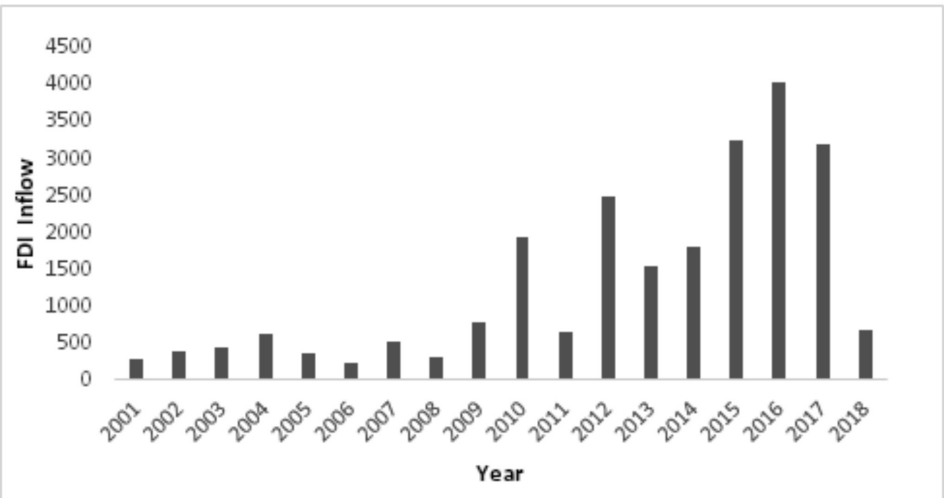

Figure 4: FDI inflows via reinvested earning

Source: Various issues of RBI Bulletin.

Other Capital

On analysis it is found that the FDI inflow via other capital has registered a compounded annual rate of 14% (Figure 5). Further it is also seen that there has been a sudden rise 2012 in the FDI inflow via other capital. However, the previous year (2011) had witnessed the lowest growth rate as far as FDI inflow is concerned.

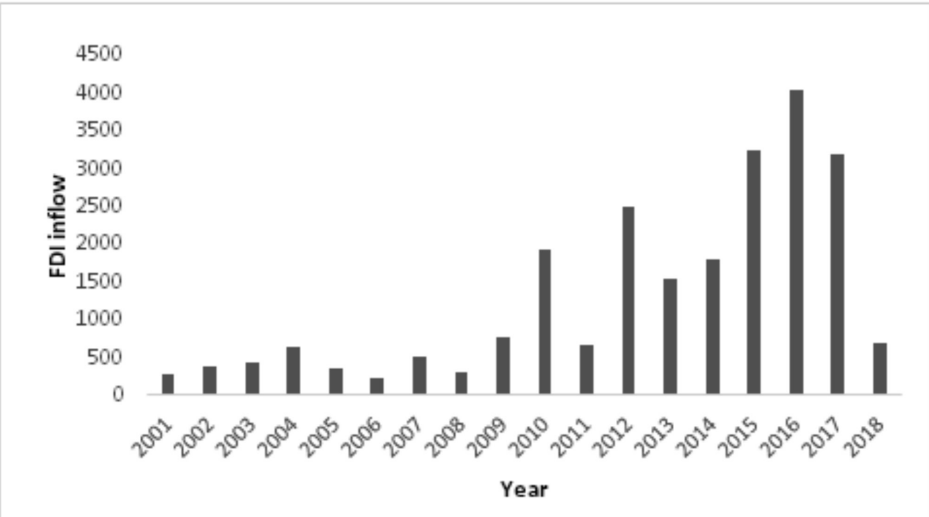

Figure 5: FDI Inflows via Other Capital

Source: Various issues of RBI Bulletin.

Which is the Preferred Route for Foreign Investors?

Even though, the route-wise FDI inflow to India during the period has been discussed in detail. It's also important to know as to know the preferred mode of investment. The result is reported below (Table 1). Across the period it is evident that equity via FIPB route seems to be the major contributor in the FDI inflows to the Indian economy. Further the proportion of equity via FIPB route over the period also has increased from 58% in 2001 to 72% in 2018. On the other hand, the equity inflow via unincorporated bodies is the least.

Table 1: Route-wise FDI inflow

Year	*(i)*	*(ii)*	*(iii)*	*(iv)*	*(v)*
2001	58%	2%	33%	7%	100%
2002	64%	3%	27%	6%	100%
2003	51%	4%	36%	9%	100%
2004	51%	1%	34%	14%	100%
2005	54%	9%	31%	6%	100%

Year	*(i)*	*(ii)*	*(iii)*	*(iv)*	*(v)*
2006	62%	5%	30%	3%	100%
2007	68%	4%	26%	2%	100%
2008	71%	7%	21%	1%	100%
2009	75%	2%	21%	2%	100%
2010	68%	4%	23%	5%	100%
2011	61%	3%	34%	2%	100%
2012	75%	2%	18%	5%	100%
2013	64%	3%	29%	4%	100%
2014	67%	3%	25%	5%	100%
2015	69%	2%	22%	7%	100%
2016	72%	2%	19%	7%	100%
2017	72%	2%	21%	5%	100%
2018	72%	2%	21%	5%	100%

Where (i) is the Equity investment via FIPB route, (ii) Equity investment- Unincorporated bodies, (iii) Reinvested earnings, (iv) Other capital.

Source: Various issues of RBI Bulletin.

Where are the Foreign Funds Invested?

The summary of sector-wise investment is reported (Figure 6). The results indicate that out of the ten sectors, 18% of the inflows are mainly into service industry. Service sector includes Financial, Banking, Insurance, Business, Outsourcing, R&D, Courier, Technology. Testing& Analysis. On the other-hand Hotel & Tourism sector witnessed only 3% of FDI investment during the period. One of the striking features is that out of ten sectors, during the last two consecutive years (2015-17), only four sectors seem to have had an incremental investment in the FDI inflows. These sectors include (i) Service sector, (ii) Telecommunications, (iii) Drugs & Pharmaceuticals and (iv) Power. While as for the remaining sectors, the FDI inflow trend is negative. These include (i) Computer Software & Hardware, (ii) Construction development, (iii) Automobile industry, (iv) Trading, (v) Chemicals and (vi) Hotel & Tourism.

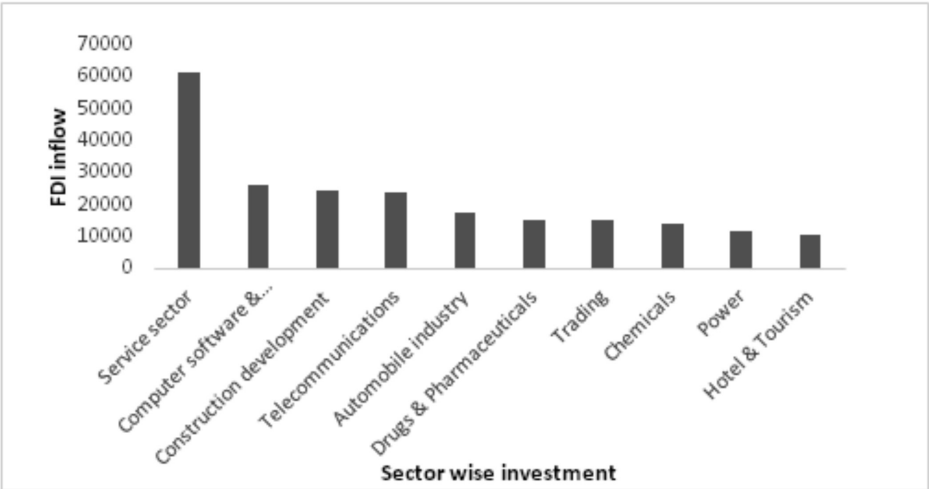

Figure 6: Sector-wise investment of FDI inflows

Source: Various issues of RBI Bulletin

Finally, given all these information, it would be intersting to perform an out of sample forecast of FDI Inflows for the next five years. For this the FDI inflows are regressed against the time trend (2001-17) and an out of sample forecast is performed for the next five years (2018-22). The results are reported below.

It is found that time seem to be a significant factor that influences the FDI inflow. The model also seem to be fit (F- value 23.63). The explanatory power of the model is 60%. Given the circumstances an out of sample forecast is performed and the results are reported in Table 2.

Table 2: Regression analysis

	Coefficient	*Std. error*	*t-ratio*	*p-value*
Constant	1678.65	6103.10	0.2750	0.7868
Time	2740.85	56.830	4.861	0.0002
F-value	23.63054 (Sig 0.000173)			
R-squared	0.596271			

Source: Author

The out of sample forecast for the next five years (2018-22) suggest the increasing trend as far as FDI inflow to India is concerned. The inflow is expected to grow at a rate of 4% during the next five years. The projections seem to be in line with the statement made by the present finance minister in her budget speech. Nirmala Sitharaman opined that '… India's FDI inflows in 2018-19 grew by 6 per cent to $64.37 billion…' (Bhatia, 2019).

POLICY INTERVENTIONS

The present Modi government has initiated a set of reforms to boost the India's image as a preferred invesmtent destination for foreign firms. These include the high profile 'Make in India' campaign, Goods and Services Tax (GST) reforms, Insolvency and Bankruptcy Code (IBC) and Demonatization. Further, the finance minister Nirmala Sitharaman in her budget speech also has expressed her views. She opined that 'I propose to further consolidate, the gains in order to make India more attractive FDI destination. The government will examine suggestions of further opening up of FDI in aviation, media, AVGC (Animation, Visual effects, Gaming and Comics) and insurance sector in consultation with stakeholders' (Bhatia, 2019).

Indian being an investment-driven economy, access to low-capital is a must, for which Foreign Institutional Investors (FIIs) and Foreign Portfolio investors (FPIs) can play a significant role. The present finance minister in her budget speech also pointed out that '…It is estimated that India requires investments averaging 20 lakh crores every year (USD 300 billion a year)' (Sitharaman, 2019 p. 7).

However, to attract the foreign investors, the process should be simple and safe. Moreover, there should attractive investment choices, whereby the FPI are able to allocate their funds to generate positive cash flows. As a solution, the present finance minister Nirmala Sitharaman opined that '…rationalize and streamline the existing Know Your Customer (KYC) norms for FPIs to make it more investor friendly…' (Sitharaman, 2019, p. 8). Similarly, to enhance the attractiveness of the cross-border flows, she proposed '… to increase the statutory limit for FPI investment in a company from 24% to sectoral foreign investment limit with option given to the concerned corporates to limit it to a lower threshold. FPIs will be permitted to subscribe to listed debt securities issued by ReITs[5] and InvITs[6]…' (Sitharaman, 2019 pp. 8 and 9).

To summarize, it is apparent from the that there are some factors which are restraining the FDI inflow to India. Further, various measures had been proposed by the policy makers too. However, the effect of such policy decision lies more in timely implimentation rather than formulation. Furthermore,prompt corrective actions should also be taken for removing the impediments faced by investors, thus creating a sustainable environement for investment.

CONCLUSION

The study examined the inflow of FDI to an emerging economy like India. Further, it also tries to address three questions with reference to the inflow of FDI viz., (i)

5. Real estate investment trusts
6. Infrastructure investment trusts

who, (ii) how, and (iii) where. The findings as well as the recent policy interventions aimed at promoting India as a attractive destination are summarized at the end of the paper.

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EMERGING TRENDS IN DECENTRALIZATION AND PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION IN THE EDUCATIONAL GOVERNANCE

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Abstract

The major concern of education policy reforms has always been to make the delivery of educational programmes more effective. Since schools are the ultimate delivery points in the overall educational management, administration of school education in India has undergone unprecedented changes. The direction of policy reforms in management of elementary education indicated enormous efforts towards the changes that have taken place from centralized control of education to decentralized participatory management of the local people. The decentralization of administration encourages people to participate in planning and decision-making process. The present article brings into light that enormous efforts have been made in the past to empower people and to decentralize educational administration at district, block and village levels. Keeping in view the emerging issues and challenges of educational administration, the study attempts to analyse the current and emerging trends in the decentralization and people's participation in the educational governance in different states of the country. The researcher has also made an effort to study the developmental course of community participation in educational governance in India.

Keywords: Decentralization; People's Participation; Elementary Education & Educational Governance

INTRODUCTION

School education system in India has expanded at a phenomenal rate during the post- independence period. The number of institutions has increased tremendously

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in the last few decades. There has been a considerable boost in the number of students and teachers in the educational system. The educational system has become complex due to the various governments' initiative of bringing about qualitative and quantitative improvement in the system. Supervising, monitoring and controlling the complex educational system by a centralized structure is not an easy task. Thus, to cope up with the complexities, decentralization of power is a desired change.

Hanson (1998) has defined decentralisation as the transfer of decision making authority, responsibility and task from higher to lower organizational levels or between organizations. According to Bray (1984) decentralization is the process in which subordinate levels of a hierarchy are authorized by a higher body to take decisions about the use of the organisation's resources. Thus, from the definitions it can be interpreted that transfer is being initiated by higher authorities to the lower bodies.

Decentralisation of authority means conscious effort to bring dispersal of decision making power to the lower levels of the organisation. In decentralisation, certain planning powers are reserved at the top level. Educational management system in India is decentralised in the Panchayati Raj Institutions with the assumption that local institutions and agencies can better understand local priorities, problems and their solutions. All the responsibilities of school management are devolved to these local bodies in decentralization of school governance. It is believed that effective school management is only possible through wider involvement and participation of the community. When people are entrusted with some power or given the decision making power, participation becomes the means of empowerment leading to effective management of a system entrusted with them.

Thus, decentralisation helps to improve the quality of decision-making since decisions do not have to be referred up through the hierarchy. Local level problems can be recognized without delay and immediate solution can be provided in their own way which might never have been understood by the authorities in the centre. Central and state government and their administrative mechanism aid in the terms of resources, monitor their management as well as provide technical support to local authorities. This increased capacity of decision making at the local level has been expected to improve the educational delivery system and its quality directly by increasing the amount of input and its quality in the schooling.

Thus, in order to suggest ways of implementing policies of education through decentralization of school management, the researcher has attempted to analyse the decentralization policies and practices from various angles. In this research article an attempt has been made to analyse the current and emerging trends in the Decentralization and people's participation in the educational governance in

terms of policy reforms and programme practices at central and state levels with the following objectives:

OBJECTIVES

1. To trace the developmental course of community participation in educational governance in India.
2. To analyse the current and emerging trends in the decentralization and people's participation in the educational governance in terms of policy reforms and programme practices at state levels.

Developmental Course of Community Participation in Educational Governance in India Contemporary discourse on education management in all countries assert to the need for shifting the educational governance from central to local needs. Decentralisation has a special significance in India as it advocates for a shift of decision-making centres closer to the people at the grassroots level catering to their needs. In the case of India, vastness of the country and the variations in natural resources endowment make it really difficult to evolve a common strategy of development to be decided at the central level. In case of decentralized management the flow becomes quicker and decision-making easier and more realistic. Since decentralization of administration encourages people to participate in planning and decision-making process, enormous efforts have been made in the past to empower people and to decentralize educational administration to district, block and village levels.

The participation of the community in the educational arena was negligible in the ancient period. In India, during the Vedic era education was almost teacher centred. The ancient Rishies played the key role in whom to teach, what to teach, and who to teach. The other influential components of the then society had almost little involvement in deciding the policy of education. The involvement of local bodies (Panchayati Raj Institutions and municipalities) in the management of education in India can be traced to as early as the second half of the 19th century as a consequence of Woods Despatch (1854) that directed the levy of local tax to forfeit the cost of maintaining schools. Several subsequent developments had taken place to begin the era of local self-government, including the historical resolution of Lord Ripon. The real architect of decentralisation can be attributed to Lord Ripon who in his famous resolution on local self-government on May 18, 1882, recognised the double considerations of local government: (i) administrative efficiency and (ii) political education. The Royal Commission on Decentralisation (1907) under the chairmanship of C.E.H. Hobhouse acknowledged the importance of panchayats at the village level.

The Montagu Chelmsford Reforms and subsequently the Government of India Act (1919) accelerated the process of transfer of power to local bodies. Exception to this process only was the Hartog Committee (1929) which suggested withdrawal of powers already delegated to local authorities as the Committee while reviewing the functioning of these bodies found that there is no positive impact on education management of these bodies.

However, India continuously strived to accelerate the process of development through active participation of people at the grassroots. In the Gandhian scheme of *education,* a school or any kind of educational setup was an integral part of the community. The post-independence years witnessed an altogether different phenomenon in this concern. With the governmentalisation of primary education, schools became totally alienated from the community they served (Govinda & Diwan, 2003).

The need for decentralization of management to attract community involvement at the grassroots level was first of all recommended by B.G. Kher Committee (1953). It recommended involvement of all types of local bodies to promote and manage education in the interest of mass education. Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) in the modern context started in 1959 as a sequel to Balwant Rai Mehta Committee report which recommended the establishment of an interconnected three-tier organizational structure of democratic decentralization at village, block and district levels The Mehta Committee report suggested that subjects like agriculture, animal husbandry, minor irrigation, handicrafts, primary education and other similar subjects should be transferred to Panchayat Samiti and state government would stop functioning in these areas.

A major breakthrough came with the formulation of National Policy on Education and Programme of Action, 1986 which lays down that "the local committees, through appropriate bodies will be assigned a major role in programmes of school improvement". As a consequence, several states adopted the system of Panchayati Raj in educational management. The introduction of Article 40 of the Constitution which states that "the State shall take steps to organize village panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government" was another breakthrough in this direction.

The 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Acts marked a new era in democratic decentralization in India. These Amendments envisaged strengthening local administration by devolution of power with the establishment of a three-tier system of Panchayats and municipalities at the village/town, intermediate and district levels in rural and urban areas respectively. The 73rd Amendment to the Constitution of India not only gives a Constitutional mandate to the Panchayats, it also provides the uniformity and formal structure to these traditional institutions of

self-governance necessary for effective functioning. These amendments enabled the states to create these bodies and entrust them with authority and resources, which they consider appropriate and adequate. The Eleventh Schedule to the Act which has a list of 29 items indicates that education, including primary and secondary schools, technical training, vocational education, adult education and non-formal education will be the responsibility of these institutions. Article 243G of the 11th Schedule recommends the delegation of authority related to education, including primary and secondary schools, technical training and vocational education, adult education and non-formal education and spread of literacy and cultural activities to the Panchayati Raj bodies.

Community participation was suggested by Kothari Education Commission (1964-66) as an important factor for fulfillment of constitutional directive of article 45 for providing free and compulsory elementary schooling to all the children between 6-14 years. Further, the Bongirwar Committee (1971) viewed education as an instrument of social change and stated that education cannot function in isolation form social forces.

In the opinion of Kumar(2015)**, c**ommunity participation was visualized as one of the basic components of all major UEE projects which were initiated in pursuance of NPE 1986 recommendations like Bihar Education Project, U.P. Basic Education Project, DPEP, Lok Jumbish (Rajasthan) etc. In DPEP, decentralization and community participation are being put into practice on a very large scale. Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) which is an elaborate nation-wide programme formulated by the GOI to universalize elementary education and also lays emphasis on community ownership of the school system.

The Central Advisory Board of Education (Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India) formed a Committee in February 1993, to formulate guidelines on decentralized management of education in the context of the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments. The committee recommended the setting up of Village Education Committees (VECs) and Panchayat Samiti on Education at the block level. The guiding principle behind this was that the development of rural areas can be best achieved by entrusting the local people with the responsibility of managing their own affairs.

The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2009 (RTE Act) was enacted to give effect to the Article 21A of the Indian Constitution which recognized a fundamental right of all children between the ages of 6 and 14 years to free and compulsory education. The RTE Act is a central legislation on a concurrent subject. It has precisely defined the duties of the appropriate governments and local authorities under Section 8 and 9 respectively.

For successful implementation of elementary programmes of education, peoples' participation is of the utmost importance. Further this involvement should be at the grassroots level which will as a result bring about participation of voluntary organizations and social activities. Till to-day we have anticipated that the school will transform the society and now we are anticipating that the same society to transform the school. However, the school and the community are related to each other in a cyclic relationship of mutual benefit. If the school serves the community through its education programmes, the community, in turn, will help enhancing the status of the school. On the other hand, if the community supports the school in implementing the educational progress, the school in turn will help in improving the community.

The Current and Emerging Trends in the Decentralization and People's Participation in the Educational Governance in Terms of Policy Reforms and Programme Practices at State Levels Universal affirmation to decentralisation is because it ensures people's participation and ownership, it overcomes problems of centralization and bureaucratic mode of delivery, it expands the resource base and improves quality of education due to greater accountability. Thus, decentralisation was justified for political, economic and socio-cultural reasons (McGinn and Welsh, 1999; Govinda and Bandyopadhyay, 2010; Sharma 2000) and seen as a better alternative to the central authority as it was considered to be more responsive and adaptable to local needs. It is evident from the definitions that, decentralization is a top down technocratic exercise with the transfer of responsibilities taking place in response to a directive from above. Kullipossa (2004) suggested that productive outcome can be achieved if the responsibilities and powers shared by the central and local governments are clearly defined and if national and local conditions are in place. Mukhopadhyay, Vasavi and Ramkumar (2009) argue that structures to decentralization vary across states and there is a considerable amount of confusion and conflict in the manner in which the panchayati raj institutions have been devolved by various state governments. After reviewing the situation in different states of the country, Govinda and Diwan have identified different approaches towards establishing a system of local governance and community participation in education. The basic principle is transferring the responsibilities of educational governance to the democratically elected local self- government bodies. The devolution of powers is not even across the country. Within the broad principle of governance by locally elected bodies, the situation in some of the states is mentioned below:

Kerala

Democratic devolution of power to the panchayati raj bodies is experienced in Kerala. Specific functions have been devolved on each tier of the PRIs in the state.

For instance, Gram Panchayats are responsible for primary schools, public health centres, Anganwadis, village roads, etc. Here a major People's Planning Campaign has been formed with the help of an NGO, the Kerala Shastra Parishad (KSSP). The People's Planning Campaign along with Kerala Shashtra Sahitya Parishad (KSSP) involves the local self government institutions to revive the educational system of certain areas. Subsequently, the state government adopted legislations transferring wide-ranging powers and responsibilities to the panchayati raj bodies in the area of education among several other social development sectors. KSSP has conducted state-wide experiments for upgrading the pedagogical efforts in schools of Kerala with the active participation of the people. KSSP strongly recommends for integrating all moves towards decentralization of educational governance by empowering the panchayati raj bodies. People's Kerala Sastra Sahitya Parishad (KSSP) has worked in close coordination with the government and provided workforce to educate illiterate adults to achieve universal literacy in the state. **Tharakan (2003)** is of the opinion that the People's planning campaign has the potential for furthering local empowerment as there is qualitative improvement of the educational process due to the various experiments taking place in Kerala. Though the process of devolution of powers to the panchayati raj bodies is not complete, the allocation of major part of development funds to these bodies indicate the positive growth in the process of decentralization and community participation.

Madhya Pradesh

The educational governance in Madhya Pradesh is a combination of delegation of authority and devolution of powers. Here all schools have been established and managed at the primary level almost wholly by the state government. The transformation towards decentralization and people's participation in educational governance in the state was gradual. This transformation has been initiated through two sets of processes. On one side, significant powers have been delegated through executive orders of the state department of education to panchayat bodies at different levels-district, block and village levels. However, on the other side the state government is simultaneously moving ahead with a comprehensive legislation to transfer the school education system to the control of the panchayat system. This dual approach is likely to continue till the whole education system comes fully under the legal control of the local governing bodies. For empowering the local governing bodies, village education committees (VECs) have been established involving the elected panchayat bodies with other community and school representatives. In M.P the involvement of the Panchayati Raj Institutions is creating a positive environment towards village primary education. Thus, the involvement of local communities in school education is not enough but legitimizing the role of civil society institutions is important because till now the politicians and bureaucrats are the decision makers.

Rajasthan

Rajasthan has been slow in executing legal measures to transfer powers related to primary education governance to panchayati raj bodies. The management of primary education was earlier under the control of Panchayati Raj and Rural Development Ministries. In Rajasthan community participation in Primary Education is being commenced by two important initiatives in Rajasthan, namely Shiksha Karmi Project and Rajasthan Lok Jumbish. These groups actively involve themselves in participatory planning for developing primary education in the village through systematic processes of school mapping and micro-planning. Through its initiatives the Lok Jumbish has attempted to build a system of local governance for primary education from the grassroots level. The project has started shouldering responsibility of educational development on the community. The state government, however, is yet to legitimize these bodies through official recognition.

Bihar

Keeping the huge task of universalisation of elementary education, the Bihar Education Project (BEP) was initiated in the state. This massive task of universalisation of elementary education was not possible without active involvement of community. Thus, Bihar Education Project (BEP) included community participation in its strategy. The BEP was launched in 1991. It made concerted efforts towards the reorganization of Village Education Committees (VECs) and training of VEC functionaries. The VEC formed according to the earlier notification of 1988 by the state government suffered from the basic problems like nomination of the members by the Block Education Officer (BEO) and Mukhiya being the president. To overcome the drawbacks of VEC, to provide for ensuring the participation of people in the management, for decentralized planning and management of elementary education and implementation of SSA at panchayat and village levels; the Bihar Vidyalaya Shiksha Samities instead of VECs were formed under Bihar PRI Act, 1993. After implementation of RTE Act in 2010, Bihar Prarambhik Vidyalaya Siksha Samiti (Bihar Elementary Education Committee) Act 2011 was brought under provisions of 'The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act 2009' for ensuring people's participation in the management, control and supervision of the elementary schools of the state.

From the above analysis it is clear that in recent years, the different Indian states have been developing their administrative structures for implementing the PRI Act which has provided the framework for decentralisation. Even after two decades of Panchayati Raj getting constitutional status and provision, elementary education has not been transferred to the local government uniformly in all the states in India. Ironically, the achievement of the Act depends on the action taken by the

different states of the country. This is because, the status of implementation of this Act varies across the states. Educational development has been quite unsatisfactory in Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. As mentioned above, in Madhya Pradesh, decentralization is confined to delegating administrative power and functions. Rajasthan, under the banner of Lok Jumbish, is attempting to decentralize primary education management by building it from below. Kerala has transferred elementary education to Panchayats, and the management of elementary school is highly decentralized. There is well defined linkage between the school Headmaster, PEC, PTA in order to monitor management and developmental processes of schools. Active people's initiatives is being taken in Kerala to create awareness among masses towards issues of public concern like health, education, environment, consumer protection etc. In contrast to Kerala, in Bihar the decentralization of school management is at an infancy stage. Instead of transferring elementary education to local self governments, the Bihar government is making half hearted efforts in inventing alternative ways to decentralize school management and ensure effective community participation. The collective experiences of the different states shed light on the dynamics of empowering the community to manage primary education.

CONCLUSION

Thus, decentralized management of education plays a significant role in achieving the goal of Education For All (EFA), by devolving authorities from higher to lower level. The rationale for education decentralization tends to be associated with the objective of improved efficiency, and enhanced quality of schooling. Moreover, decentralization aims at increasing the voice of the local citizen and to empower the citizen to more fully participate in decision-making at the local level. Decentralization has been asserted by different national and international agencies because it ensures people's participation and ownership. It overcomes the problems of centralization and bureaucratic mode of delivery and improves the quality of education due to greater accountability.

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ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROSPECTS OF TOURISM: A CASE OF KERALA

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Abstract

Kerala is blessed with varied geographical features that have made it one of the most sought after destinations in Asia. Tourism is the hallmark of Kerala's economic development and a principal contributor to the State's economy. Kerala is now recognized internationally as a tourist destination. Tourism enables balanced and sustainable regional growth by generating income and creating employment opportunities especially in trade, transport and hospitality sectors. The sector earns foreign exchange to the State and promotes traditional industries. On this background present study attempts to analyse the contribution of tourism to the gross domestic product of the state and to examine the direct and indirect impact of tourism in Kerala economy. The study analyses achievements of tourism thorough new tourism initiatives of Kerala. The study concluded that tourism is one of the most effective ways of redistributing wealth, by moving money into local economies from other parts of the country and overseas. It brings income into a community that would otherwise not be earned.

Keywords: Tourism, Socio-economic Prospects, Foreign-exchange, Revenue, Kerala

INTRODUCTION

The year 2017 witnessed sustained growth of tourist arrivals in many tourist destinations in the world. International tourist arrivals across the world increased

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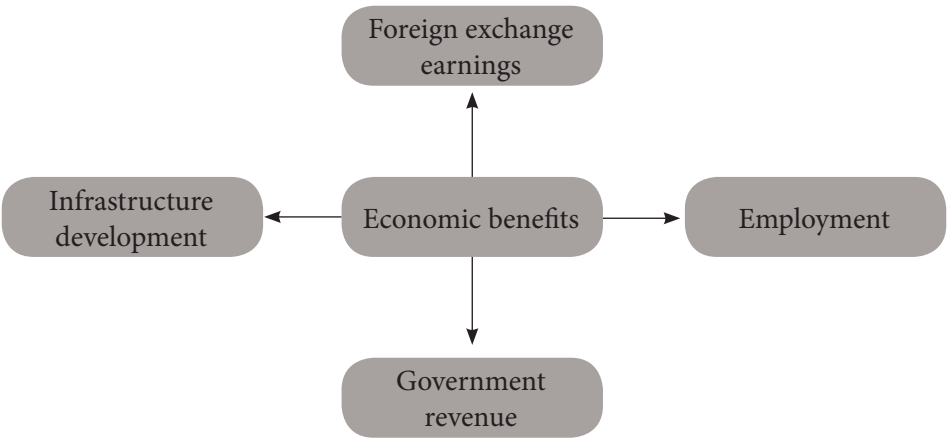
by 7 per cent, the highest in seven years since 2010. It reached a total of 132.6 crore in the year 2017 which is 8.6 crore more than that in 2016. This was the eighth consecutive year of sustained growth in the arrival of international tourists. Europe recorded 67.2 crore (+ 8 per cent), Asia and Pacific 32.3 crore (+ 6 per cent), America 21.1 crore (+ 5 per cent), Africa 6.3 crore (+9 per cent) and Middle East 5.8 crore (+5 per cent) international arrivals in 2017. France is in the top position in the list of most visited countries in the world in 2017 (8.69 crore visitors) (Source: United Nations World Tourism Organisation: Tourism Highlights 2018). In India, the number of foreign tourist arrivals crossed 1 crore mark in 2017 and the sector had contributed 6.88 per cent to its GDP and had a 12 per cent share of jobs in the total employment figures of the country. Around 1.01 crore foreign tourists visited the country in 2017 as compared to 0.88 crore in 2016 showing an increase of 15.6 per cent over the previous year (Economic Review, 2018).

Kerala is an internationally recognized popular tourist destination. The year 2017 witnessed 5.15 per cent growth in foreign tourists arrival and 11.39 per cent growth in domestic tourists arrival in the State. There was 12.56 per cent increase in total revenue from the tourism industry.

Following are the three major objectives of the present study:

- To analyse the economic impact of tourism in the state
- To examine the direct and indirect impact of tourism in Kerala economy
- To explore the achievements of tourism thorough new tourism initiatives of Kerala.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT



FOREIGN EXCHANGE EARNINGS

The foreign exchange earnings from tourism increased from ₹1552.31 crores in 2005 to ₹6949.88 crores by 2015 registering a CAGR of 14.6 per cent. The earnings from foreign tourism showed a steady increase over the years, except for the year 2009 when the global financial crisis affected the flow of foreign tourist Arrivals and led to a decline in foreign exchange earnings. ten years. Figure 1.1 depicts the District wise Foreign and Domestic Tourist Arrivals 2017 foreign tourist arrival to Kerala during the year 2017 is 10,91,870 showing an increase of 5.15% over the previous year. Domestic Tourist arrival to Kerala during the year 2017 is 1,46,73,520 showing an increase of 11.39% over the previous year.

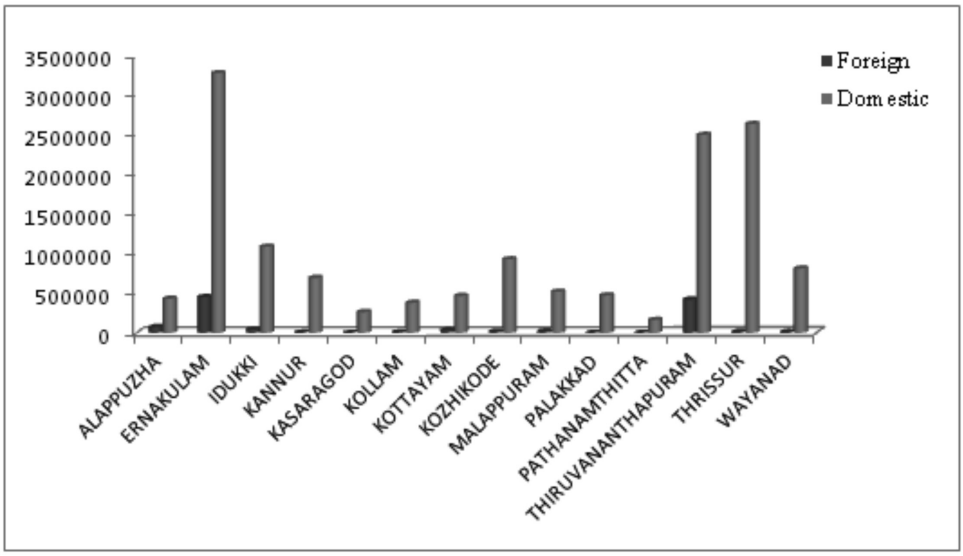


Figure 1: District wise Foreign and Domestic Tourist Arrivals 2017

Source: Department of Tourism, Government of Kerala.

Considering the district wise Foreign Tourist arrival, Wayanad district shows the highest variation of 27.28 per cent over 2016. Considering the district-wise Domestic Tourist arrival, Idukki district shows the highest variation of 44.87% over 2016.Considering the district-wise Foreign Tourist arrival, Ernakulam district shows the highest footfall of 4,53,973. Considering the district-wise Domestic Tourist arrival, Ernakulam district shows the highest footfall of 32,85,088. The second position in foreign footfall is Thiruvananthapuram district and third is Alappuzha district. The second position in domestic footfall is Thrissur district (Guruvayur) and the third is Thiruvananthapuram district.

Table 1: District wise statistics of foreign and domestic tourists in Kerala

S.No.	District	Foreign			Domestic		
		2016	Percent Variation over 2016	2017	2016	Percent Variation over 2016	2016
1.	Thiruvananthapuram	420719	383608	9.67	2505333	2030384	23.39
2.	Kollam	6227	8520	–26.91	381829	298297	28
3.	Pathanamthitta	2003	1620	23.64	164494	134466	22.33
4.	Alappuzha	75037	78049	–3.86	433456	315466	37.4
5.	Kottayam	32350	49513	–34.66	468593	477950	–1.96
6.	Idukki	42285	50366	-16.04	1090086	752478	44.87
7.	Ernakulam	453973	407653	11.36	3285088	3073159	6.9
8.	Thrissur	10775	10133	6.34	2642546	2721174	–2.89
9.	Palakkad	1711	2385	–28.26	474180	512272	–7.44
10.	Malappuram	18451	19769	–6.67	520832	471028	10.57
11.	Kozhikode	13106	12649	3.61	932345	884477	5.41
12.	Wayanad	8995	7067	27.28	815624	586146	39.15
13.	Kannur	5123	5264	–2.68	695655	632332	10.01
14.	Kasaragod	1115	1823	–38.84	263459	282906	–6.87
	Kerala	1091870	1038419	5.15	14673520	13172535	11.39

Source: Department of Tourism, Government of Kerala

Table 2: Number of tourist arrivals in Kerala 2006-2017

Year	No .of Domestic Tourist Visits	% of Increase	No .of Foreign Tourist Visits	% of Increase	Total No. of Tourists	% of Increase
2006	6271724	5.47	428534	23.68	6700258	6.47
2007	6642941	5.92	515808	20.37	7158749	6.84
2008	7591250	14.28	598929	16.11	8190179	14.41
2009	7913537	4.25	557258	-6.96	8470795	3.43
2010	8595075	8.61	659265	18.31	9254340	9.25
2011	9381455	9.15	732985	11.18	10114440	9.29
2012	10076854	7.41	793696	8.28	10870550	7.48
2013	10857811	7.75	858143	8.12	11715954	7.78
2014	11695411	7.71	923366	7.6	12618777	7.71
2015	12465571	6.59	977479	5.86	13443050	6.53
2016	13172535	5.67	1038419	6.23	14210954	5.71
2017	14673520	11.39	1091870	5.15	15765390	10.94

Source: Department of Tourism, Government of Kerala

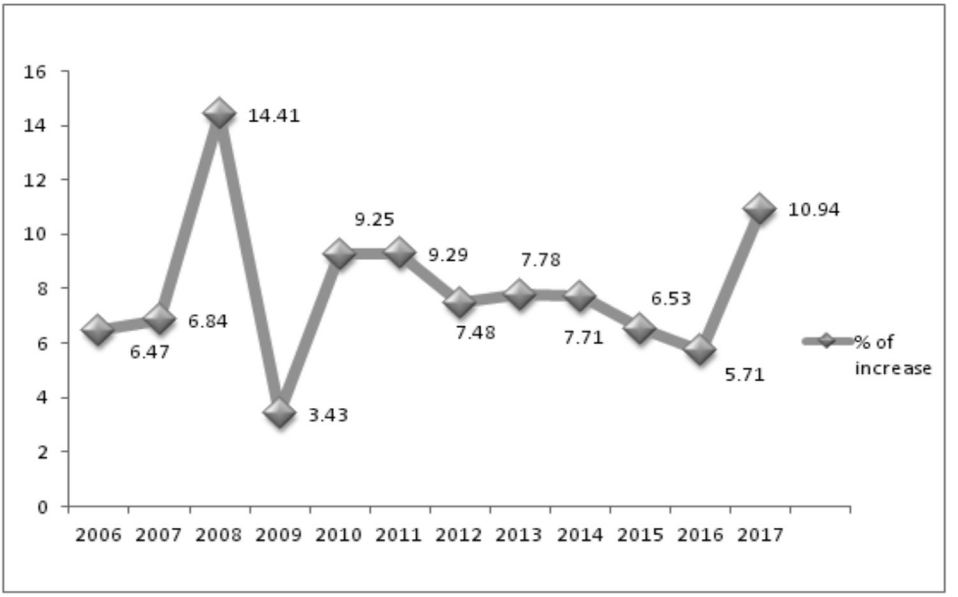


Figure 2: Percentage increase of Tourist arrivals in Kerala

Source: Department of Tourism, Government of Kerala

Foreign Exchange Earnings from tourism in Kerala Foreign exchange earnings for the year 2017 are 8392.11 Crores which recorded a growth of 8.29% over the previous year.

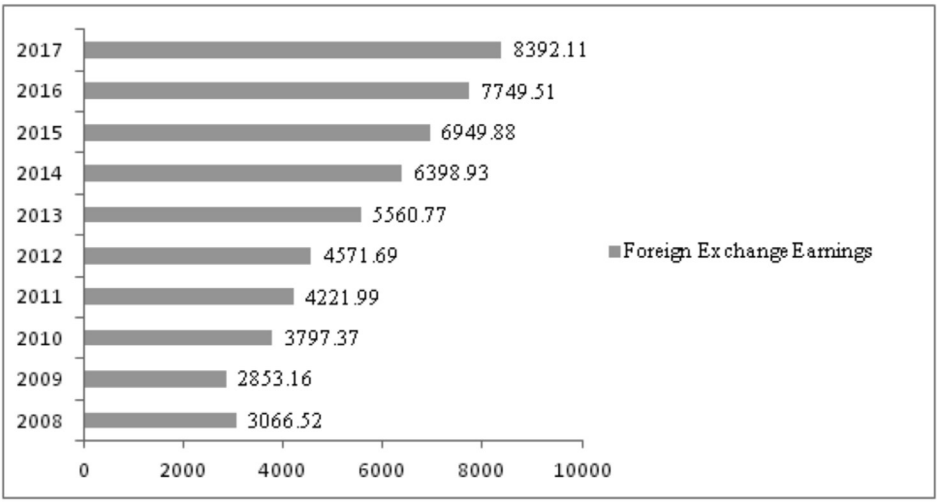


Figure 3: Foreign Exchange Earnings from tourism in Kerala (Rupees in crores)

Source: Department of Tourism, Government of Kerala

It is observed that earnings from tourism remarkably increases over the years expect 2008-2009 period. Figure 4 depicts the variation of exchange earnings from tourism in Kerala over the years. Highest earnings noticed during the year 2010 and fluctuating over the years. Remarkable variations found in the year 2009- 2010.

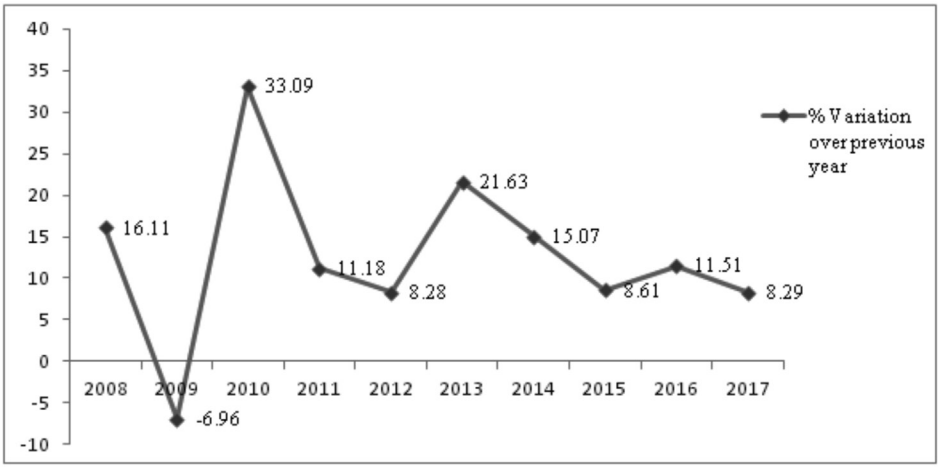


Figure 4: Variation of exchange earnings from tourism in Kerala over the years

Source: Department of Tourism, Government of Kerala

Table 3: District wise foreign exchange earnings from tourism in Kerala, 2017

S. No.	*Districts*	*Foreign Exchange Earnings (₹ in crores)*
1.	ALAPPUZHA	576.73
2.	ERNAKULAM	3489.24
3.	IDUKKI	325
4.	KANNUR	39.38
5.	KASARAGOD	8.57
6.	KOLLAM	47.86
7.	KOTTAYAM	248.64
8.	KOZHIKODE	100.73
9.	MALAPPURAM	141.81
10.	PALAKKAD	13.15
11.	PATHANAMTHITTA	15.4
12.	THIRUVANANTHAPURAM	3233.65
13.	THRISSUR	82.82
14.	WAYANAD	69.14
Total		8392.11

Source: Department of Tourism, Government of Kerala

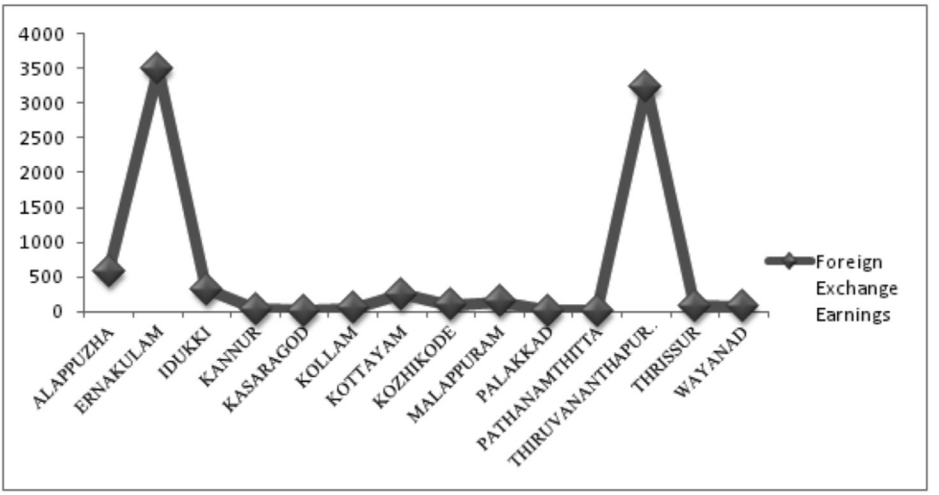


Figure 5: District wise foreign exchange earnings from tourism in Kerala, 2017 (₹ in crores)

Source: Department of Tourism, Government of Kerala

From the Figure 5 it is observed that highest foreign exchange earnings coming from Ernakulam followed by Thiruvananthapuram and Kottayam. Least earnings coming from Palakkad Kozhikode, Kannur, Wayanadu and Kasaragod from North Kerala.

REVENUE FROM TOURISM SECTOR

Revenue income is the major contributor of the economic development of any nation.Figure 6 represents total revenue from tourism in Kerala. Itis observed that Total Revenue (direct & indirect) from Tourism during 2017 is ₹33383.68 Crores, showing an increase of 12.56% over the last year's figure. It is also noticed from the figure that total revenue remarkable increase over the years from 2008 to 2017.

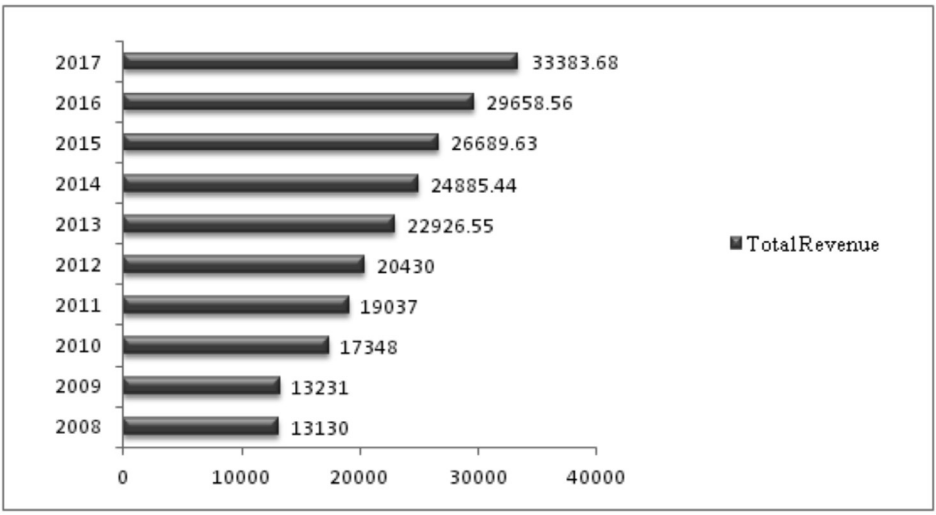


Figure 6: Total revenue from tourism in Kerala (₹ in crores)

Source: Department of Tourism, Government of Kerala

Tourist arrival is one of the main indicators of the demand for tourism in a particular destination. Table 3 presents the data on the foreign and domestic tourist arrivals in Kerala from 2006 to 2015. It shows that though FTAs are increasing in absolute terms, the annual growth rate declined from 23.7 per cent to 5.86 per cent in the period 2006-15. As pointed out earlier, foreign tourists are mainly from UK, US, European countries and Saudi Arabia, according to available official statistics. The domestic tourist arrivals have increased from 62,71,724 in 2006 to 12,46,5571 in absolute terms, while in terms of the annual growth rate, there is only a marginal rise from 5.47 per cent to 6.59 per cent. The official statistics confirm that majority of the domestic tourists are from Kerala itself.

TOURISM UNDER FIVE YEAR PLANS

Tourism sector was brought under the purview of Five Year Plans since the second Five Year Plan onwards. Till the end of the Fifth Plan, the sector had not received much attention. The Sixth Five Year Plan (1980-85) gave due emphasis for increasing the State's share of international tourist traffic to India while at the same time providing convenient packages of facilities for domestic tourists visiting Kerala from all over the country. The Plan envisaged the pooling of resources not only of the central and state governments, but also from the private sector in achieving the plan objectives. The Government of Kerala declared tourism as an industry in July 1986.

The overall plan outlay to the sector has been increasing over the years but the share of tourism sector in the total state plan outlay is negligible. The allocation to the tourism sector has not been above one per cent except during the ninth plan period. Table 4 illustrates the outlay to tourism sector and the share of tourism in total outlay over various plan periods.

Table 4: Allocation and Expenditure on Tourism in the State Plan over Various Plan Periods, ₹ in lakh

Period	*Total Plan Outlay*	*Outlay for Tourism*	*Percentage Share of Tourism*	*Actual Expenditure*
I Plan	3003	--	--	--
II Plan	8701	13.00	0.15	8.00
III Plan	17000	50.00	0.29	22.00
Annual Plan	14254	31.00	0.22	19.00
IV Plan	25840	50.00	0.19	55.00
V Plan	56896	71.00	0.12	79.00
Annual Plan	39296	130.00	0.33	132.27
VI Plan	148755	672.00	0.45	556.80
VII Plan	221100	850.00	0.38	833.69
Annual Plan	144200	650.00	0.45	816.95
VIII Plan	687648	5301.00	0.77	5707.85
IX Plan	1575500	19266.00	1.22	17397.81
X Plan	2522643	2777.00	0.11	2487.68
XI Plan	4560547	48873.00	0.15	61774
XII Plan	10200000	110140.00	0.29	67506.24*

Source: Department of Tourism, Government of Kerala

A significant increase in allocation is noticed during the Ninth Plan as the outlay was raised to 192.66 crores from 53.01 crores during the 8th plan period. However, during the 10th plan period, the outlay to the sector fell to 27.7 crore, which was subsequently increased during 11th and 12th Plan periods.In terms of the percentage share of allocation of tourism sector in the total plan outlay, the share of the sector increased from 0.77 per cent in 8th plan to 1.22 per cent by the 9th plan period. But the momentum gathered by the sector during the 9th plan period did not last for long and the share of the tourism sector in the total plan

outlay declined to 0.11 per cent in 10th Plan. It increased marginally to 0.15 per cent by 11th plan and to 0.29 per cent by the 12th Five Year Plan.

TOURISM AND EMPLOYMENT

The internal survey of the tourism department in 2012 revealed that the tourism sector generated 12 lakh employment opportunities. Including the ancillary services, the total number is 14 lakh. As per the official figures of the Department of Tourism, the tourism sector contributed 23.5 per cent to the total employment in the state from 2009 to 2012, much higher than the contribution of tourism to employment at the national level.(Ministry of Tourism, 2015)

The contribution of tourism to total employment has direct, indirect and induced impacts. Jobs generated by tourism are spread across the economy directly in tourism sectors like travel agencies, accommodation sector, and airlines and indirectly to retail, construction, manufacturing and telecommunications. According to a study "Regional Tourism Satellite Account for Kerala and Madhya Pradesh 2009-10", commissioned by the Ministry of Tourism, Government of India, the tourism sector has generated over 14 lakh jobs in Kerala. The total number of jobs created directly and indirectly by the sector between 2009 and 2012 turned out to be 23.52 per cent of the total employment in Kerala.

Contribution of Tourism Sector to Total Employment (2009-2012)

State	*Direct Impact*	*Indirect + Induced Impact*	*Total Impact*
India	4.4	5.8	10.2
Kerala	9.9	13.6	23.5

Source: Department of Tourism, Government of Kerala

It can be concluded that the claim that the tourism sector is an engine of growth and employment generation in Kerala is based on questionable and unreliable statistics. A larger than the actual share accruing from tourism to the local economy is projected based on the definition of tourists, which includes all travelers and not exclusively tourists. Tourism earnings, revenue and employment are based on these inflatedfigures.

INFRASTRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENT

KTDC, a Kerala government company headquartered at Thiruvananthapuram, focuses on tourism-related infrastructure like hotel and restaurant services, boating operations, need-based travel assistance, support services etc. At present, the corporation has 71 units, which include nine premium hotels, eight budgeted hotels, 14 tamarind easy hotels, 12 motels, three restaurants, 18 restaurants-cum-

beer parlours, one Central Reservation Cell (CRC), three Tourist Reservation Centres (TRC), two travel divisions and one shopping complex. It has been donning the hat of the official host of the "God's Own Country" for many years. (Kerala Tourism Policy, 2012)

The major chunk of government spending has been on infrastructural projects like development of basic amenities in tourism destinations, beautifications, quality wayside and waterside amenities, state of the art information centres, visitor lounges, infrastructure for land and water based adventure tourism, erecting international quality tourism signage at destinations and en-route, tourism transportations and safety and security aspects of tourists.

SOCIAL IMPACT OF TOURISM

Tourism activities essentially involve many social benefits that can be seen as bright aspect of tourism. As we know India is a big country having a number of communities, cultures and traditions. Normally each tradition and culture is significantly different from another. Tourism can stimulate new and expanded community facilities and infrastructure initiatives, such as the improvement of retail, restaurant and entertainment options, transport services, education and sporting facilities(Burns et al. 2008). These increase the quality of life for the community, which may not otherwise warrant the improvement, based on the residential population alone. Tourism activity often prompts the conservation of cultural heritage, either as a result of increased awareness and pride, or because it can be justified on economic grounds as a tourist attraction. Tourism can encourage communities to widen their outlook and to embrace new ideas. It provides opportunities for residents to interact with other people, lifestyles and cultures. Attracting visitors to an area can heighten local awareness and interest, resulting in a greater sense of pride and ownership. The community takes stock of its assets and distinctive characteristics.

Social contacts between tourists and local people may result in mutual appreciation, understanding, tolerance, awareness, learning, family bonding respect, and liking. Residents are educated about the outside world without leaving their homes, while their visitors significantly learn about a distinctive culture. Local communities are benefited through contribution by tourism to the improvement of the social infrastructure like schools, libraries, health care institutions, internet cafes, and so on. Besides, if local culture is the base for attracting tourists to the region, it helps to preserve the local traditions and handicrafts which maybe were on the link of the extinction. Tourism activities increase from person to person as well as community to community contacts which ultimately results better social behaviors.

CONCLUSION

As mentioned above tourism generates various types of economical benefits to the local destination economy including employment generation, foreign exchange earnings, sales of local goods and services, etc. Economic contributions of tourism is the most important aspect while analyzing the tourism development of the state. It is essential to understand the Economic and Social impacts of tourism should be observed in a holistic way by which is capable for economic development of the state. Visitors from distant locations and foreign countries often don't understand and respect social ethics and values, and eventually harms the local culture and population. With increase in tourism activities especially in developed countries like India it can be even more dangerous, e.g., crime generation, child labour, etc. prostitution and environmental damage due to tourism can be thought of as the ugly faces of tourism activities in developing countries. Development and growth of tourism must be planned by a systematic way inorder to develop the society as a whole.

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CHALLENGES FACED BY HIGHER EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP & IT'S SOLUTION

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Abstract

The primary purpose of the article is to assess the educational leaders, including faculty members, with ways of analysing the challenges they face, including the ethical tensions inherent in many of these challenges. On the basis of existing literature, some key challenges are identified as: providing a values-driven vision for the future; managing staff relationships; leading people; balancing personal and professional responsibilities; communicating effectively; leading continuous change; managing accountability and individual performance; and leading an ageing workforce. To professionally deals with these problem, educational leaders are advised to build cultures of shared and distributed leadership in their institutions. It is arguably an ethical responsibility of formal educational leaders to enable key stakeholders to share in the leadership responsibilities of their institutional community. Distributive leaders are particularly advised to assist faculty members to become more involved in key decisions relating to learning and teaching, and to regard themselves as key educational leaders in their institutions. There are strong recommendations that those in formal leadership positions must: share, and distributive leadership responsibilities by building the leadership capacity of all stakeholders; develop their leadership capabilities so as to be able to share these leadership responsibilities; become more capable as authentic human beings in order to become more capable as leaders; and be better. Thus, such educational leadership approaches are recommended as most appropriate and effective for educational leaders who are required to make ethical decisions in situations of tension and paradox.

Keywords: Higher Education, Leadership, Challenges, Faculty as Leaders, Shared-leadership, Distributive-leadership

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INTRODUCTION

Educational leaders are confronted by external and internal challenges and expectations that make considerable demands on their time, expertise, energies and emotional wellbeing. Increasingly, they are being held accountable for both performance and compliance with ethical and moral standards in their relationships and practices. While leaders may experience confusion, even frustration, in attempting to respond productively to these challenges, many other organisational members feel used, even devalued, by the current emphasis on corporate management values, strategies and practices in many educational organisations. Many educational leaders are faced with tensions between the demands of managerialism (efficiency, productivity, accountability) and the expectations created within a values-based university or institutional community. This perception of 'excessive managerialism' has led to a call for the transformation of managers and administrators into leaders who focus more on people-related issues in organisations..

Educational leaders live and work in a global world that, according to Giddens (1998), influences social processes and institutions and encourages new forms of individualism that contribute to more selfish modes of living. Slavish commitment to individualised ways of living can generate addictions, especially process addictions, that are so pervasive that we may not even be aware of them. Educational leaders and faculty members have a particular responsibility to ensure that students in their care receive the type of education and learning experiences that help transform their lives so that they can break the bonds imposed by forces for 'intense individualism' (Sommerville, 2000) and better contribute, as responsible citizens, to the common good. Educational leaders need to be socially as well as educationally responsible, in order to create the conditions within their institutions that challenge students to see the bigger picture and to want to make a difference in their own lives and in the larger community. This paper written within a leadership context that is increasingly sensitive to the need for sound ethical and moral standards in how organisations are led and decisions made. The recent lapses in ethical and moral judgements by leaders in worldwide organisations. This paper through light on major challenges face by educational leaders within the institute or faculty or department. Later section of the paper tries to explore the two democratic leadership approaches shared and distributed leadership style, to address the challenges face by the educational leaders in their organization.

CHALLENGES IN HIGHER EDUCATION LEADERSHIP

Mukhopadhyay & Narula (1990) point out that, one of the distinguishing characteristics of successful educational leaders is their capacity to provide a vision for the future and inspire hope in those with whom they work. They also lift the

spirits of their people and help them to translate the vision into the daily practices of their work. In this way they help to inject meaning into the daily grind of getting the work done, thereby providing a sense of purpose and direction. It has also been emphasized that the articulation of vision necessarily involves leaders sharing their hopes, desires and expectations with the members of the faculty, and establishing the foundations of an organisational culture that supports the aspirations of all stakeholders The intent and content of the vision helps motivate all the members of the faculty. Reflection on, and communication of, this vision is essential if it is to become part of everyday practice. Ackerman et al. (1996) further argued that linking vision to practice seems to be a vital component in the relationship of the leader and those led. Drawing people beyond their daily tasks and routines and engaging them in helping to shape a desired futurefacilitates the creation of a more meaningful and inspiring workplace.

Educational leaders are challenged to engage with their staff in ways that take the whole group forward, rather than plugging gaps and responding primarily to perceived emergencies. It is wasteful of time, energy and talent to simply fill gaps as they appear, without reflecting on and working through what is really needed to position the faculty/department to meet future challenges (Kotter, 1988). Communicating the strategic purpose to everyone is vital in drawing together staff at all levels. Clear purpose, inspirational communication, and an appeal to agreed values and belief systems, will point clearly to the road forward.The promotion of staff morale, keeping staff motivated, cultivating teamwork and providing opportunities for staff development are some of the greatest challenges for leaders of educational organisations (Mitchell & Trucker, 1992; Patterson, 1993). One major threat is, what happens to the leadership relationship when there is a massive breach of trust? This is not an uncommon occurrence. The leader retreats to a position of power and control. The aggrieved staff members feel excluded and do not give of their best. Morale is affected adversely.

Many educational leaders find it a challenge to determine how 'relational' relationship building should be. According to Saravanabhavan & Chirumamilla (2010), those who have been apprenticed in a hierarchical, control-type model of leadership are often unsure of how close relationships should be, especially with those who are accountable to them. It is important to distinguish here between personal and professional relationships in an organisation. Professional relationships must, of course, have a personal dimension, but it is equally important to develop personal relationships within a professional framework. The issue is not how friendly formal leaders should be with those who work with them, but how all organisational members can work closely and professionally together to achieve the goals and objectives of the organisation. Professional relationships must always be predicated on the core values espoused in the organisation. Being honest, trusting and trustworthy, respectful, tolerant, empathetic, open to critique, and

willing to be a team person are as essential to professional relationships as they are to the development and maintenance of personal relationships (Tyagi, 2009).Often, however, educational leaders face the problem of dealing with poor performance and balancing their professional responsibility for ensuring the smooth operation of their organisation with their personal feelings for those staff who are not performing adequately. Accordingly, Saravanabhavan & Chirumamilla (2010), Educational leaders often avoid confronting such problems if they can, because they believe that solutions are hard to find and the legal environment of the employment contract often ensures that the poor performer or difficult person will not be dealt with promptly, if ever.

Maintaining a proper balance between personal needs and professional responsibilities is problematic for many educational leaders. Elvidge (2004) said that, in attempting to maintain a balance between personal and professional responsibilities, as well as coping with the pressure of heavy workloads, educational leaders speak of feeling 'inundated' and of having to do more and more without sufficient support. The high public pressure for accountability in educational institutions, in terms of definite outcomes, means that there is constant pressure to improve performance outcomes (Brundrett & Crawford, 2008). The economic rationalist philosophy and managerialist practices that have influenced governments since the mid-1980s are now driving many educational organisations. Many in the education sector see this managerialist approach as dominated by an expectation of 'doing more with less'. Both scarcity of and constraints on resources are apparent in most educational organisations. It appears that a balance needs to be struck between 'hard' and 'soft' approaches to leadership so that individuals accept their accountabilities without feeling overwhelmed or directionless in a complex organisation. Brundrett & Crawford (2008) also argued that a balance between personal responsibility and teamwork is desirable, where the burdens are shared to make them more bearable. Also, there is a need to develop a more formative and developmental approach to accountability; current approaches often appear summative and punitive. Brundrett & Crawford (2008) added that accountability processes must be just and equitable and should clearly reflect the core values espoused by the organisation. Where values are ignored or violated, accountability processes will be seen to be, and most likely will be, antithetical to the real purposes of an educational organisation

Gafoor & Shareeja (2009) pointed out that the issue of dealing with poor performance in a responsible and professional manner that considers the interests of all concerned emerged as one of the most serious accountability challenges for educational leaders. Saravanabhavan & Chirumamilla (2010) emphasised that educational leaders need to collaboratively develop and communicate a value-driven vision for the future in order to give a sense of purpose, meaning and

hope to their faculty members. This envisioning process requires them to engage meaningfully with people, building authentic relationships in order to serve the needs of students and their parents, they further added.

Grace (1995) underlined that a major challenge for educational leaders is to translate the vision into everyday practices. A good start is to create more purposeful and inspiring workplaces built on trust, transparency and open communications. While modern technology can be of great assistance in facilitating communication processes, the current dominance of emails can be impersonal and unrealistic in terms of their time-response expectations and/or their perceived urgency (Azzara, 2001).Pressures of time and of continuous change may cause some educational leaders to disengage, withdraw into themselves, become defensive, or revert to formal methods of communication (Combes, 1999).

According to Elmore (1999), a major contemporary challenge for educational leaders is to lead people who are experiencing fear and psychological loss in a context of rapid and continuous change. They must engage openly with them to help them cope with their fears and anxieties (Elmore, 1999). Topdown mandated changes especially can create great consternation and fear among those who have to implement them. Leaders need to be sensitive to the levels of readiness of those involved. Kotter (1988) added that leading in conditions of continuous change requires a shift from hierarchical approaches to more inclusive transformational models that deal with the whole person. Hallam & Matthews (2008) remarked in their study that, one of the most demanding challenges for educational leaders is dealing with poorly performing faculty members where there is deep concern for students under their care. Such situations are complex and multidimensional; however, the consensus seems to be that it is better for the Deans, heads or, and directors to 'bite the bullet' and deal with the problem early and head-on (Hallam, 2006).

Educational leaders in the twenty-first century need to devise new and creative ways of ensuring that faculty members and other educators with many years of experience are continuously challenged and actively engaged in their own personal and professional development. Many with long years of experience can become stale and complacent if they are not constantly encouraged and supported to be reflective and creative practitioners. The solution of these problem exists in the leadership styles of the institutional directors, deans and heads. These challenges disturbing the academic cultural ethos of higher educational institutions. Leadership approaches can make a difference in this scenario. In higher educational institutions, educational leaders and their fellow faculty member are almost at same academic level. So, autocratic leadership approach will not be able to deal with these problems. Sharing leadership and distributive leadership are the two leadership approaches which can be helpful in addressing these educational challenges.

(Next part, dealing with the leadership approaches intending to find the solution of these challenges, is to be published in the next issue of the BJPA - Editor)

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ROLE OF WOMEN IN FIGHTING COVID-19 EPIDEMIC IN BIHAR: A STUDY IN THE GOVERNMENTAL AND VOLUNTARY PERSPECTIVES

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Abstract

In view of the greater roles of women in fighting Covid-19 pandemic, it becomes an urgent imperative to analyse their roles in the garb of some modern concepts like voluntarism, social capital and empowerment. As such the paper examines their roles in implementing the policies to tackle the pandemic in two major perspectives – namely roles played as part of governmenntal agencies and secondly voluntarism. The quantitative and qualitative analysis of their roles reflect that women play significant roles in all spheres of tackling Covid-19 pandemic like prevention, protection, treatment and raising awareness of the pandemic among the masses. Women played profound roles in India in general and in Bihar in particular. In addition to women in government agencies, their voluntary efforts have also been commendable. The nature of the roles played by them reflect the maturity and self assertiveness in their participation to the implementation process. The present study finds the ingredients of voluntarism and social capital in their roles. Their roles through SHGs, voluntary development organisations and voluntarism at individual level indicate that Covid-19 has facilitated women's empowerment in India in general and in Bihar in particular. The nature of their roles has been found to be free of socio-economic and cultural discriminations.

Keywords: Covid-19, Voluntarism, Social Capital, Raising Awareness, Roles, Bihar, India

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INTRODUCTION

As a student of political science, it is pertinent to analyse the women's participation in the decision making and implementation of policies at the ground level in containing, preventing, treating corona patients and suspects as well as providing food and non-food essential commodities and services, particularly in lockdown conditions, quarantine/isolation centres and in hospitals. In addition, the voluntary efforts by women in fighting out the corona menace needs to be underlined as a mode of political participation. The deadliest ever Covid-19 pandemic has not spared any part of the globe, any category of people, any category of government and so on. It became the prime responsibility of state to contain the spread of covid-19 infections that, too without assured medical remedies. Their contributions in the areas of saving life of its citizens as the corona warriors in the shape of doctors, nurses, ANMs, sanitary staff and such other allied government personnel, becomes its pertinent to underline their roles. It involved variegated tasks like raising awareness among the masses, provisions of protective kits and devices, testing, treatment, provisions of quick infrastructures, sanitisation, issuing and enforcing guidelines, providing food etc. logistics and so on so forth. In the process, the roles of women became significant on one hand and their sacrificial attitude emerged on the other. The situation has shown that women have proven their better skill and endurance than that of their male counterparts. As such, the present paper is a small attempt to underline the significant roles played by women in fighting out covid-19 pandemic. It traces the areas and modes of functions, categories of women involved and their intensity of work in the process. Further, it becomes an urgent imperative to find out the problems faced by them. Thus as a feminist scholar, it is interesting to trace the women's roles as fore front warriors.

GLOBAL SCENARIO

The Covid-19 pandemic has changed the world order and also the pattern of management of domestic affairs. The most important trend that emerged at global level is the growing and effective role of women in public affairs in facing the pandemic. Global trends as found by studies reflected that women comprise the majority of health and social care workers and are on the front lines of the fight against Covid 19. Besides, the lockdown orders have made them more active in childcare and care giving to family members almost three times greater than in normal conditions. The virus added to their burden. The World Health Organisation (WHO: 2019) has estimated that more broadly, women make up the majority of workers in the health and social care sector, evident from the fact that 70 per cent of corona workforce comprised of women in as many as 104 countries. The International Labour Organisation (ILO: 2018) did also find that globally, women

perform 76.2 per cent of total hours of unpaid care work, and this figure goes to 80 per cent in Asian and pacific countries. Not only this, in view of the fact that health systems become stretched, many people with COVID-19 needed to be cared for at home, adding to women's overall burden, as well as putting them at greater risk of becoming infected. According to UNESCO nearly 300 million students of world have missed their classes due to virus-caused closure of schools which added the role of women in looking after them. Besides, the mass shutdown childcare centres has added to the burden of women.

MODES OF WOMEN'S ROLES

The outbreak of Covid-19 infections has necessitated governmental interventions in various aspects at ground level. First of all, identifying the infected persons (testing positive) gradually increased from counting on tips to lakhs of cases. It required the medical personnel to visit the localities for testing. The positive cases were to be treated in hospitals and putting the suspected cases in quarantine and isolation centres. Looking after them, providing them with the food, other commodities and medical care, taking care of sanitation of the centres and keeping watch over the quarantined people are the gigantic tasks. The workload abruptly gone up caused by inter-state movements of people especially the migrant labourers. Providing treatments and attending the patients with medical equipments, medicines and other health care became tiresome for the medicos. Raising awareness of the pandemic among the masses as preventive measure, to follow up the ensuring enforcement of guidelines issued from time to time and handling the law and order problems arising out from rapid spread of the infections are the major interventions. In all these areas, there are immense roles of women.

The severity of the epidemic invited voluntary interventions from both the organised and unorganised sections of the people. Voluntarism is the human impulse to serve the society which are manifested in various forms like individual efforts, concerted efforts, organised efforts, commonly called as non-governmental organisations (NGOs), adhoc groups of people.[1] The perennial sources of such human impulse are the persisting inequality and sufferings in the society which are inadequately attended by the state apparatus. The voluntarism involves the situation of 'social capital'[2] for establishing coordination and collaboration with the governmental and non-governmental functionaries at grassroots level. The voluntary interventions in covid-19 conditions included the supply of food and non-food commodities like soaps, sanitizers, masks, medicines etc. at quarantine/

1. For further conceptual clarifications on voluntarism in social and political contexts see Broudillon (1945), Mutalib (1989), Verma & Singh (2001) and Gupta (2008).
2. The concept of 'social capital' was first coined by Robert Putnam (1993) which contains three components namely Trust among actors of society, Networking among them and their Common goals. For its treatment in Indian context see Blomkvist & Swain (2001) and Verma & Singh (2001).

isolation centres and to the people loitering around roadside and destitute people both adult and children. Raising awareness of the pandemic among the masses, particularly in the rural areas, manufacturing and providing masks and providing moral support to the people emerged as the major voluntary roles in covid-19 epidemic.

WOMEN WORKFORCE IN FIGHTING COVID-19

Governmental work force: Here we shall discuss the engaged women workforce at grassroots level in Bihar. At the forefront of battling the pandemic are ANMs, anganwad and Asha (Accredited Social Health Activists) workers. As part of corona warriors, they move around in the field risking their lives visiting households both in urban and rural areas carrying out health checks. They are also tasked with alerting authorities about suspected cases about suspected cases and assisting the police in ensuring that all home-quarantined persons do not come out of their homes. The strength of women work force as per data of Health Department, Government of Bihar in 2018 was as shown below:

Number of Women Medical Workforce

S.No.	*Category of Women Medical Staff*	*Sanctioned Strength*	*Working Strength*
1.	Medical Officers	5,124	3,860
2.	Anti Natal Maids (ANMs)	11,294	10,055
3.	Lady Health Visitor (LHV)	1,126	662
4.	Maternity Health Worker (MHW)	2,562	1,298
5.	Staff Nurse	451	256
6.	Accredited Social Health Activist (ASHA)	60,587	56,524
	Total	81,144	71,087

Source: Government of Bihar, Health Department, 2018

The recent data on total women health workers engaged in corona virus, as collected on 5th June, 2020 from State Health Society (an agency of Government of Bihar) is as below:

(1) Specialist Doctors - 130
(2) General Doctors - 114
(3) Health Manager - 14
(4) GNM - 76
(5) A N M - 9,729
(6) Staff Nurse - 1524
(7) Contractual Staff - 268
(8) ASHA - 78,943 Total - 90,795.

In addition to these medical personnel, a large number of women sanitary staff of urban local bodies, police officials right from constable to starred officers and many others are fighting against covid-19 epidemic. As such it can be estimated that nearly 1.50 lakhs women are fighting covid-19 as governmental work force in Bihar

Voluntary work force: So far the women work force outside government engaged in covid-19 is concerned, the State has a wide network of private health facilities in the urban areas providing Health services. In general, these private health facilities are run either by individuals/organizations for profit or by Non-profit Charitable organization/NGOs. However, exact data on the number of these health facilities are not available with the State. The registration of private clinics and nursing homes has not yet started even though the Clinical Establishment Act has been passed last year. Presently these health facilities are also not regulated by the Department of Health and Family Welfare, Government of Bihar.

The state has only 12 Mother NGOs (MNGOs) covering 22 of the 38 districts of Bihar. However the state does not have a structured procedure to assess the working of MNGOs. There is a need to improve coordination between the NGOs and the Government at all levels, i.e. state, districts and sub-district levels in order to make them effective. Further analysis of information related to NGOs in the state revealed that there are many NGOs that are engaged in the health service delivery. There have been a large number of women fighting against covid-19 on individual or unorganised collective levels. The number of such women corona warriors is not available, however, it might be more than official bandwagon.

VOLUNTARISM AT WORK: ORGANISED MODE

Although the data on all the NGOs and voluntary women workers fighting against the epidemic has not been collected, yet we have relied on the news paper reportings. Mahila Kalyan Smiti, Bihar Mahila Smaj, Shakhi Chain etc are few to be named. The Secretary of Mahila Kalyan Smiti and a sociologist Archana Rai Bhatt opined that Women have swung into action and actively joined the battle against Covid-19. Right from providing health services, sanitation, working as house helps or being part of police administration, they are constantly on the move. Those staying at home should now realise that how women risk their family and their own lives while on duty. Even the housewives are on the their toes 24 × 7 as most of the family members stay at home. The president of Bihar Mahila Smaj Nivedita Jha writes, "Be it an anganwadi or ASHA workers, a Jeevika member or an ANM, women contributed more than ever before in this Covid-19 pandemic. They are now going door to door , recording people's travel history, noting symptoms and where needed, even helping trace contacts." (ToI: 2020).

SHGs: A large number of Self Help Groups of women (SHGs) have entered into the arena of fight against the epidemic. Over the past two decades of the Bank's association, India's SHG movement has evolved from small savings and credit groups that sought to empower poor rural women, into one of the world's largest institutional platforms of the poor. It is reported 67 million Indian women are members of 6 million SHGs. In over 90 per cent of India's districts, away from the limelight of the cities, SHG women are producing facemasks, running community kitchens, delivering essential food supplies, sensitizing people about health and hygiene and combating misinformation. Gayatri Acharya, who leads the World Bank supported India's NRLM (National Rural Livelihood Mission) said, "The women's movement that started as a leap of faith some 15 years ago has proved to be an invaluable resource in these difficult times. Our partnership with the Indian government in building social capital among the rural poor has paid off in spades." (World Bank Web-link: 2020). Since access to finance is critical for people to sustain themselves during the lockdown, SHGs women who also work as banking correspondents have emerged as a vital resource. Deemed as an essential service, these *bank sakhis* have continued to provide doorstep banking services to far-flung communities, in addition to distributing pensions and enabling the most needy to access credits into their accounts through direct benefit transfers (DBT). Banks have given these women special orientation and provided them with financial incentives to enable them to continue to work during the lockdown. Junaid Ahmed, the Country Director India of World Bank opined, "Women at the center of development has been an important story in South Asia. In these extraordinary times, when we are all united in our fight against the Covid 19 virus, these women's groups are playing a critical role." (Ibid). The contributions of SHGs in fighting Covid-19 has been hailed by Government of India evident from the opinion of Alka Upadhayay, Additional Secretary with Ministry of Rural Development who said, "Across the country, women's SHGs have risen to this extraordinary challenge with immense courage and dedication," ... "Their quick response to food insecurity and shortages in goods and services shows how this decentralized structure can be a vital resource in a time of crisis. The strength of India's rural women will continue to be essential in building back economic momentum after the most critical period is over." (Ibid.)

Hello Shakhi Chain: A unique venture to raise awareness of Covid-19 among rural women has come on the surface in which women used their mobile phones. Dozens of rural women of Muzaffarpur District of Bihar have created a 'Hello Sakhi Chain' who contact hundreds of families through mobile on daily basis in which they tell them about maintaining social distance, washing the hands frequently, quarantining migrants and guidelines issued by governments. The pioneer of this chain and coordinator of Jyoti Mahila Samakhya Punam Kumari said, "As we know

that almost all women use mobile phones in rural areas, we made it as weapon to communicate about these in local language during the lockdown and it worked at least in 6 development blocks out of 17 in the district." (Zeenews website: 2020).

VOLUNTARISM AT WORK: INDIVIDUAL EFFORTS

It will be not out of place to mention that women at macro level contributed significantly in fighting Covid-19 in the country. A few cases are being mentioned here. Dr. Nivedita Gupta a Senior Scientist at the Indian Council of Medical Research (ICMR), is in charge of framing the protocols for testing and treatments for Coronavirus pandemic in India. She is working with the Epidemiology and Communicable Diseases Division there. In 2018 and 2019, she led the investigations and containment of Nipah virus outbreak in Kerala, and has written vastly on the topic in academic journals too. The Coronavirus test kit named PathoDetect, was brought out in just six weeks by Minal who presented it to National Institute of Virology for evaluation on March 18th 2020. The Central Drugs Standard Control Organisation, the national regulatory agency for medical devices, gave its approval to PathoDetect, thereby strengthening India's potential in diagnosing the disease with the first Made-in-India kit. Another woman Deepa Malik India's first and only woman Paralympic medallist, along with her daughter Devika Malik, has launched an initiative called 'Happy Janta Kitchen' to provide cooked meals to daily-wage labourers affected by the lockdown. They launched the initiative in Kanpur and they were able to distribute over 100 packets of food each day. Through their NGO Wheeling Happiness, they are recruiting more ground workers and volunteers to expand their operations to more cities.(Yahoo).

RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

It is very interesting to note that the women of rural Bihar, particularly in Mithila region of the state, have ventured to offer prayers and worships to 'Corona Main' (Lordess Mother Corona) in groups at the banks of water bodies for granting lives of the people in order to get rid of Covid-19 pandemic. This was earlier practiced by women used to offer prayers to Lordess Chechak in the name of Kali main (mother) and worshiped Her when any person of family suffered from small or chicken pox. Women will use the religious rituals and using neem leaves throughout the period of illness. Similarly this time rural women worshiped 'Corona Mata'.

EPILOGUE

The whole gamut of discussion boils down to the conclusion that role of women in fighting Covid-19 is a significant global phenomenon. Women play significant roles in all spheres of tackling Covid-19 pandemic like prevention, protection,

treatment and raising awareness of the pandemic among the masses. Women played profound roles in India in general and in Bihar in particular. In addition to women in government agencies, their voluntary efforts have also been commendable. The nature of the roles played by them reflect the maturity and self assertiveness in their participation to the implementation process of pandemic related policies. The present study finds the ingredients of voluntarism and social capital in their roles. Their roles through SHGs, voluntary development organisations and voluntary individual efforts indicate that Covid-19 has facilitated women's empowerment in India in general and in Bihar in particular. The nature of their roles has been found to be free of socio-economic and cultural discrimination.

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CHANGING DIMENSIONS OF POVERTY IN INDIA: A STUDY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO BIHAR

Madhu Bala*

Abstract

Major issue of poverty has been facing in creating accurate parameters and identifying the poor, particularly in a country like India. The political regimes have kept moderating the parameters from time to time, as result, poverty has been found reduced but number of poor has kept increasing. Under the influence of this dominant assumption, the present paper intends to examine the changing paradigms of poverty in India and its dimensions with special reference to Bihar. The analysis reflect that assessment of poverty in India has been done on the parameters fixed by governments, perhaps in accordance with the policy priories and exhibiting the success in reducing poverty in India in their respective ways. The parameters developed after independence were gradually moderated every time to show the reduction in poverty rate. But in post reforms period, the parameters of the poverty were brought closer to the minimum needs of the common masses, however, it is still far below meeting the minimum basic needs. The changed definition and international instruments have made Indian governments to define poverty in multidimensional parameters, particularly after introduction of food security law and issuance of UN SDGs. The UNDP's MPI has shown positive shift in poverty situation in India and Bihar.

Keywords: Poverty, Measurement, Income/Nutrition-based, Multidimensional, India, Bihar

INTRODUCTION

At the time of independence, half of the population of India was in the category of poor as per norms of that time. As such, eradication or reducing the poverty

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became the prime goal of the governments. Several programmes were launched by governments from time to time for eradication of poverty since then, which can be broadly categorised into two – employment generative and asset endowment schemes. But the desired results could not be achieved. With the passage of time two major issues emerged in implementation of poverty eradication schemes – first, determining the parameters of poverty and second, identifying the poor people. Every government adopted different parameters to determine the poverty, sometimes suitable to the respective government's performance and sometimes on the parameters evolved on the global levels. The present paper intends to examine the changing paradigms of poverty in India and its dimensions with special reference to Bihar. Taking up Bihar's case for the present study is governed by the fact that it has always been below the national ratio of incidence of poverty on one hand and improving in reduction in poverty ratio as per UN report on multidimensional poverty assessment from 2004-05 to 2014-2015 in reducing poverty on the other. It is also pertinent to examine the quantum and incidence of poverty in Bihar. The data on the people coming out from and coming into the poverty circle is not available, hence the entire analysis is based on the number/ratio of poor changed from time to time in India in general and in Bihar in particular. In view of the above, the present paper in divided into three sections, firstly, determining parameters of poverty in different periods, secondly taking stock of incidence and ratio of poverty in India and Bihar and thirdly, examination of multidimensional poverty. The present paper does not examine the programmes and measures of poverty eradication.

PARADIGMATIC SHIFTS IN MEASUREMENTS OF POVERTY

The irony is that despite substantial growth in GDP, India could not achieve substantial reduction in poverty, even after dawn of the 21st century. India achieved almost ten per cent of growth in GDP by the decade of 2000-2010 but number of people living below the poverty line could not be substantially reduced (IIPA: 2010). However, the percentage of poor people declined ubstantially in Bihar evident from the fact that it came down from 61 per cent in 1995 to 55 per cent in 2005 and further to 34 per cent in 2010 (World Bank: 2016). Now the question is - what made this sharp decline from 2005 onwards? It may be attributed to determining parameters on the basis of calories intake. As such, it becomes an urgent imperative to look into the criteria of poverty estimation.

Poverty has been estimated on the basis of two criteria – calories intake and income base. But with the introduction of UN Sustainable Development Goals 2015, the estimation has been broadened and has been based not only on calories intake or income, but availability of services like health and education and equality in society. Let us have an idea of paradigmatic changes in the estimation of poverty in India.

Prior to independence, the poverty, as spelled out by Dada Bhai Naoroji during the last quarter of 19th century, was estimated on the basis of subsistence requirements, i.e. availability of necessary ingredients like rice, pulses, mutton, vegetables, ghee/oil and salt that amounted to ₹16 to ₹35 per capita per year. This was too high for that period and as compared to living standard of the people in India (Srinivasan: 2007). This parameter did not only meet the energy requirements but little luxury, social and religious wants and joy. Later in 20th century, the National Planning Committee with K.T. Shah as its Secretary, mentioned in 1939 that poverty should be determined on the basis of ensuring an adequate standard of living for masses and fixed it between ₹15 to ₹20 per capita per month. Srinivasan (Ibid.) concludes that both estimates of Naoroji and K T Shah 'approached the definition of poverty from a minimum cost of subsistence and irreducible minimum standard of living. Further in 1944 the Bombay plan moderated the parameters of poverty meaning that reduction in per capita requirement in rupees.

The third Planning Commission ventured to fix the poverty line in Rupee terms. The Working Group of Planning Commission consisting of eminent economists recommended the poverty line be set at a minimum level of expenditure to meet the basic requirements of a household and fixed it at ₹20 for rural areas and ₹25 for urban areas per day on the 1960-61 prices. This minimum per capita expenditure considered to be adequate for balanced food and provisions of housing for urban areas, By the year 1970, the estimation of poverty was shifted to requirement of per capita calories per day based on NSS data of 1960-61. It was found that 2,250 calories per capita per day will be sufficient for both rural and urban areas. These estimations of poverty were questionable on the ground of unavailability of data on the share of population in different expenditure classes.

With the change of political regime in 1977, a Task Force of Planning Commission was constituted to estimate poverty which submitted its report in 1979. The report suggested to fix poverty line separately for both the rural and urban areas. ₹49.63 per capita per month was marked for rural areas as compared to ₹6.76 for urban areas for meeting the need of 2,400 calories and 2100 calories respectively. The base year of this fixation was 1973-74. It depicts that the government intended to keep the incidence of poverty low. Again an Expert Group of Planning Commission was formed to review the methodology of poverty assessment in 1989. This time the Group suggested to demarcate the limit for different state differently on the basis of consumer price index. But it was later decided to segregate into urban and rural only. The poverty line was fixed at ₹205.84 and ₹281.30 for rural and urban areas respectively (Planning Commission: 1993). Again in the year 2004-05, it was revised to ₹356.30 and ₹538.60 for rural and urban areas respectively. It means that minimum adequate norm for nutrition was made a criterion for demarking poverty line. The economists cricised the demarcation of poverty line on the ground that

there was discrepancy in data of NSS (National Sample Survey) and NAS (National Accounts Statistics).

The regime of post economic reforms prompted to re-define poverty line. This can be termed as post-liberalist era in which the poverty line was increased in terms per capita consumption (as discussed above). Some economists raised the question of 'food and non-food components' of poverty. It was argued that 'while dietary needs are calculated on scientific basis, the non-food components were assessed on needs basis (Saith: 2005). It was argued that if the minimum energy intake was to be calculated, the poverty increased, however, the official data depicts significant decline in poverty rates from 1994 to 2005 (IIPA: 2010). In this backdrop Planning Commission set up Tendulkar Committee which submitted its report in 2009 and recommended changes in methodology of assessing poverty. According to the recommendations, actual food expenditure for nutritional outcome, consideration of different prices of food in rural and urban areas, consideration of weight based instead of outdated prices and private expenditure on health and education should calculated. As such it raised the poverty line from ₹356.30 446.68 for rural and from ₹538.60 to 578.80 for urban areas. In this way, Human Count Ratio (HCR) increased from 27.5 per cent in 1999 to 37.2 per cent in 2004-05.

The paradigm of poverty began changing substantially with announcement of Millennium Development Goals 2000 and Amrtya Sen's position on entitlement of food to all. The concept of food security expanded its wings from availability, universal accessibility and quality of food commodities to conducive conditions of metabolisation among the consumers. This fourth component of food security necessitated inclusion of non-food services like education and health in calculation of poverty. The Food Security Act 2013 commits to provide all the components to all. The announcement of United Nations Sustainable Development Goals 2015 emphasized the multi-pronged definition of poverty. According to the Goals the income based poverty line is US $79.3 per capita per month which amounts to over ₹6,000 at the current prices. On the basis of this parameter, India has still 29.7 per cent population living below poverty line (RISDC: 2016). If the income based poverty estimation at global level is taken into considerations, Indian poor are far below the international standard and as result quantum of poverty would be much larger than the official data. Besides, the new definition of poverty includes the availability of health and education services, hygienic living conditions and equality in socio-economic environment (Wada Na Todo Abhiyan: 2017). Since poverty eradication on these parameters is concerned, India will have more poor than what is official data show. But poverty ratio is still behind the national average evident from the NFHS 5 (2015-16) data which reveals that the state's MDP is 43

per cent and more than 50 per cent households in the bottom wealth quintile. So far health conditions are concerned, again the situation in India is pitiable. According to the official data, there is lack of medical infrastructure and doctors evident from the that there is stipulated stregnth of one medical doctor of any kind for 22000 of people and one doctor for hundreds of primary health centres. Besides, 50 per cent of the stregnth is vacant. So far the public expenditure on health services is concerned, it amounts to 0.3 per cent of the GDP of the country and 1.3 per cent if states are included. 67 per cent of total expences on health in India is met by 'out of pocket' meaning that services to poor are limited to 33 per cent of the total expenses (Verma: 2019).

POVERTY SCENARIO IN BIHAR VIS-A-VIS INDIA

In view of above definitions of poverty, the incidence of poverty has kept changing and sometimes managed to save the face of governments. Whatever the reason it may be, the poverty ratio has declined with very slow pace during 1950s to 1980s both in India as well as Bihar Half of the population in India was poor at the time of independence which was reduced slightly till introduction of economic reforms in 1991. The following Table 1 depicts the picture.

Table 1: Percentage of population of Poor (1957-1988)

Year	*Population of Poor in %*	
	India	*Bihar*
1957-58	53.4	59.7
1961-62	42.3	49.9
1964-65	50.4	54.3
1970-71	49.1	59.0
1977-78	51.3	57.8
1983-84	40.4	51.3
1987-88	33.4	42.7

Sources: Ahluwalia (1978) CMIE (1994)

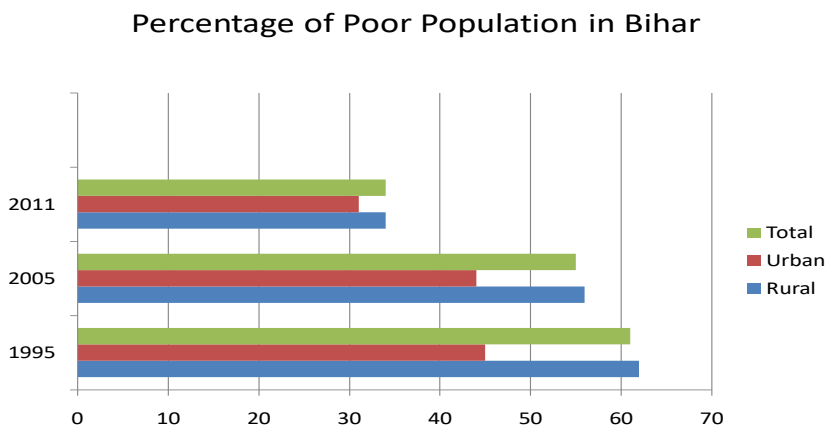
However, during the period 1983-84 and 1987-88 the decline in poverty in Bihar. as per official estimates, was comparable to the all India estimates –8.7 per cent to 7.0 per cent respectively. This relatively better performance of Bihar has put the state in second place (after Orissa) now with regard to the incidence of poverty. As per report of the Planning Commission of India, the poverty Ratio from 1993-94 to 2011-12 is given in the following Table 2 below:

Table 2: Poverty Ratio of Bihar and India (1993-94, 1999-00, 2004-05 and 2011-12)

Area		*1993-94*	*1999-00*	*2004-05*	*2011-12*	*Reduction in Poverty ratio between 2004-05 and 2011-12*
Bihar	Rural	58.2	44.3	55.7	34.1	21.6
	Urban	34.5	32.9	43.7	31.2	12.5
	Combined	55.0	42.6	54.4	33.7	20.7
India	Rural	37.3	27.1	41.8	25.7	16.1
	Urban	32.1	23.6	25.7	13.7	12.0
	Combined	36.0	26.1	37.2	21.9	15.3
Monthly Per Capita Expenditure (₹)						
Bihar	Rural	–	–	433	778	–
	Urban	–	–	526	923	–
India	Rural	–	–	447	816	–
	Urban	–	–	579	1000	–

Source: Planning Commission, Government of India

According to the commission, in 2011-12 for rural areas, the national poverty line by using the Tendulkar methodology is estimated at ₹816 per capita per month in villages and ₹1,000 per capita per month in cities. This would mean that the persons whose consumption of goods and services exceed ₹33.33 in cities and ₹27.20 per capita in rural Areas. The data shows that the poverty ratio in Bihar has witnessed a jump from 2005 to 2011. The following bar diagram shows the jump of reduction in poverty in Bihar.



Source: World Bank Group (2016)

ISSUES & REFLECTIONS ON POVERTY OF BIHAR

It has been largely argued by scholarship that the incidence, magnitude and trends of poverty have been questionable on the ground of methodology and identification of poor or population living below the poverty line. There are a large number of exclusion errors. No methodology for the identification of the poor can be foolproof. While both errors of inclusion and exclusion occur, the latter are of more serious concern than the former. Therefore, the net for identifying the poor should be expanded, and a large number of people should be covered. The possible improvements suggested in the method of identification of the poor were to make it much simpler, and to base it on obvious criteria for inclusion. The issue of the measurement of the poor and identification of the poor for public policy are two distinct problems. The two do not give the same estimates. The measurement can be done on the basis of the ex-post consumer survey but for identification purposes, a census at the local level is needed. It must be kept in mind that Tendulkar Committee parameters provide an estimate of the percentage of the poor, while for the targeted programme intervention, is needed to identify the poor. In terms of targeting the areas where the proportion of poor is very high, the real problem is not related to the estimation of poor, but with their identification (IHD &ADRI: 2010).

The another important issue relates to determine the quality of food, clothing, education and good housing which are the most important indicators according to the new definition of poverty. As such, it can be seen that population vulnerable to poverty have increased since the early 1990s and migration has had modest positive spin-offs, but that its gains must not be over-stated. S Mahendra Dev felt that political commitment is most important, and social mobilisation and decentralisation play a crucial role in ensuring the success of programmes. He argued that social movements in southern states were partly responsible for the success they had achieved in poverty reduction and human development. Alakh N Sharma is optimistic in considering the efforts of Bihar Government effective. To him while in 1998, only 14.53 per cent of households benefited from any government programme, in 2009, as many as 29 per cent of the total households had job cards. More than 50 per cent of the landless labourers and 25 per cent of the marginal farmers had job cards. The situation in Bihar has improved a lot in last ten fifteen years.

A very Important fact came from UNDP report on multidimensional poverty index (MPI) in 2019 which finds that 1.3 billion people are multi-dimensionally poor. Multi-dimensional poverty defines poor not only on the basis of income, but on other indicators, including poor health, poor quality of work and the threat of violence. A positive aspect of the report is that incidence of multidimensional poverty halved in India due to faster progress among the poorest in the country.

Among states, Jharkhand had the greatest improvement, with Arunachal Pradesh, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, and Nagaland only slightly behind (UNDP: 2019).

COCLUDING REMARKS

The whole gamut of discussions above reflect that assessment of poverty in India has been done on the parameters fixed by governments, perhaps in accordance with the policy priories and exhibiting the success in reducing poverty in India in their respective ways. The parameters developed after independence were moderated every time to show the reduction in poverty rate. But in post reforms period, the parameters of the poverty were brought closer to the minimum needs of the common masses, however, it is still far below meeting the minimum basic needs. The changed definition and international instruments have made Indian governments to define poverty in multidimensional parameters, particularly after introduction of food security law and issuance of UN SDGs.

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MAHANADI IN PERIL: A VICTIM OF GOVERNMENTAL POLICIES AND CLIMATE CHANGE

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Abstract

The rivers have been the victims of environmentally hostile policies of the governments. Most of the rivers in India have been contaminated and losing the volume of water day after day on one hand and the rivers are meted out with injudicious policies in the name of economic growth tilted in favour of industries and corporate activities on the other. Governments meted out improper treatment to the river resulting into adverse impact on river's water, weaker sections of society and agriculture. There are better incidents of governments' policies to save rivers viz. the Narmada river has been decided to be given the status of a corporate body or legal person by the Legislative Assembly of Madhya Pradesh. The High Court of Uttrakhand has in its one of the historic verdicts, passed the order to confer the status of legal person on the Ganga and Yamuna rivers. It is also significant to be noted that earlier the Wanganui river has been provided with the same status by the Parliament of New Zealand.[1] The legal person status requires government to maintain free and clean flow of rivers. Mahanadi deserves governmental protection, but the governmental policies have not only harmed the river but the people and agriculture also. Mahanadi, the lifeline of Odisha, faces the serious troubles. Climate change and the fight between industry and agriculture over gradual reduction of water from the Hirakud dam on the Mahanadi River in Odisha is a much probable cause for recurrent disasters and continuous unrest. No doubt, the financial gains from these industries go far away while causing an adverse damage to land and downstream regions. As such the present paper examines the worst effects of Hirakud Dam on Mahanadi, adverse impact on agriculture and the people of its basin, it further intends to suggest measures for appropriate policy to save Mahanadi.

Keywords: Mahanadi, Hirakud Dam, Irrigation, Industries, Floods, Odisha

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INTRODUCTION

India's sixth largest river Mahanadi (Great River), which flows through this region, was afflicted with much injury before the industries came into existence. Now, the situation is dismal. The first wound to the river came with the construction of the Hirakud dam, which was constructed in 1957. The construction of the dam was supposed to hold in restraint the flooding of coastal Odisha, provide irrigation water to thousands of farmers, and generate electricity and drinking water for the people. But it has been inadequate on all these fronts. In accordance with the original plan, coastal Odisha would be saved from flood by the joining of two hills at the Hirakud dam site, thus creating the 25 km-long earthen, concrete and masonry dam. The length of the river is so high that one cannot see from one end to the other. But the floods on the coast were not fully under control after the construction of the dam, partly because nobody used to calculate the flow of the Mahanadi's downstream tributaries. The flows in those rivers were not being recorded at the time. So engineers were just making supposition that doesn't work.[2]

HIRAKUD DAM, MAJOR FLOODS AND POLICY

Practically speaking, the dam is responsible for the severity of the flood. Major floods in coastal Odisha have carried on with since the construction of the dam – in 1961, 1982, 1994 and 2001 – due to a variety of defects in the system. Whenever floods take place in Odisha, the Hirakud dam adds up to disaster. The dam had four main objectives – flood management, hydropower production, irrigation and navigation, and in all four criteria, but the performance has been dismal.[3] By its very design, the dam cannot control high floods as it has the capacity to intercept only 16% of the Mahanadi's total flow at its location. The dam has no mechanism to keep an eye on flow of water into it from various tributaries of the Mahanadi .Even during the planning of the dam, serious concerns were raised about the lack of proper technical and feasibility studies. There is no agreement and flood coordination between Chhattisgarh state and Odisha. In fact, during the period of rainy season, most of the dams on the Mahanadi in Chhattisgarh were 90 per cent abound with water following heavy rainfall. In the absence of a coordination mechanism, the state released water into Mahanadi ,thus leading way to sudden increase in water flow to the Hirakud. Out of the 19 major floods experienced in the state in the recent past, 14 were downstream of the Hirakud and nine were caused by sudden release of water from the dam. In the past one decade, the number of occurrences of floods has increased. There have been five major floods, and all of them have been attributed to the dam storing water in violation of the rule curve. Since 2008, there have been two severe floods, in 2011 and 2014 which were caused by the faulty design and ill management of the Dam. The media and civil society

groups ascribe this failure to the ineffectiveness of the reservoir, reduced storage capacity, and non-compliance of the reservoir operation with the 'rule curve', to accommodate industrial and power production needs. Various reports suggest climate change is already causing increased intensity of rainfall within a short span of time. Unfortunately, the state government has yet to carry out any serious study of the impact of climate change deviations on flood management rules of the dam.[4]

The dam was built as a National Project and continued to enjoy that status for only some years. Subsequently, it was handed over to the state of Odisha. the Hirakud dam has submerged more lands and displaced more people than estimated in the feasibility report. With a submergence area of 743 square kilometres, the reservoir covered with water 1,23,303 acres of cultivable land and displaced 22,144 families officially. The unofficial sources in respect of displaced family statistics is much more than the official one. At least 3,540 of the officially recognized displaced families are not compensated up till now even 50 years after their displacement .But other figures put it at 9,913 families. Lack of proper compensations and rehabilitation by the government put the displaced people under pressure to move to different places to settle themselves on their own initiative. It resulted in severe livelihood crises, health hazards and diseases made them victims in their initial period of self-resettlement. Submergence of their lands under the Hirakud reservoir forced them to reel under various socioeconomic crises and marginalized them in various aspects of their life.[5]

CONFLICT BETWEEN IRRIGATION AND INDUSTRY: RESULT OF THE POLICIES

The reservoir water is allocated spatially and temporally for competing sectors, thereby exacerbating the conflict between agriculture and industry. The farmers raised their voice against water allocation for industry and intake from the reservoir. The access of thermal and aluminium industries transforms the Sambalpur-Jharsuguda region rapidly into the largest cluster of smelter and power industrial units in the world. New conflicts have now come into view around pollution of the reservoir and competition for irrigation water. Mining activities, changes in land use pattern in the catchment, and industrial effluents have had telling impacts for the silt load in the reservoir and the quality of reservoir water.[6]

Over 300,000 farmers of Odisha depend on its water for irrigation. Industries springing up around the dam are water guzzlers. The promise of dam water for people's sake by the state government is yet to materialize. The anti-dam protests had surfaced during the early 1950s. Protests by farmers are treated as casual incidents planned either by social activists or by political parties. The conflict between industry and agriculture can be exemplified by citing some incidents.

In Talab village, near the dam, water-guzzling industries tried to lift water from the reservoir. For the past five years a war is going on between villagers and the concerned industry for getting enough water in the canal. After the massive protest, the villagers along with others erected a 16-foot-long wall right above an underground pipe laid by Vedanta Aluminium to take water from the reservoir for its smelter located far away. Hindalco, an aluminum company, started laying pipes for its second water lift-off plant from the reservoir. A massive protest from farmers followed. This clearly shows how aggressive the companies are and how confident they are in respect of government approval. Again, farmers near the Sason canal protested again on hearing that Bhushan Steel was preparing for a second pipeline to the reservoir. The situation remains out of control. Farmers say that there is already a reduction in irrigation from the reservoir. The allocation of water to upcoming industries will make the situation worse. Since industries were allowed water from the dam through a government order in 1990, there has been a gradual increase in industrial water use from the dam. But post-1997, the industrial water allocation has gone up six times, coinciding with the state's industrialization drive. In the past one year, the protests have attracted huge public participation. On October 26, 2006, more than 20,000 farmers formed a 20 km-long human chain around the dam. This was the first sign that the farmers across the dam's command areas were emerging as a united force.

The government is also under tremendous pressure from the industrial lobby not to cancel water allocation to industries from the dam since it could impact their operations in areas surrounding other dams in the state as well. The state government has signed MOUs worth ₹300,000 crores with industry in the past few years, mostly to mine and use the state's vast mineral resources. It attracted business investments citing abundant water and mineral resources in the state. The sharp polarization between farmers and industries over water use is worrisome. The wall demarcating this in Talab is a stark reminder. Farmers say they are not getting enough water for irrigation. The government claims surplus water in the Hirakud dam. Why the contradiction is found? The answer lies in its reduced storage capacity and water inflow, and the changed cropping pattern in the reservoir's command area.

To begin with, the Hirakud irrigation system is one of the most inefficient irrigation systems in India. A study entitled 'Tail Enders and Other Deprived in the Canal Water Distribution', carried out by the planning commission in 2003 found that 80 per cent of the tail area in the Hirakud command system did not avail sufficient water for irrigation say merely 18 percent water reaches the tail end.[7] In the protests over the Hirakud water, all these three categories of users participated. Even farmers cultivating close to the dam area say that they are not getting enough water. While the demand from industry is increasing, the dam's storage capacity is

decreasing. A sedimentation study conducted by the Central Water Commission using remote-sensing technique in 1995 showed that its capacity for usable amount of water was reduced from 4.72 million acre feet (1.22 million litre) to 4 million acre feet since commissioning. The state's technical committee found that at this rate of sedimentation, the usable storage capacity of the reservoir in 2007 would be 3.77 million acre feet, a 20.12 per cent loss in storage over 50 years. In 1990, for the first time the irrigation department (now the Department of Water Resources) earmarked 0.350 million acre feet a year for industrial use. This decision was made on the presumption that the reservoir had a usable storage capacity of 4.72 million acre feet, but the capacity has been falling all these years. Water inflow to the reservoir has also come down drastically. Several studies, both by government agencies and independent technical experts have proved this by documentary supports. A retired chief engineer of Orissa, Bishnu Prasad Das estimates that by 2025 inflow to the reservoir will fall to 8-10 million acre feet. According to Das's estimate, water flow to the reservoir from Chhattisgarh is falling at a rate of 5 per cent a decade. The state technical committee also reported less inflow to the reservoir during the monsoon period.[8]

GOVERNMENT POLICIES: LEANED TOWARDS CORPORATE SECTOR

Various movements like the Mahanadi Banchao Andolan were found against the diversion of river water for industrial purposes which adversely affect irrigation and cause mounting pressure on the Hirakud dam .The prime objective was the withdrawal of assurances given on water supply from the river Mahanadi to 36 industry concerns. The people living downstream in the Hirakud dam system are already facing a water crisis. Their woes will only get compounded if water from the river Mahanadi is diverted further. Water supply from the Mahanadi river to industries would adversely affect Sambalpur – the rice bowl of the state. It would also hit lakhs of farmers, as water for industry use is bound to come from the upstream Hirakud Dam.[9] While the two governments wrestle over these claims and counterclaims, the question of the survival of farmers and fishermen who are entirely dependent on the Mahanadi remains under jeopardy. A study done by the Forum for Policy Dialogue on Water Conflicts in India, or FPDWCI, shows how the tussle between the two states has overshadowed the debate on the increasing defacement and pollution of the Mahanadi. The river is dying as its natural flow is hindered and the water level is consistently falling. The sale of water to various industries has only aggravated the problem. This, the study concludes, has put the livelihoods of at least 20,000 families of farmers and fishermen at risk. They live along the banks of the river, from Shivrinarayan to Sambalpur. Chhattisgarh and Odisha governments favour diversion of the river's water to industrial houses. Neither government shows its readiness to discuss how the Mahanadi is dying.

Chhattisgarh and Odisha governments have sanctioned the plans for the death of this river. They are now cunningly implementing it. The main issue in the Mahanadi water dispute is the "selling of water to the corporate sector". The Chhattisgarh government aims to construct power plants with a total capacity of 70,000 MW in the state. In fact, both states have signed several MoUs for building power plants.[10]

Development has arrived to the area through roads and chimneys (aluminium smelters, coal fired power plants, etc.), but safe drinking and irrigation waters are still a far cry. People depend on these water tankers provided by nearby industries and mining companies. When the tankers do not arrive, and which is for almost more than a half of the days in a year – as the villagers say – they have to depend on nearby ponds, wells, bore wells, all of which are getting drier by the year. Access to safe drinking water that is supposed to be their 'right' and was to be delivered at their homes, is provided as a matter of 'mercy' by the miners. Power plant companies and other industrial houses have taken away people's land, water and forests in the name of development. The huge coal deposits along the Mahanadi basin across Odisha and Chhattisgarh have become its curse. Coal-fired power plants are major water guzzler and have put water resources to stress in the Mahanadi basin. Both the states have committed themselves to mining and industrialization in the name of development and have been promoting the Mahanadi as a water surplus river for inviting more investment into mining and industrial sector.

CONSTRUCTION OF BARRAGES: CONFLICTS BETWEEN ODISHA AND CHHATTISGARH

The recent conflict between Odisha and Chhattisgarh over Mahanadi waters is the latest addition to India's long list of interstate river water conflicts. The conflict surfaced in July 2016 when Odisha raised an objection to the construction of some barrages in upstream stretches of the river in Chhattisgarh. Now, as Chhattisgarh has erected several dams and barrages in the upstream of the Mahanadi, Odisha is complaining about drastic reduction of water flow into the Hirakud Dam that would impact its development plans and communities. Odisha has filed a complaint at a Tribunal that has been set up under the Interstate River Water Disputes Act (ISRWD Act) of 1956, and the matter is now being heard. The real cause of the shortage of irrigation water seems to be the agreements both governments have signed for supplying Mahanadi water to a large number of thermal (coal-fired) power plants. Even hydropower generation is being rendered ineffective by industry's need for water. Hirakud dam was used to produce more than 300 megawatts, but now power generation is sacrificed to retain water for the sake of industries. At times, power generation goes down to 10 megawatts or even lower – even though the reservoir is full. The water is there, but they are not used for generating power. Water is meant for industry sake.

The Odisha government has alleged that the central government has been favouring the upper riparian state in this alleged illegal act, and has wanted an immediate halt to all such constructions and do an assessment of their impact on the Mahanadi flow."The annual flow of water in the Mahanadi in Odisha is 20 million cubic feet and if water is intercepted for storage by the upstream state, the flow will fall sharply," the state's engineer-in-chief had said then, at the time when the conflict started, and he was asked to investigate into Chhattisgarh's illegalities.[11] While 53.1 per cent of the Mahanadi's entire catchment area falls in Chhattisgarh, for the Hirakud Dam reservoir it is almost 90 per cent. That is the reason why the Hirakud Dam is completely dependent on the release of water from Chhattisgarh. Catchment area of the dam inside Odisha is only about 9.4 per cent. Most of these barrages in Chhattisgarh have been built under guise of irrigation but huge quantity of water has already been allocated to industries. These are in fact major projects as can be visible from the gates, height and catchment area interception of the barrages. Chhattisgarh has been refusing these charges and says it has every right to the water of the river. It is now for the tribunal to decide who is right and who is not.

IMPACT OF CLIMATE CHANGE

A substantial increase in the temperature in the Mahanadi basin affects the water retention capability of the basin. Now climate change is reducing the total amount of water in the basin, so that both industry and agriculture are vying for an increasingly shrinking pool. A recent study done by researchers at IIT Bombay shows that the Mahanadi's flow has decreased more than 10%, due to a decrease in rainfall in the basin. Reduced rainfall combined with heavy silt deposits in the reservoir draw a perception that the reservoir will be virtually useless in 20 years, leaving both industry and agriculture high and dry. The dam was designed to last 100 years, but many believe it will become useless much earlier than 2057.

The Mahanadi river basin is one of the most vulnerable to climate change and variations in temperatures and precipitation regions. Rao found that the surface air temp over this area is increasing at a rate of 1.1 deg per century which is more than double of that of entire India. The impact of climate change may also be more severe for Odisha. A slight change in the pressure anomaly of the sea can have a severe impact on the precipitation of Odisha, which results in increase of hydrologic extremes in that region. Recent past records of Odisha with a fluctuating weather condition and the high occurrence of hydrologic extremes show that this is the most affected region of India due to climate change.[12] Besides desertification, the Hirakud dam has caused massive microclimatic changes in the region. As a result of the forest submergence and creation of such a huge man-made water body, a lot of moisture gathers around the clouds. So, when the monsoon clouds pass over the

reservoir in the northeast, there is a lot of rain. This causes severe and recurring droughts on the other side of the reservoir, that is in the KBK (Kalahandi-Balangir-Koraput) region. Global climate change, inducing erratic rainfall, is also affecting the Mahanadi basin in a big way. A study of 2010, done using various scientific models, clearly represents a decreasing trend in the monsoon flows of the Mahanadi at the Hirakud Dam.[13] Analysis of instrumental climate data has revealed that the mean surface temperature over India has increased at a rate of about 0.4 degree Celsius per century, which is statistically significant.[14] A latest study finds out that the water yields of major surplus basins, such as the Mahanadi, Godavari and West Flow River–I, have provided evidences of decreases in recent periods. The water yields show decreases of more than 10 per cent for the Mahanadi.[15] Ecological concerns and concerns emanating from climate change were hardly any issue for most of the river conflicts in the country when they started. However, they are to be taken into account in the overall assessment of Mahanadi dispute. In fact, environmental concerns have been mostly talked about in terms of reduction of flows. Undoubtedly, the reduction of flows brought about by upstream dams or barrages or even due to heavy upstream water use (apart from affecting the availability of water) can have palpable environmental/ecological impacts in the downstream areas.[16] but climate change and other factors also have serious ecological implications.

WAYS AHEAD: POLICY SUGGESTIONS

There is an greater necessity to integrate climate resilience models in the river basin management planning of the nation. For Mahanadi, the need is urgent for the reason that drought is expanding its firm hold, marginalizing millions of farmers and forcing millions to migrate seasonally. Both Odisha and Chhattisgarh have climate change action plans that need to work in synchronization with each other to save Mahanadi River, its farmers and other dependent communities from climate impacts. While the dispute between the two states has been stoked up by apprehension and experience of reduced water flow in the basin due to dams and barrages, it is the call of the hour to recognize that climate change has an equally important effect and its impacts are going to grow manifold. Instead of waiting for the tribunal to come up with a water-sharing formula, the two governments will do far better by embracing joint activities to make the basin more climate resilient.[17]

For the Mahanadi, the ambitious and aggressive plan to build coal fired power plants on the part of both the governments creates in fact a dangerous cocktail of pollution, greenhouse gas emission, loss of local natural resources thereby causing an adverse effect on health, livelihood and dignify of the local and indigenous communities. The Odisha and Chhattisgarh governments are required to move beyond the conflict and work in a cooperation mode to address all these issues to solve the Mahanadi dispute and conserve the river basins. Forest conservation,

ensuring rights to local indigenous communities over the local natural resource, moving towards a green energy path, revival of water bodies and feeder streams/ tributaries and climate change action plans are some of the key joint actions both the states can undertake. Under the current situation, the states need to be proactive and go for a joint mechanism of cooperation, by moving beyond conventions, and save the dying rivers and its communities from utter disaster. For this to happen, an urgent plan to stop using coal fired power plants is highly needed. Even as the hearing in tribunal continues, the chief ministers of both the states need to discuss the real and tough challenges such as climate change, drought, crop failure, phasing out coal and paving way for green energy sources so that the way for cooperation can be unlocked.

The two states need to build interstate cooperation and keep the door open for dialogue instead of fighting the issue at a tribunal. Tribunals have not produced a strong impression up to the present moment and will fail to deal with issues of reviving a river or giving rights to farmers or fisher folks and other indigenous communities. Odisha and Chhattisgarh should form a joint, strategic action for the proper management of the Mahanadi's water. They should not let the Mahanadi conflict turn into a political fight between ruling parties of both the states. A higher need is called for to collect more authentic data in respect of the river basin's water-holding aspects. The governments should immediately work out a green energy plan for the basin and discontinue coal-fired power plant by 2030. To recognize community rights over resources and to ensure their participation in river management is the need of the hour.[18] There is an urgent need for intervention by the CWC to establish a real-time dynamic data-sharing mechanism, to improve and restructure flow reading stations, and to synchronize rule curves of all the dams that pose potential threats to Hirakud's flood control measures.

The river basin can be recharged over time by rejuvenating streams and Feeder Rivers and by supporting healthy traditional forests. The catchment area of the Mahanadi still contains a few such forests managed by tribal residents. And communities along the river, especially fishermen having some traditional knowledge in respect of river and fishery should be brought into the planning process. Presently, there is no system for them to be stakeholders in planning management of the river. There is a greater inevitability to generate consciousness among people regarding the need for planting trees along river banks, recharge ground water and arrest soil erosion. The real issue is to protect the original natural conditions of the river and the environmental flows. It is high time for both the state governments and the political parties to make clear policy around water use that prioritize and privilege the water use for domestic needs and for agriculture and also to come up with a river policy.

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WOMEN IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA: A COMPARISON WITH PAKISTAN AND BANGLADESH

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Abstract

Women's share in power structure of a country has been found inadequate in the world. Though women's share has increased globally in last two decades, yet there is diversity across countries in governance and including equal access of women to leadership roles. It is imperative to examine that as to how much India, being the strongest nation in South Asia region, has been gender sensitive in comparison to neighbouring nations like Pakistan and Bangladesh. The public administration is an important employer in many countries and with the equal participation of women in public administration can have a significant impact on women's economic empowerment. Concrete steps should be taken within public administration to attract, retain and promote women into leadership and decision-making positions and to transform the organizational culture of public administration in general, as well as in the different ministries and agencies. Thus it is suggestible that state and its agencies must therefore build concrete gender action plans that not only change policies and processes, such as staffing and human resources, but also alter mind sets and institutional cultures.

Keywords: Women, Public Administration, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh

> "Increasing the proportion of women in public institutions makes them more representative, increases innovation, improves decision-making and benefits whole societies...we can't achieve any of our goals without the participation of women and girls."
>
> António Guterres, United Nations Secretary-General

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INTRODUCTION

The participation and role of women in every sphere of life and society is an important aspect of development. Women plays an important role in the home and outside the home, in income generating activities whether in primary, secondary or tertiary sector. Their contribution to the social development is well-recognized in a manner they take care of the family and upbringing of children along with the other activities. Even though the contribution and participation of women in social, economic and political development are well-recognized, there are shortcomings in recording women's contribution to work and output. As a result, much of the contribution of women to Gross Domestic Production goes unrecorded and accounted for. Taking cognizance of this statistical invisibility of women's work, the National Policy for the Empowerment of Women, 2001 states that women's "contribution to socio-economic development as producers and workers will be recognized in the formal and informal sectors (including home based workers) and appropriate policies relating to employment and to her working conditions will be drawn up. One such measures are the reinterpretation and redefinition of conventional concepts of work wherever necessary, e.g. in the Census records, to reflect women's contribution as producers and workers.

The Gender Development Index (GDI) and the Gender Empowerment Measures (GEM) are the vital tools to measure the holistic development and empowerment of women. The GDI addresses gender-gaps in life expectancy, education, and incomes and the GEM addresses the inequalities in three areas with respect to decision making – political participation, economic participation and power over economic resources.

BACKGROUND

The World Bank data shows that world's total population of women is almost half (3.764 billion in 2018) of the total population. But in many countries, public institutions continue to be male-dominated and patriarchal, perpetuating harmful, and sometimes violent, attitudes and practices. Although there is no global baseline on women's participation in public administration, the UNDP Global Report on Gender Equality in Public Administration (GEPA)shows that women are under-represented, especially in leadership and decision-making roles. The available data suggests that women make up on average 45 per cent of public administration, yet there is high variation of women's participation across countries, ranging from 3 per cent to 77 per cent. The overall share of women in public administration is highest, on average, in OECD countries (55.1%), and lowest in the Arab States (35.9%). However, when looking at the share of women in decision-making positions in public administration, the highest average share is found in Latin America and the

Caribbean (43.4%) and the lowest in Africa (25.1%). Moreover, only 20 per cent of countries have reached parity (50%) in the share of women in decision-making positions of public administration.[1]

PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN INDIAN ADMINISTRATION

The participation of women in Local Governments, State Assemblies, Parliament and especially in the Public Institution and Public Administration empowers the women in decision making process. Though in India, women have held the posts of President and Prime Minister, as well as Chief Ministers of various States, the Global Gender Gap Report, 2012, India ranks 20th from the bottom in terms of representation of women in Parliament. Eventhe Economic Survey 2017-18 shows that with 49 per cent of women population, the political participation of women has been low with around 11 per cent women representation in Parliament, 9 per cent women representation in various State Assemblies and there are 13.72 lakh elected women representatives (EWRs) in PRIs (Panchayati Raj Institutions) which constitute 44.2 per cent as on December, 2017. Women Sarpanchs accounted for 43 per cent of total Gram Panchayats (GPs) across the country.

The Constitution of India provides for the creation of All India Services (AIS) common to the Union and the States. There was women representation in the Indian Administrative Services during the pre-Independence period. Isha Basant Joshi was the first woman IAS officer of British India posted as Magistrate and then as Assistant Commissioner in Delhi. She has held many senior and honorable positions in various departments and became the Commissioner-cum-State-Editor of the District.

George (2011) found that after Independence the first competitive examination for the AIS was held in 1948. The monopoly of male existed till 1950 in IAS and only in 1951 the first lady got into IAS. Anna Rajam George (Malhotra) was the first woman IAS officer of independent India. Though the constitution of India ensures equality, the Indian Administrative Service Rules of 1954 was discriminatory and disadvantageous to women as "no married women shall be appointed to the service and resign from the service in the event of marriage." This disqualification and restriction was removed by deleting the very provision from the IAS recruitment Rule in 1972 and married women were allowed to join the service and an additional provision of maternity leave was granted under this recruitment rule. Analyzing the Civil lists published by the Department of Personnel and Training, Government of India depicts that the women's entry in to IAS is not increasing much and has been fluctuating from time to time. This is corroborated by the random analysis of the data for few years from the Civil list shows that in the year 1951 only one woman got into the service, after ten years in 1961 also only one woman entered the service. In

the last decade that is in the year 2000 only 9 women got into Indian Administrative Service. Moreover in between years also there is an increase and again there is a decrease in the number of women getting into the service and women's entry is not on the increase every year. In the contemporary period women IAS officers are not debarred from any kind of postings within the service. They are working in all the states and union territories and holding a variety of ranks from senior most to junior most level.[2]

Presently, as per the civil list, there are 886 women in IAS and 3,849 men in IAS which shows that the women participation or representation in the Indian Administrative Services is only 18 per cent where they represent 49 per cent of the population. It is important to mention here that the women participation in the Public Institutions at the Managerial/Executives level in the Central Public Enterprises and the Public Enterprises Survey 2015-16 shows that in 2013-14 there were 26,186 (9.69 %) women, in 2014-15 there were 26,661 (10.08%) women and in 2015-16 there were 27,010 (10.44%) women. The figures for the three years shows that the women at the Managerial level in the Public Enterprises constitute only around 9-10 per cent of the total employees at the Managerial level. The Union Government to ensure adequate representation of women in administration had total of 76 women were appointed under Central Staffing Scheme during the period from 1st April, 2018 to 31 March, 2019 including 50 women at Secretary/ Additional Secretary and Joint Secretary levels.

The appointments/additional charge/Extension of tenure/service as CMDs/ MDs, Executive Directors, Functional Directors, Nonofficial Directors in PSUs/ Banks, Financial Institutions, Railway Claims Tribunal (Indian Railways) include 72 pertaining to women during the above period. A total of 181 women were approved for appointment to posts of Joint Secretary level and above in various organized Central Services excluding appointments under the Central Staffing Scheme. 35 women were approved for appointment as Member/Chairperson/CEO etc. in various Autonomous Bodies, Administrative Tribunals, Labour Courts and Regulatory Bodies.[3]

The National Policy for the Empowerment of Women (2001) has the primary goal of bring about the advancement, development and empowerment of women. The Policy is widely disseminated so as to encourage active participation of all stakeholders for achieving its goals. And for the participation of women in public administration the policy mentions 'Women's equality in power sharing and active participation in decision making, including decision making in political process at all levels will be ensured for the achievement of the goals of empowerment. All measures will be taken to guarantee women equal access to and full participation in decision making bodies at every level, including the legislative, executive, judicial, corporate, statutory bodies, as also the advisory Commissions, Committees,

Boards, Trusts etc. Affirmative action such as reservations/quotas, including in higher legislative bodies, will be considered whenever necessary on a time bound basis. Women–friendly personnel policies will also be drawn up to encourage women to participate effectively in the developmental process.'

George (2011) in her paper bring out the facts related to the position women in administration and reveals that women are equally capable to occupy the top most services of the nation. It is just that women need to come out of the age old traditions and clutches of customs, prove their talents and get into administrative services, make a change in the society and lead the nation towards development. It removes misconception regarding All India Service and suggests measures to increase the entry of women into administrative services. She explains of the discrimination in postings, "Mostly, politicians do not feel comfortable with lady officers and do not like women to occupy the top-most positions. As such men do not like to share power with women. Moreover, women are not power-oriented and money minded and they do not usually go for political influence or other measures to get plum postings and favours. Men go for these things as they are familiar with the ways and means to achieve the targets. Women do not bother much about the post allotted and they perform their duties and excel in their given postings. Women are streamlined in administrative services even if they are meritorious and competent enough as men have been holding so called plump postings for years together and rarely women get such postings." On the attitude of men, the officer states, "even now, the attitude of men is not changed; they still wonder why women have to work as women are not the breadwinners of the family whereas men are in reverse. They fail to understand that women also contribute to family income."[4]

The views of another woman officer whom George (2011) interviewed, on the issue of increasing the number of women in to the service, the officer opined, "we need to educate women, develop self-confidence and make them realize that they can contribute to the nation apart from being domestic women. Girl children are getting less nutrition comparatively and Government needs to take more effective steps to rectify that". Bringing out the lapses in administration, it was pointed out that a few officers are afraid of complexity of audit in giving orders related to sanctioning of government aid. It was further argued that the other difficulty is that they do not have quality administrators who are not trained well for the job i.e. the generalists and professionals". She makes the generalization regarding women officers based on her experiences with her colleagues and she states "women officers are honest, simple, understanding, forward looking and conservative. There is no difference in performance between men and women officers. Politicians are reluctant to approach women officers directly as women are less influential compared to men. As a consequence of that there is less of political interference."[5]

WOMEN IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN PAKISTAN

The UNDP Pakistan Report on Gender Equality in Public Administration-Pakistan Case Study[6] shows that Pakistan has reached parity between women and men at the tertiary education level which is very relevant to the civil service requires a bachelor's degree. In 2017, women constituted 44.5 per cent of total recruitment done into the Cadre Services which include the All Pakistan Unified Grades (APUG) and the Federal Unified Grades (FUG) of Pakistan for 2016-017. Appointment to the Cadre Services is based on merit and a reservation quota of 10 per cent for women. The share of female recruitment through the Central Superior Services (CSS) examination has more than doubled from 9 per cent in 2000 to 20 per cent in 2007 when the 10 per cent quota was introduced. In the past eight years, this has again more than doubled to 44.5 per cent.

In addition to the mandated quota to support women's entrance into the civil service, the combination of basic provisions in the Constitution, ratification of the Beijing Platform for Action and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), and Pakistan's commitment to the SDGs provides a platform of policy foundations for promoting gender equality and women's full participation in all spheres of national life. These principles and policies are also reflected in the principles of policy of the Federal Public Service Commission (FPSC), the entity tasked to examine and select the cadre bureaucrats for different government agencies, which allow for affirmative action under Article 34. Specific policies which take into account women's social constraints include the wedlock policy which allows husbands and wives to request postings in the same duty station, the rotation policy which allows women officers to opt for an exemption in order to stay close to their families, and policies for unmarried women, giving them the option to request postings in the city where their parents are residing. The challenges that women in Pakistan face are entrenched societal attitudes relating to women despite international obligations and constitutional provisions. The other finding in the report is that the designing and implementing policies for increasing women's access to decision-making positions in the Pakistan public administration require a multi-faceted approach looking at the socioeconomic realities of women's lives.

Although progress is being made in terms of total numbers of women in public administration in Pakistan, both glass ceilings and glass walls continue to present challenges to women's equal participation in decision-making positions. The Government of Pakistan has put in place some facilitation mechanisms to strengthen retention of women joining the civil service. These are:

(i) **Wedlock Policy:** As of 1998, husbands and wives can request transfers/postings in the same duty station. Moreover, for those couples already serving in the

same duty station, efforts to keep them together will be made until such time that both can be posted, together, to a different duty station.

(ii) **Rotation Policy:** For cadres under the APUG and Pakistan Administrative Service (PAS), it is imperative to serve outside the officer's home province. Women officers can choose to get an exemption from this rotation policy to stay closer to their families.

(iii) **Unmarried Women Postings:** As of 1999, unmarried women can choose to request posting in the city where their parents are residing.

(iv) **Maternity Leave:** Women employees can avail 90 days of paid maternity leave which is not charged to their regular annual leave account. Moreover, they can combine leave from their leave account to their maternity leave, should they want to extend. Rules also permit maternity leave to be combined with extraordinary leave (EOL).

(v) **Quotas in Civil Service:** The quota system in the civil services of Pakistan was introduced to address initial regional disparities in the newly independent state and was to be folded back after five years. However, it continues to present day and women's quota was introduced in 1989 and increased to ten per cent in 2007.[7]

In Pakistan, women civil servants' perspectives reflects in views of women civil servant in which one woman civil servant opined that she will primarily be striving for a work-life balance. Over the years, the priorities for men have changed as well. Just as it is important for women to strive for balance, it has become pertinent for men as well. This is also reflected in the new management styles. Management styles over the years have evolved as well and are more result oriented. This gives employees the opportunity to maintain a work-life balance. While some women civil servants are of the views that there are no barriers to entry for women in public administration. Over the years, the barriers, if encountered, are social. Attitudes within society generally discourage female employment. Women observe that families where working daughters are not a norm would consider working for the government better than working in the private sector. Also, women have come a long way in the civil services. From 1984, when women constituted less than 10 per cent of the total students, today they make up more than 40 per cent of the students at the CSA. Pressure is only coming as a norm. As long as the civil servant is performing well and is accessible to the public, gender does not make any difference to the public.

WOMEN IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN BANGLADESH[8]

The Bangladesh civil service (BCS) has more than one million civil servants in 37 ministries, 11 divisions, 254 departments and 173 statutory bodies (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 2010). The appointment to a service is on the basis of merit and

quota reservations for districts, freedom fighters, women and ethnic minorities. Ten per cent of posts are reserved for women [Ministry of Women and Children's Affair (MOWCA), 2011]. There is steady progress in the numbers of women in service at middle and senior levels from 8.5 per cent in 1999 to 15 per cent in 2006 and 21 per cent in 2011 (BBS 2011). The per cent of women in the total public administration in 2006 was 1,43,502 (15%) and it was 2,23,644 (21%) in 2008-09.

Similarly, there was steady progress from 1999 through to 2011 for women participation in middle and senior levels, with increases up to the level of Joint Secretary. At Secretary level, there was no marked increase in 12 years and, at the Additional Secretary level, there was an increase only in 2011 to 5.2 per cent – still very low in absolute numbers. In 2006, about 15 per cent of officers in the Bangladesh Civil Service Administration Cadre were women, but only about 2 per cent were at the level of Secretary and 7 per cent at the level of Joint Secretary. In 2006, the participation of women in public service was about 15 per cent and by 2009, this had risen to 21 per cent and their proportion at class I level was 14 per cent only.

In 2010, the CEDAW shadow report prepared by the Citizens' Forum on CEDAW found that the highest percentage of women (62 per cent) was in MOWCA, followed by 22 per cent in the Ministry of Law, Justice and Parliamentary Affairs and 14 per cent in Education – in other words, the sectors traditionally highly feminized in many countries. The report also found that recent recruitment drives in the police have raised the number of women to around 2,000 in law Enforcement agencies. In terms of recruitment, more widely, more women are entering the BCS

The over arching provisions of the Constitution, Government of Bangladesh (GOB) endorsement of CEDAW, the national Labour Code (2006) and the National Women's Development Policy (2011), in particular, provide important policy provisions for gender equality and even special measures for women in the public administration.

In public sector employment, men and women enjoy the same benefits and amenities in all respects, including in pay, allowances, pensions and other financial benefits. However, as various reviews on administrative reform have found, massive improvements in working conditions are needed to attract more women to the civil service. Constraints and priorities identified for the lesser participation of women in the public service and especially at decision-making levels include lower recruitment of women; fewer promotions of women, especially at senior levels; field postings and transfers; lack of gender sensitivity and discriminatory attitudes among management and colleagues and lack of family support. Various institutional weaknesses and constraints in overall public administration make human resource development, planning and use difficult. The lack of a centralized human resource

management function and the lack of adequate sex-disaggregated data for human resource management and planning are some of the major constraints.[9]

ISSUES RELATED TO WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION[10]

Public administration is the bedrock of government and the central instrument through which national policies and programmes are implemented. In an ideal world, public administration is guided by principles of fairness, accountability, justice, equality and non-discrimination, and serves as a model of governance for society which includes the promotion of gender equality and women's empowerment in the civil service workforce.

However, globally, this is not yet the reality. Instead of being a driving force behind the implementation of internationally-agreed goals on gender equality and human rights standards and principles, in many developed and developing countries, public administration often remains a patriarchal institution, perpetuating gender-biased traditions, attitudes and practices. Women do not yet participate equally in public administration, especially in leadership and decision-making roles. The UNDP Report on Gender Equality in Public Administration 2014, shows that in India in 2006, the overall participation of women in public administration was 12 per cent and in Bangladesh in 2008-09 the overall participation of women in public administration was 21. The UNDP Pakistan report on Gender Equality in Public Administration: Pakistan Case Study 2017, shows that currently, there are 13 per cent women from the APUG serving in the Federal Government, a slight improvement from the 12 per cent women serving in 2014–15.For all grades, the percentage of women officers was 17 per cent.

The target of a minimum of 30 per cent of women in leadership positions, originally endorsed by the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) in 1990 and reaffirmed in the Beijing Platform for Action in 1995, is being approached in many public administrations and even surpassed in some. Nevertheless, while progress is being made in terms of total numbers of women in public administration, both glass ceilings and glass walls continue to present challenges to women's equal participation in decision-making positions.

The main individual issues which are barriers to women's participation in public administration are that substantially more women than men are lowering their career aspirations to accommodate personal and family concerns. In addition, female executives were more than twice as likely as their male counterparts to delay marriage or child rearing to establish a career, and women, compared with men, decided not to have children.

There are Constitutional, legal provisions and policies in place. Despite these provisions and policies, often legislations and policies continue to be discriminatory and have differential impacts on women. In some cases, discrimination against women remains overt and direct. For example, public administration statutes that use gender-insensitive language exist, with officials and employees referred to in the masculine only. In other cases, seemingly gender-neutral laws, regulations, policies or programmes disadvantage women because these do not take into account either women's biological differences (such as pregnancy, breast feeding, etc.) or, more commonly, differences that exists because of gender stereotypes, expectations, attitudes and historical discrimination.

While various countries do have national anti-discrimination or equal opportunity provisions in place, these safeguards are not always implemented in public administration. For example, despite the provisions of CEDAW calling for temporary special measures, and the evidence of their effectiveness in advancing women's participation and decision-making, few public administrations actively utilize temporary special measures. In some jurisdictions, the use of the temporary special measures continues to be actively opposed.

There is an assumption that the concept of a 'career woman' is often synonymous with either a woman who has chosen not to have a family, is a 'bad mother', or is 'too aggressive and manly.' This can lead to part-time work being seen as the only viable option for 'non-career-oriented women.' The opportunities for training and advancement are usually fairly limited in most part-time jobs. The same family constraints and concepts do not apply to men.

Sometimes, recruitment practices can reinforce discrimination. For example, when recruiting civil service employees, women are not always targeted by national campaigns and initiatives. Women may also be deterred by gender-neutral or gender-discriminatory advertising and job descriptions or be screened out by male-dominated recruitment panels with no or little gender training. Similarly, systemic discrimination in regulations and policies continues to exist in pay and benefits, such as retirement pensions and allowances. Gaps exist even despite the fact that many public administration statutes and labour legislation support the principle of equal pay.

Women's access to education often deteriorates in areas further away from capitals and urban centres and there may be an even greater scarcity of qualified women to take up positions in local administrations. Also, traditional gender roles tend to be more ingrained in less urbanized areas, and thus women may not aim for senior positions, or even be able to engage in paid employment.

Lastly, the public administration reform programmes present critical entry points to address gender equality though supportive policies and a modern and

appropriate workplace culture. Public administration reform programmes that do not mainstream gender concerns, specifically equal participation and gender in decision-making roles, are missing powerful opportunities to create a truly representative and responsive public administration that is able to meet the needs of a country's population.

CONCLUSION

There is diversity across countries in governance and including equal access of women to leadership roles, is not only the right thing to do but also the most productive. The public administration is an important employer in many countries and with the equal participation of women in public administration can have a significant impact on women's economic empowerment. Concrete steps should be taken within public administration to attract, retain and promote women into leadership and decision-making positions and to transform the organizational culture of public administration in general, as well as in the different ministries and agencies. Ministries and public administration agencies must therefore build concrete gender action plans that not only change policies and processes, such as staffing and human resources, but also alter mind sets and institutional cultures.

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WOMEN EMPOWERMENT AND REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH CARE INTERVENTIONS IN INDIA

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Abstract

This study attempts to examine the role of women empowerment to examine the differences in utilization of reproductive health care practices in two different settings of India, i.e. Northern and southern India. This is measured by three broad utilizations for health care practices, i.e. at least four antenatal visits at the time of pregnancy, assistance by a skilled person and institutional place of delivery at the time of pregnancy, which can effect women's reproductive health as well as the welfare of a society. Four dimensions are considered to measure the women empowerment: the non-justification of women towards wife beating, freedom of movement, power in the household decision making process and justification towards refusing sexual intercourse to husband. Factor analysis technique is employed to construct the lastfour dimensions. Binary logistic regression models are estimated using the 2015-16 India Demographic and Health Survey data. Results show that all four dimensions of women empowerment contribute positively and significantly to the decision and intensity of utilization of reproductive health care interventions both in the northern and southern regions of India. Findings from this study revealed that women's decision making autonomy in southern states and their attitudes towards wife beating in northern states of India appeared to be very important determinants to their reproductive health care interventions or practices.

Keywords: Antenatal Care Visits, Women Empowerment, Factor Analysis, DHS Data

INTRODUCTION

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The most important determinant of a country's competitiveness is its folk talent – the skills, education and productivity of its workforce. And women account for one-half of the potential talent throughout the world. Over time, a nation's competitiveness depends significantly on whether and how it educates and utilizes its female talents. [Asaju et al.; 2013]

India is a country knowing for its rich culture and tradition, where women are named as Goddess. But at the same time the daily news and media portrays a different picture, where women are being mistreated and abused. Affronting women's rights on humanitarian ground existsnot only outside but also inside the house. [Amin et al.; 2014]. There are cases where women do not have accessibility or mobility to outside world; the most depressive being when they are not allowed to make a choice for their own well-being issues, which also affects their reproductive health miserably.

It was estimated that in 2015, more than three lakh women approximately died during and following pregnancy and child birth and almost 99 per cent of those maternal deaths occurred in developing countries including India (RMNCH+ A report, 2017).There are many interventions to prevent maternal deaths and the adverse effect on women's health due to the inferior status of women in the household is not unknown. The existing social and cultural norms designated as the role of women penetrates the overall well-being of women in these societies.

The concept of reproductive health has recently emerged in response to the fragmentation of the existing health services and their orientation. The concept of "reproductive health" provides a complete and integrated approach to the health needs related to reproduction. It puts women at the center of the process, as subjects but does and not refer them as objects. It recognizes respects and responds to the need of the woman behind the mother.

Links between empowerment and health in general and precisely for women are receiving growing recognition from researchers. The empowerment of women is a fundamental requirement for their health. Thus, increase in promoting access for women to resources, education and employment and their protection and promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms so that they are enabled to make choices free from any pressure or discrimination [Owusu et al; 2011, Mergia. M; 2014, Sharma et al.; 2011]

Reproductive health of women is generally implying that they can have a satisfying and safe sex life and that they possess the capability to reproduce as well as the freedom to decide if, when and how often to do so. This definition is idealistic and is relevant and applicable as in the area of reproductive health [Ibrahim et al.; 2015].

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

We used the latest Demo graphic and Health Survey (DHS) data from India, with survey year 2015-16. This survey collected nationally representative data on reproductive health issues from women 15-49. It also provides information on the following topics for ever-married women: spouse's education and age, decision making outcomes, education, domestic violence, respondent's attitudes on gender roles and on children's education and health care, control of earning and expenditures, awareness of AIDS and media exposures. For the purposes of this paper the sample was limited to all married women aged 15-49 having at least a birth in last five years preceding the survey. The eligible women in our study is 18,173 from Southern India and 107,716 from Northern India. The objective of this study is to examine the effect of women's empowerment on reproductive health and treatment seeking behavior. In addition, the chapter also examined whether different dimensions of empowerment have different effects on reproductive health outcomes in the two populations considered.

Measurement of women empowerment index is developed according to a study done by Fernanda Ewerling in 2018 in which women empowerment index was developed and based on the study of 37 African countries to analyze the impact of women empowerment on early child's development in the context of African countries. This survey based women empowerment index uses large amount of data already available in DHS surveys which is known to be a valuable source of information in low or middle income countries. Women's empowerment was measured using the four domains (attitude towards wife beating, refusal towards sexual intercourse, decision making and freedom to movement) of the SWPER, a survey-based indicator of women's empowerment. It is based on 18 questions related to the women's opinion on whether beating the wife is justified in some situations (if women goes out without telling husband, neglect the children, argues with husband, refuse to have sex with husband, does not cook properly, shows disrespect for in laws and if proved as unfaithful), to who makes decisions in the household (in regard to own earning and husband's earning, respondent's health care, major household purchases and to visits to family and relatives), refusing sexual intercourse to husband in some situations (husband has STD, husband has other women, if wife is tired or not in the mood) and women's freedom of movement (if they were allowed to go outside village, to the health facility, to friends or relatives). The scores are standardized measures for which larger values mean higher levels of empowerment, and lower values mean a lower level of empowerment.

The other control variables included in the analysis are women's age, age at first birth, place of residence, educational attainment, husband's education, working status, and difference in age and education between the woman and her husband.

In this study, for India we pool data for four northern states (Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, and Uttar Pradesh) and four southern states (Karnataka, Kerala, and Tamil Nadu) in order to capture the north-south variation within the country. The Census 2011 figures suggest that these two contrasting demographic regions in the country with all four south Indian States (Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu) already having achieved the replacement level fertility of 2.1 children per women required to initiate the process of population stabilization, while the four large north Indian States (Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh) have still a long way to go before they achieve the required level. To ensure the representativeness of the sample at various levels, sampling weights was calculated separately for each sampling stage and cluster based on sampling probabilities. The design of the survey (stratification and clustering) and sample weights were incorporated into the analyses using DHS routines of weighting sample techniques.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Table 1: Percentage of utilization of considered health care interventions across two diverse regions in India (2015–16).

The percentage distribution of the reproductive health care interventions among the sample of currently married women who are in their reproductive ages 15-49 years and who have at least a birth in the five years preceding the survey in northern and southern states of India are shown in Table 1. The results revealed that almost all the births among women in the southern states were delivered in an institutionalized place and were assisted by a skilled person at the time of delivery whereas this percentage were around 70 per cent in northern states. Only 18.4 per cent women residing in north states and 63.4 per cent in south states having at least four antenatal visits t the time of pregnancy.

Relationship between Domains of Women's Empowerment and Determinants of Reproductive Health care Interventions

The analysis in this section focuses on the association between three set of variables (domains) which directly affects women's empowerment and three determinants that contributes to women's reproductive health. Binary logistic regression were used here to estimate the role of empowerment domains on the antenatal visits, assistance at the time of delivery and place of delivery. The second model (unadjusted model) solely considered/examined the effect of each of the three domains of empowerment on each of the measures of reproductive health, while the first model (full model) was adjusted for socio-economic and demographic variables. That is, full model adds to each of the domains of empowerment all the selected socio-demographic variables to examine whether the effect of each

domain on reproductive health variables is influenced by the socio-demographic variables or they are independent. To access the independent contribution of four empowerment indicators, we included each indicator alone in a model with the outcome variables considered and other control variables, i.e. social and demographic variables (not shown).

Table 1: Logistic regression showing effect of women's empowerment domains on at least four ANC visits among women

	Northern India		***Southern India***	
	Model I	***Model II***	***Model I***	***Model II***
Women Empowerment domains	OR	OR	OR	OR
Non justification towards wife beating	1.02** [1.00-1.03]	1.03*** [1.02-1.05]	1.01 [1.01-1.01]	1.02 [1.00-1.04]
Involvement in decision making	1.02 [1.00-1.03]	1.01 [1.00-1.03]	1.02 [1.02-1.02]	1.02 [1.00-1.04]
Freedom of movement	0.99 [0.97-1.01]	1.00 [0.99-1.02]	1.00 [1.00-1.00]	1.00 [0.97-1.03]
Justification towards refusing sexual intercourse	1.01 [0.99-1.04]	1.02* [1.00-1.05]	1.04** [1.04-1.04]	1.04*** [1.02-1.06]

OR= Odds Ratio; Model I (full model) is adjusted for selected background characteristics of women (age of women, age at first birth, partner's education, spousal education gap, spousal age gap, place of residence, wealth index and work status); Model II = unadjusted odds ratio with 95% confidence interval; Figures in parentheses indicate 95 confidence interval of odds ratio; ***P<0.001, **P<0.01, *P<0.05.

[Table1] presents the results of bivariate analysis showing the association between three determinants of reproductive healthcare interventions and four women's empowerment domains obtained by varimax rotation from the factor analysis. The results revealed that in both populations, women who participate in household decision making, who do not justify wife beating but have justified women refusal of sexual intercourse based on the stated reasons, were more likely to have at least four antenatal visits at the time of delivery whereas the antenatal visits were not influenced by women's freedom of movement. The chi-square values showed that there is a significant relationship existing between the domains of women's empowerment and women's reproductive health care interventions outcomes, except that in Northern states, women's freedom of movement has no significant relationship with antenatal visits. Women who do not justifying wife beating in northern states were highly significantly associated with antenatal visits and women who were justifying refusing sexual intercourse to husband with any reasons were seems to be highly significantly contributor for antenatal visits in southern states.

Table 2: Logistic regression showing effect of women's empowerment domains on Assistance by a skilled person at the time of delivery

	Northern India		*Southern India*	
	Model I	*Model II*	*Model I*	*Model II*
Women Empowerment domains	OR	OR	OR (C.I)	OR
Non justification towards wife beating	1.02** [1.01-1.03]	1.03*** [1.02-1.05]	0.96 [0.87-1.07]	0.98 [0.91-1.06]
Involvement in decision making	1.02 [1.01-1.03]	1.01 [1.00-1.03]	1.09* [1.01-1.17]	1.08* [1.02-1.15]
Freedom of movement	0.99 [0.97-1.01]	1.00 [0.99-1.02]	0.97 [0.85-1.11]	1.00 [0.90-1.10]
Justification towards refusing sexual intercourse	1.01 [0.99-1.04]	1.02* [1.00-1.05]	1.08 [0.96-1.21]	1.11* [1.00-1.22]

OR= Odds Ratio; Model I (full model) is adjusted for selected background characteristics of women (age of women, age at first birth, partner's education, spousal education gap, spousal age gap, place of residence, wealth index and work status); Model II= unadjusted odds ratio with 95% confidence interval; Figures in parentheses indicate 95 confidence interval of odds ratio; ***P<0.001, *P<0.05.

[Table 2] presents the binary logistic regressions giving the odds ratios and confidence interval with at least four antenatal care visits as the outcome/dependent variable, and three domains of women's empowerment (decision-making, women's attitudes towards wife beating and women's attitudes to refusing sexual inter course and women's freedom to movement) as independent variables for each study population, it is evident that all the women's empowerment domains considered influenced on getting assistance at the time of delivery as revealed by odds ratios in models I and II except the freedom of movement in Model I of northern states and non-justification towards wife beating in southern states. However, women's participation in decision and women's non justification towards wife beating has significant influence on being assisted by skilled attendant in southern states and northern states respectively as revealed by models I and II. More specifically, the increase in odds ratio values shown by model II of southern states depicts that women's justification towards refusing sexual intercourse (unadjusted) influences their receiving assistance from a skilled attendant during their delivery.

Table 3: Logistic regression showing effect of women's empowerment domains on Institutional place of delivery

	Northern India		*Southern India*	
	Model I	*Model II*	*Model I*	*Model II*
Women Empowerment domains	OR	OR	OR	OR
Non justification towards wife beating	1.01 [1.00-1.02]	1.02*** [1.01-1.03]	0.98 [1.93-1.04]	1.01 [0.96-1.06]

Involvement in decision making	1.01 [1.00-1.02]	1.01 [1.00-1.02]	1.10*** [1.04-1.16]	1.09*** [1.04-1.14]
Freedom of movement	1.00 [0.99-1.02]	1.00 [0.99-1.02]	0.98 [0.90-1.07]	1.01 [0.94-1.09]
Justification towards refusing sexual intercourse	1.00 [0.99-1.02]	1.01 [0.99-1.03]	1.02 [0.95-1.09]	1.03 [0.97-1.09]

OR= Odds Ratio; Model I (full model) is adjusted for selected background characteristics of women (age of women, age at first birth, partner's education, spousal education gap, spousal age gap, place of residence, wealth index and work status); Model II= unadjusted odds ratio with 95 % confidence interval; Figures in parentheses indicate 95 confidence interval of odds ratio; ***P<0.001.

Somewhat similar result of the relationship between the four obtained domains of empowerment and place of delivery was obtained here, as in the previous reproductive health care variable before controlling for socio-demographic characteristics. The controlled group (model I) shows that there exist a positive association between place of delivery and their background characteristics. The result in [Table 3] revealed that women who participate in house hold decision making in southern states were significantly likely to give birth in health facilities more than women who do not participate in making decisions. The same behavior was found among northern states among women who do not justifying wife beating when measured unadjusted.

CONCLUSION

It is obvious that there is a theoretical advantage to using the weighted measures to construct measures of gender. Hence women's empowerment which was measured by four domains and eighteen indicators has great contribution to women's reproductive health care interventions or practices. Findings from this study revealed that women's decision making autonomy and their attitudes towards wife beating appeared to be very important determinants to their reproductive health care interventions or practices. This is so because the results showed that women's decision making autonomy as well as attitudes towards wife beating has a positive and significant influence on the reproductive healthcare interventions or practices of women in both study populations in both adjusted and unadjusted models described above. The analysis in the study integrating both women's socio-economic and demographic factors and women's empowerment variables is appropriate for the study of reproductive health care interventions or practices more by using both or only either of the two. Finally, the findings in the study might be tentative only because it was based on survey data which may have many imperfections in measures and definitions of women's empowerment.

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IMPACT OF MNREGA ON LABOUR MIGRATION: A CASE STUDY OF DEVARAGUDINIHAL GP, DHARWAD DISTRICT, KARNATAKA

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Abstract

The Government of India introduced Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) for providing 100 man days for rural unskilled labour and reducing migration level from village to urban areas. The study has chosen Devaragudinihal Gram Panchayat (GP) and selected 30 beneficiary households through transit walk during the three-year period identified for the study, i.e. 2016-17, 2015-16 and 2014-15. The objectives of the study are impact of MGNREGA on household migration in study GP. The findings of the study are SC, ST, and OBC selected sample households were migrated during our study period. The migration reason are: Firstly, the Government provided 100 man days is insufficient for the entire family members informed by majority of the migrated households. Secondly, some of the households informed that the Government is paying lower wages under MGNREGA as compared to local market. Majority of the households informed that they need more man days. Hence the study suggests that provisions should be made to meet their requirement, so that Government may check and reduce the migration and improve the purchasing power parity (PPP).

Keywords: MGNREGA, Migration, Purchasing Power Parity, Devaragudinihal, Karnatak

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INTRODUCTION

The Government of India introduced Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) for providing 100 man days for rural unskilled labour and reducing the migration level from village to urban areas. In fact, rural areas, the MGNREGA is providing 100 man days for whoever interested to work. Through MGNGEGA many rural people are able to participate the labour work and improving their economic conditions and avoiding their economic distress. A study by Reddy et al. (2016) finds that, those who participated in MGNREGA work in the village, where the scheme was fully implemented had seen an increase in their income as compared to those in the village where it was only partially implemented. In a similar way, savings and expenditure had also increased among whoever had participated in MGNREGA work in the fully implemented MGNREGA village as compared to the partially implemented MGNREGA village. Another study by Bahuguna et al. (2016) mentioned that in their study that MGNREGA is a great programme to improve the economic conditions of rural people. The study finds that beneficiary households improved their economic conditions after participation in MGNREGA. In the similar way, Mahesh (2017) emphasized on the impact of MGNREGA on employment generation in selected districts of Chikmagalur and Tumakuru. The study finds that through MGNREGA, the government of India provided employment to rural unskilled labour in Karnataka State. Under this programme, rural people were able to improve their purchasing power parity (PPP). Ahmad (2014) study used both primary and secondary data. The secondary data provided macro level analysis of the paper. The study conducted secondary data during 2010 to 2012 in Khage block of district Budgam. The study conducted primary data three halka panchyats (HP) namely Hamchipora, Dalwash and Nagbal. The study finds that, the MGNREGSA had a positive impact on physical capital. The MGNREGA helped to reduce the poverty and vulnerability, helping to sound and sustainable development. But our study main desire to know the migration level in selected GP in Davanageri district in Karnataka State.

METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

The State of Karnataka is having 30 districts. But the study purpose, we have been selected Dharwad district. In Dharwad district, the study has chosen Devaragudinihal Gram Panchayat (GP). In this GP, 30 beneficiary households selected through transit walk. In a total of 30 beneficiaries households who participated manual labour work under the MGNREGA programme during the three-year period identified for the study, i.e. 2016-17, 2015-16 and 2014-15. The primary data was collected during the month of March-May, 2018. The present paper focuses exclusively on Impact on MGNREGA on migration of labour from Devaragudinihal GP in Dharwad district to different places of Karnataka State. The

objectives of the study are impact of MGNREGA on household migration in study GP. To finds the reason for migration and their socio economic condition of the households.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The study has chosen 30 sample households in Devaragudinihal GP. Out of 30 samples, majority (40%) of the households' social category (caste) is OBCs (40%), followed by OC (93%), ST (28%) and SC (3%). Akhil (2017) examined the MGNREGA and it impact of rural labour market. The study finds that, selected two villages have high population of OBCs and SCs. And the share of SC workers is 68 per cent of the total MGNREGA. In similar way, the women participation is 72.5 per cent of the total MGNREGA. Very few of the other caste and middle castes women are also participated in MGNREGA. In our study, data shows that, the total (all social groups) family size is 3.4 and it indicates that their family size is less than four. Among the social groups, the family size is higher in OBC (3.9) category, followed by OC (3.4), ST (2.8) and SC (2.0) (Table1).

Table 1: Selected Sample households in Devaragudinihal GP in Davanageri district

S. No.	*Household particulars*	*Social Group*				
		SC	*ST*	*OBC*	*OC*	*Total*
1.	Number of households	*1(3.3)	8(26.7)	12(40.0)	9(30.0)	30(100)
2.	Average family size	2.0	2.8	3.9	3.4	3.4

Source: Primary data collected, 2018. *indicates that figures in brackets percentage to total

HEAD OF THE HOUSEHOLD

In India, head of the household is male in general, due to husband died in that cases head of the household is female. Maruthi and Pesala Peter (2017), study mentioned that the female headed households are largely widows only. In most of the female headed families, the female is only name sake head; everything is controlled by her son. In our study, two households' head of the family is female and one family belongs to OC community household and another one is belongs to OBC household. And in remaining study sample households, head of the family is male only (Table 2).

Table 2: Head of the household in Devaragudinihal GP

S. No.	*Social Group*	*Male*	*Female*	*Total*
1.	SC	1(100)	(0.00)	1(100)
2.	ST	8(100)	(0.00)	8(100)

3.	OBC	11(91.6)	1(8.33)	12(100)
4.	OC	8(88.89)	1(11.11)	9(100)
	Total	28(93.33)	2(6.67)	30(100)

Source: Primary data collected, 2018.

EDUCATION STATUS OF HEAD OF THE HOUSEHOLD IN DEVARAGUDINIHAL GP

Education is very important for head of the household. Here education means not only the formal education, but also updated knowledge about the society is also now a day's very important. The updated knowledge is very useful for the human beings. The education which gives significance development results in day to day life of farmers/labours. Education plays a key role in development of the family. If head of the family is educated entire family will get blessing in terms of whole family will educate and they will achieve their goals whatever they have. In our study, some (40%) of the household educated up to primary education, followed by Illiterate (33%) and middle class (27%) (Table 3). Among the social groups, one SC person education status is illiterate, it indicates that, the head of the household not attended the school in his entire life due to may be poverty, lack of awareness & knowledge and etc. In case of ST, fifty per cent of the households studied up to primary education, followed by middle class (25%), and Illiterate (25%). Among the households, the OBCs are educated little higher than the other social groups and nearly 33 per cent of them educated up to middle class, followed by primary education (42%) and illiterate (25%). In OC community, some (44%) of them are illiterate (44%), followed by primary education (33%) and middle class (22%) (Table 3).

Table 3: Education attainment of head of the household in Devaragudinihal GP

		Education status			
S. No.	*Social group*	*Illiterate*	*Primary education*	*Middle class (6th to 8th)*	*Total*
1.	SC	1(100)	0(0.00)	0(0.00)	1(100)
2.	ST	2(25.0)	4(50.00)	2(25.00)	8(100)
3.	OBC	3(25.0)	5(41.67)	4(33.33)	12(100)
4.	OC	4(44.44)	3(33.33)	2(22.22)	9(100)
5.	Total	10 (33.3)	12(40.0)	8(26.67)	30(100)

Source: Primary data collected, 2018.

HEAD OF THE HOUSEHOLD PRIMARY OCCUPATION

There are many occupations are there in rural India. As for the study mentioned by Maruthi and Pesala Peter (2017), the main and important occupations in rural areas are: Self-employment in agriculture, business; government employment; private employment; agriculture labour; non-agriculture labour; pensioner; dependent; household work; and others. But in our study, the head of the households occupations are brought into three categories firstly; agriculture and allied activities, secondly, wage labours; and thirdly, driver. Occupation is very important of the household. Based on the nature of occupation the households are able to get returns (income). Nearly 67 per cent of the head of the household primary occupation is agriculture and allied activities, followed by wage employment (30%) and driver (transport, storage & communication) (3%) (Table 4). As for the social group is concerned, majority (78%) of the OC community households head main occupation is agriculture and allied activities and twenty per cent of the households primary activity is wage labour. According Kumar and et al. (2011) studied the trends and pattern of rural employment diversification along with the implications of growing rural non-farm sector on rural poverty. The study covered the rural employment diversification at all India level and across major states during 1983 to 2009-10. And the study finds that, one per cent increases the share of rural non-farm employment; the rural poverty would be reduced by 0.5 per cent. Diversification in rural employment towards high value crops means their increasing role in agricultural production, which would improve rural income and therefore, generate more employment in rural areas. In our study, OBC head of the households' primary activity is agriculture and allied activities (58%), followed by wage employment (33%) and driver (transportation) (8%). In case of ST, 75 per cent of the head of the household primary occupation is agriculture and allied activities and rest of them are wage employment (25%). In case of one SC head of the household main occupation is wage employment (100%) (Table 4). Gang et al. (2012) stressed the poverty and occupational changes. The study finds that, there is a strong correlation between poverty incidence and occupation in rural India. The agricultural labourers are most likely to be in poverty. The poverty incidence declined from 1983-84 to 2004-05 in all social groups, but there was little variation among the groups. The study finds that during 1983-2004, SC occupations were shifting from agricultural labour to other occupations due to improvement of education status. Second reason is, SC households diversified their old occupation, whereas in ST households still in same condition. The empirical study identified that, direct effect of caste/tribe identify on occupational segregation over course of time.

Table 4: Primary occupation of head of the household in Devaragudinihal GP

S. No.	Social Group	*Name of the Occupation*			
		Agriculture and Allied Activities	*Driver*	*Wage Labours*	*Total*
1.	SC	0(0.00)	0(0.00)	1(100)	1 (100)
2.	ST	6(75.00)	0(0.00)	2(25.0)	8 (100)
3.	OBC	7(58.33)	1(8.33)	4(33.33)	12 (100)
4.	OC	7(77.78)	0(0.00)	2(22.22)	9 (100)
	Total	20(66.67)	1(3.33)	9(30.0)	30 (100)

Source: Primary data collected, 2018.

HOUSE TYPE

Based on the construction of house, literature divided into thatched/kachcha, semi-pucca and pucca houses. Among the houses in our study, pucca houses (53%) are higher, followed by semi-pucca (43%) and thatched/kachcha (3%). Among the social group in our study, one SC household (100%), OBC (67%) ST (63%) and OC (22%) household house type is pucca. The pucca houses are more comfortable than other houses and it construction is slightly expensive as compared to thatched/ Kachcha and semi-pucca houses. Only one ST household (14%), house type is thatched/Kachcha house in study sample households. Majority of the OC (79%) households are having semi-pucca houses, followed by OBC (33%) and ST (25%) (Table 5).

Table 5: Type of house and selected sample households in Devaragudinihal GP

S. No.	*Type of house*	*SC*	*ST*	*OBC*	*OC*	*Total*
1.	Thatched/Kachcha	0(0.00)	1(12.50)	0 (0.00)	0(0.00)	1(3.33)
2.	Semi-pucca	0(0.00)	2(25.00)	4(33.33)	7(77.78)	13(43.33)
3.	Pucca	1(100.0)	5(62.50)	8(66.67)	2(22.22)	16(53.33)
4.	Total	1(100)	8(100)	12(100)	9(100)	30(100)

Source: Primary data collected, 2018.

FARMER CLASSIFICATION

Different types of farmers are available in Karnataka State. But our study identified three types of farmers in study sample households. Whoever is not having agricultural land, study treated as a landless labour. Whoever is having agricultural land 0.1 acre to 2.5 acres, study concerned as a marginal farmer and from 2.6 acres

to 5 acres, study treated as small farmers (Pesala Peter and Maruthi (2019)). Among the households in our study, marginal farmers are higher (53%), followed by landless labour (33%), and small farmers (13%) (Table 6). Among the social groups in our study, SCs are 100 per cent landless labour; and Reddy et al. (2016) mentioned that most of the SC households' status was landless. In our study GP, nearly 50 per cent of the OBC households (50%), ST (25%) and OC (11%) households are landless labour. Based on land, we are able to know that, SC, ST and OBCs are economically poor as compared to OC community. Marginal farmers are higher in OCs (78%) community, followed by STs (75%) and OBCs (25%). Small farmers are higher in OBC household (25%) and followed by OC (11%). The total land is 41 acres in 30 households. Out of 30 households, 20 households are having 41 acres of land, nine OC households are having total 14.5 acres of land; 12 OBC households are having 16 acres of total land. In the similar way, eight ST households are having 10.5 acres of land and one SC household having no land. The average land is higher in OBC (2.7 acres) household, followed by OC (1.8 acres) and ST (1.8 acres) (Table 6).

Table 6: Land classification of sample households in Devaragudinihal GP

S. No.	*Type of Farmer*	*Social Group*				
		SC	*ST*	*OBC*	*OC*	*Total*
1.	Landless labour	1(100)*	2(25.0)	6(50.00)	1(11.11)	10(33.33)
2.	Marginal farmers	0(0.00)	6(75.00)	3(25.00)	7(77.78)	16(53.33)
3.	Small farmers	0(0.00)	0(0.00)	3(25.00)	1(11.11)	4(13.33)
4.	Total	1(100)	8(100)	12(100)	9(100)	30(100)
5.	Total land/Average land (acres)	0(0)	10.5 (1.8)	16 (2.7)	14.5 (1.8)	41 (2.05)**

Note: *Indicates that percentage; **Land households are only 20.

Source: Primary data collected, 2018.

USEFULNESS OF MGNREGA

As for the sample households (beneficiary) are concerned, the MGNREGA scheme is useful for sample households (90%); seven per cent of households informed that MGNREGA is very useful; and three per cent of the households informed somewhat useful (Table 7). According to Swain and Shreekant (2015) mentioned that India lives in her villages. The study focused on MGNREGA and impacts on food security, migration and employment for the disadvantaged groups. The study is used secondary and primary data. The study finds that, the female workers have better opportunities to join MGNRGA work than male workers. Secondly, 99.5 per cent of beneficiary households reported that, MGNREGA is enhanced food security; another 75 per cent of beneficiary households reported that reduce the distress migration; 98 per cent of beneficiary households informed that women got

economic independence and 92.5 per cent households informed that purchasing power increased in local market. In another study, Chari Anurekha (2006) examined employment generation and gender mobilization in Maharashtra State. The study emphasized on the potential of employment guarantee scheme for mobilization and its impact on collective action. The study mentioned that through protest and they succeeded their achievement.

Table 7: How useful is MGNREGA for you and your family members?

S. No.	*Useful*	*Social Group*				
		SC	*ST*	*OBC*	*OC*	*Total*
1.	Very useful	0 (0.00)	0(0.00)	1(8.33)	1(11.11)	2(6.67)
2.	Useful	1(100)	8(100)	10(83.33)	8(88.89)	27(90.0)
3.	Somewhat useful	0 (0.00)	0(0.00)	1(8.33)	0 (0.00)	1(3.33)
4.	Total	1(100)	8(100)	12(100)	9(100)	30(100)

Source: Primary data collected, 2018.

IMPACT OF MGNREGA ON MIGRATION

The government of India, provided 100 man days for rural labours, to enhancing their purchasing power parity (PPP) and reduce their migration from village to urban area in all over India. According to Singh Nandini (2013) focused on MGNREGA's impact on migration and asset creation. The study concentration was based on NSSO data for 2007-08. The study observed that women's participation rate was increased under MGNREGA work. The study mentioned that social factors played a main role while making migration decision. According to the study, most of the MGNREGA workers were having little land or no land and their lands were not having irrigation facilities. The study conducted a focus group discussion (FGD) in Dokur village of Mahabubnagar district in Andhra Pradesh. The study finds that seasonal migration was higher in the village. But in our study results reveals that, nearly 93 per cent of the households' family members migrated during our study periods, i.e. 2014-15; 2015-16 and 2016-17. It indicated that the migration still exists in sample study GP. But seven per cent of the households did not migrate during our study. All SC, ST, and OBC selected sample households are migrated during our study period and only 22 per cent of the OC community/caste households' family members did not migrate (Table 8).

Table 8: Did you or your family members still migrate in search of wage employment?

S. No.	*Still migration*	*Social Group*				
		SC	*ST*	*OBC*	*OC*	*Total*
1.	Yes	1(100)	8(100)	12(100)	7(77.78)	28(93.33)
2.	No	0 (0.00)	0(0.00)	0(0.00)	2(22.22)	2(6.67)
3.	Total	1(100)	8(100)	12(100)	9(100)	30(100)

Source: Primary data collected, 2018.

REASONS FOR MIGRATION

There are two types of factors namely; push factor and pull factors are influenced the migration. The push factors are forced to the person to leave the village and go to some other villages/places/cities to search for job/work. In general, the push factors are unemployment, poverty, scarcity of rain, drought, famine, lack of opportunities in the place/village and etc. are comes under push factors. And these kinds of migration appear developing country like India. The pull factors, we can consider better wage, amenities, better livelihood and better working conditions at work places (Maruthi I and Peter Pesala (2018)). We enquired about reasons for migration in study sample households and they informed that the Government provided 100 man days are insufficient for the entire family members and this information informed by 86 per cent of the migrated households and remaining 14 per cent of the households informed that (Table 9) the Government paying lower wages under MGNREGA as compared to local market in their village.

Table 9: Main reason for migration in selected sample households in Devaragudinihal GP

S. No.	*Reasons for Migration*	*SC*	*ST*	*OBC*	*OC*	*Total*
1.	100 days is insufficient for the entire family	1(100)	7(87.50)	10(83.33)	6(85.71)	24(85.7)
2.	Lower wage under MGNREGA	0(0.00)	1(12.50)	2(16.67)	1(14.29)	4(14.3)
3.	Total	1(100)	8(100)	12(100)	7(100)	28(100)

Source: Primary data collected, 2018.

We also dig out that, the number of 100 work man day are sufficient for entire family members in a year? The study sample household informed that, 100 man days are not sufficient for the entire the year and family; and this information is informed by 73 per cent of the households. Among the social groups, OC (89%) are informed higher, followed by ST (75%) and OBC (67%). In contrary that 27 per cent of the households, informed that it was sufficient (Table 10). In general, if household does not have land holdings; and marginal farmers, 100 man days are not sufficient for entire family members and entire year.

Table 10: Do you think that the minimum number of employment days provide to the household is sufficient?

S. No.	*100 Days Sufficient*	*Social Group*				
		SC	*ST*	*OBC*	*OC*	*Total*
1.	Yes	1(100)	2(25.0)	4(33.33)	1(11.11)	8(26.67)
2.	No	0(0.00)	6(75.0)	8(66.67)	8(88.89)	22(73.33)
3.	Total	1(100)	8(100)	12(100)	9(100)	30(100)

Source: Primary data collected, 2018.

REQUIREMENT OF WORK (MAN) DAYS

The Government is providing 100 work man days for rural people. But, this is not sufficient for many study sample households. Then we asked them how many days are required for sufficient man days for study sample households; and 45 per cent of the households informed that they required 200 man days. It indicated that they demanded double portion man days. In the similar way, majority (55%) of the households informed that they need 250 man days. Here, the work man days are required more in study sample households in Devaragudinihal GP. As for the sample households is concerned, 100 work man days are not sufficient due to reason 93 per cent of the households migrated during our study period. Hence we also suggests that the Government, wherever households demand is more work days, kindly provide according to their requirement, therefore government is able to reduce the migration and improve the purchasing power parity in their villages.

Table 11: How many days would be sufficient for your family for minimum income security?

S.No.	*How many days required*	*Social Group*			
		ST	*OBC*	*OC*	*Total*
1.	200 days	2(33.33)	3(37.5)	5(62.50)	10(45.45)
2.	250 days	4(66.67)	5(62.5)	3(37.50)	12(54.55)
3.	Total	6(100)	8(100)	8(100)	22(100)

Source: Primary data collected, 2018.

CONCLUSION

The Government of India implemented MGNREGA in Karnataka entire State. As for the study area is concerned, the study period there is any migration occurred in selected GP in Karnataka State. The main findings of the study are, among the 30 beneficiary households, majority (40%) of the households are: OBCs, followed by OC (30%), ST (28%) and SC (3%). Among the social groups, the family size is higher in OBC (3.9) category. In our study, two households' head of the family is female and they belong to OC one household and another one household is OBC. And in remaining study sample households head of the family is male. Some (40%) of the household educated up to primary education, followed by Illiterate (33%) and middle class (27%) level school. Among the social groups, SC person education attainment is illiterate.

Occupation is very important of the household, and our study result reveals that, nearly 67 per cent of the head of the household primary occupation is agriculture and allied activities, followed by wage employment (30%) and driver (transport, storage & communication) (3%). Among the households in our study, pucca houses (53%) are higher followed by semi-pucca (43%) and thatched/kachcha

(3%). Marginal farmers are higher (53%) in our study, followed by landless labour (33%) and small farmers (13%). Among the social groups in our study, SCs are 100 per cent landless labour (100%), followed by OBC (50%), ST (25%) and OC (11%). The average land size is higher in OBC (2.7 acres). As for the beneficiary household is concerned, the MGNREGA scheme is useful for sample households (90%).

The study finds that, 93 per cent of the households' family members migrated during our study periods. It indicated that the migration still exists in study GP. All SC, ST, and OBC selected sample households were migrated during our study period. The study finds main reasons for migration during our study period are: Firstly, the Government provided 100 man days are insufficient for the entire family members. Secondly, 14 per cent of the households informed that the Government paying lower wages under MGNREGA as compared to local market.

The Government is providing 100 work man days for rural people. But, this is not sufficient for many sample households. Nearly, 45 per cent of the households informed that they required 200 man days. It indicated that they demanded double portion labour days. In the similar way, majority (55%) of the households informed that they need 250 man days. As for the sample households is concerned, 100 work man days are not sufficient due to reason 93 per cent of the households migrated during our study period. Hence we also suggesting to the Government, wherever households demand is more work days, kindly provide according to their requirement, therefore Government is able to reduce the migration and improving the purchasing power parity (PPP).

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GOVERNANCE OF EDUCATION IN INDIA: ISSUES AND TRENDS

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Abstract

In the 21st century, education has acquired the prime preference of governance and the political process, in view of growing role of cerebral nature of jobs in overall economy. In the process, education administration has been decentralized in numerous countries as part of a larger move to reform public management systems. The education policies largely aim to reduce the size of the government in term of working pattern, reorganize delivery, magnify private initiatives or players, and create new partnerships called public private partnership (PPP) model. This has shown promise in an extensive impact on policy, formulation, implementation and management of entire education system. In India, education is the subject of concurrent list, as such, our federal structure in which the Central and State governments have undergone various decentralization processes with distinct outcomes. The manifestation of the process of governance in the field of education, in terms of the rationale put forth as well as operational features adopted, varies widely across the states. The present paper finds that the socio-political context and the degree of popular participation in the decision-making process directly influence the outcomes of educational measures. It, thus, underlines the impact of the mechanism of governance on educational programmes and policy in India and the trends of educational development from elementary to higher education system in India.

Keywords: Governance, Policy, Globalization, Political Process, Education-management, India

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CONCEPTUAL CONSIDERATIONS

The present paper involves two major concepts namely, governance and education. As such it is pertinent to express the understanding of the author on these concepts. Generally speaking, governance 'is the way that issues affecting the entire institution, or one or more components thereof, are decided'. This comprises the structure and processes, both formal and informal, of decision-making process and the relationships between the institution and individuals. What distinguishes governance from administrative decisions is that governance tends to be early on in the process and establishes policies. Much of what happens later is administration. The World Bank defines governance as "the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development." The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) sees it 'as rules of the political system to solve conflicts between actors and adopt decision (legality). It has also been used to describe the "proper functioning of institutions and their acceptance by the public (legitimacy). And it has been used to invoke the efficacy of government and the achievement of consensus by democratic means (participation)'.

Governance Analytical Framework (GAF) describes it in a broader perspective, as the "processes of interactions and decision-making among the actors involved in a collective problem that lead to the creation, reinforcement or reproduction of social norms and institutions." Governance should reflect a state's ability to serve and protect its citizens. Rules, processes, and behaviour should guide this conduct and determine how interests are articulated, resources are managed, and power is exercised to benefit everyone in the society (Akpabio: 2011). In modern nation-states, these processes and systems are typically administered by a government. The Worldwide Governance Indicators project of the World Bank defines governance as: The traditions and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised. This considers the process by which governments are selected, monitored and replaced; the capacity of the government to effectively formulate and implement sound policies and the respect of citizens and the state of the institutions that govern economic and social interactions among them. An alternate definition sees governance as: the use of institutions, structures of authority and even collaboration to allocate resources and coordinate or control activity in society or the economy. Changes are required to make difference, replace or exchange to give a different position, course, or direction to, to make a shift from one to another, to undergo a modification, transformation, transition, or substitution (The Merriam-Webster Unabridged Dictionary). It is inevitable because governments come and go just as generations do, and since people and political parties be unlike in their thinking, beliefs, ideologies and ways of doing things, change is bound to come when there is change in government.

Modern technology has widened the scope of influence of nations on each other thereby bringing about globalization. This is why the nation has and will continue to experience change in every direction and particularly in the education sector. The education is regarded as the backbone of any nation as hold up by Nelson Mandela's observed that "Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world." Therefore, education in a broad sense is a process by which an individual acquires the many physical and social capabilities demanded by the society in which he/she is born into to function (Uwadia, 2010). Education defined as the process of acquiring knowledge, skills, attitudes, interest, abilities, competence and the cultural norms of a society by people to transmit this life to the coming generations so as to enhance perpetual development of the society (Uwaifo and Uddin, 2009); Education, defined as permanent change in behavior as a result of learning, consists of all efforts (conscious or incidental) made by a society to accomplish set objectives, which are considered to be desirable in terms of the individual as well as the societal needs. In all human societies, particularly the modern ones, it is, therefore remains one of the most powerful instruments for both the development of man and transformation of the human society (Labo-Popoola, Bello and Atanda, 2009). The content of formal education, its duration, and who receives it have varied widely from culture to culture and age to age, as has the philosophy of education (The Merriam-Webster Unabridged Dictionary).

EDUCATION SYSTEM IN INDIA: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

Colonial Period: Traditionally, only the highest castes were taught to read and write. Education was similarly elitist under the Moguls who favored the rich rather than those from high-caste backgrounds. Under the British colonial rule these elitist tendencies were even reinforced (Lall/House, 2005, p. 2). In the year 1600 The East India Company came to India mainly to explore business possibilities but it also thought to establish its own empire in the country.

In order to spread Christianity, a number of missionaries came to India and established institutions for education (Jayapalan, 2005: 51) where they propagated the spread of Christian religion through English medium (Singh, 2007: 57). The increasing efforts of the missionaries with regard to English education led to dissatisfaction among the populace thus, this matter was raised in British Parliament. This resulted in the enactment of the Charter of 1813 which threw light on the policy of education in India and accepted the responsibility of government for spreading education (Singh, 2007: 57). *The charter of 1813* created a controversy known as "the occidental-oriental controversy". The supporters of the Oriental view were in favor of the old Indian system of education whereas the Occidental view ridiculed the Indian system and attempted to introduce English literature and

Western science through the English medium (Pathak, 2007: 45). In 1834, Lord Macaulay came to India during the violent Oriental and Occidental controversy as a Law member of the council of Governor-General (Sharma/Sharma, 2004: 80). Lord Macaulay played an important role in resolving this controversy and his famous Minute (Macaulay Minute) paved the way for the British system of education in India (Singh, 2007: 61). Macaulay strongly criticized the eastern system of education and culture and ridiculed it by saying "A single shelf of good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia" (Singh, 2007: 61). Macaulay's Minute expressed his mission to create a class of persons who should be "Indians in blood and colour but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect" (Jayapalan, 2005: 56). Even though Macaulay's Minute was presuming, it ended the Oriental-Occidental controversy and laid the foundation-stone of modern education system in India and further marked the real beginning of bilingualism in the Indian education system (Sharma/Sharma, 2004: 83). The British were not primarily interested in the education of masses and, therefore, introduced the idea of *Downward filtration*. This means that only the Indian elite or top class people would be educated and through them the lower class would also benefit (Pathak, 2007: 45). In 1854 a charter was issued by Charles Wood who was then the Chairman of the Board of control of the Company. Thus, the charter is known as *Wood's Despatch of 1854* as he was the main architect of it (Pathak, 2007: 45). This despatch helped to provide education a definite structure, base and shape. The *Wood's Despatch* defined educational policy in India as the diffusion of European knowledge (Singh, 2007: 86). It is said that the *Wood's Despatch* laid the foundation of the present system of education in India (Singh, 2007: 90). Due to the dispatch education had a structure with indigenous schools and primary schools at the base and universities at the top. Further, departments were installed in each province to look after the state of education and it recommended the foundation of graded schools (Indigenous Primary schools, Middle schools, High schools, Colleges and Universities). The despatch introduced a system of grant-in-aid and therewith sought the cooperation of private corporations in the field of education (Singh, 2007: 90). Further it made recommendations for the expansion of general women's education and vocational education and to establish two universities of Calcutta and Bombay (Pathak, 2007: 46f). Wood's recommendation to make the mother tongue the medium of instruction was not followed and English was made the medium of instruction and got firmly established throughout the country. However, the main contribution of the *Wood's Despatch* was the formation of a system of education from primary school to University. Since then, serious efforts were made by the Government to promote education at all levels but the journey for the government to establish a system that was able to satisfy every section of the society was neither simple nor smooth (Reddy, 2010: 1). Due to dissatisfaction of the people that started surfacing when the outcomes of educational measures

undertaken by the government did not seem to match their expectation, several measures for educational reconstruction followed.

GOVERNANCE OF EDUCATION IN PRESENT INDIA

After the attainment of independence in 1947, India inherited an educational system with great educational disparities between men and women, upper and lower classes and urban and rural populations. In a badly battered and shattered nation full of historical disparities among various regions and communities, education was seen as a vehicle to bring about justice, liberty, equality and fraternity among the populace of a multilingual, multi-religious and multiethnic country (Achutan/Agrawal et al., 1993: 21).

The first mile stone in the development in Indian education was the enactment of the Indian Constitution in 1950 which laid down broad educational policies for the country (Biswas/Agrawal, 1994: 655). In innumerable conferences, committees and commissions, educationists, State Ministers of education and other educational experts were called to discuss the problems of education and offer programs for reconstruction of education in independent India (Ibid.). One of the most important policy statements was the statement of 1968 which was a sequel of the Report of the *Education Commission* (1964-1966), popularly called *D.S. Kothari Commission*. The *Kothari Commission* was appointed to formulate a coherent education policy for India and according to the commission, education was intended to increase productivity, develop social and national unity, consolidate democracy, modernize the country and develop social, moral and spiritual values (Lall/House, 2005: 2). To achieve these aims, the main pillar of the Indian education policy was free and compulsory education for all children up to the age of 14. Other features included the development of languages, the equality of educational opportunities and the development and prioritization of scientific education and research (Lall/House, 2005: 3). In 1986, Prime Minister Rajiv Ghandi announced a new education policy: the *National Policy on Education* (NPE). It laid stress on the need for radical reconstructions of the education system in general, to improve its overall quality and gave great attention to science and technology (Kumar, 2004: 54). Even though the Central Government declared with the policy of 1986 that it would accept a wider responsibility to enforce a national and integrative character of education, the states retained a significant role, particularly in relation to the curriculum. The key legacies of the 1986 policy were the promotion of privatization and an emphasis on secularism and science. Another consequence of the NPE was that the quality of education was seen as a problem and thus, several initiatives have been developed to counter these problems (Lall/House, 2005: 3).

India is a federation of states and the powers are divided between the federal government and the states. The Constitution clearly specifies the powers and duties which can belong to the union, to the states or to both simultaneously. In 1976, a resolution was passed to make Education a concurrent topic of the federal government and the states. However, the governance of the school education systems at state level is traditionally with the states, whereas the central government makes national level policies (Mohan, 2010: 11). As already mentioned above, a national policy on education was announced in 1986 and modified in 1992 and a Central Advisory Board of Education has been in place since the British period, which acts as a consultation mechanism between the center and the states (Mohan, 2010: 11). States have to meet a major part of expenditure on school education from their own budget but the central government gives grants to states for taking up projects as conceived, outlined and approved by it. The Central Government uses the central funding as a powerful tool to set the direction of the development of education in the whole country. States or single schools also receive grants through other ministries especially for different groups of children; for example, the Ministry of Scheduled Castes and Tribes gives grants to schools especially opened for these groups of children (Mohan, 2010: 12).

The National Council of Education Research and Training (NCERT) defines the National Curriculum Framework for classes I-XII and State Councils of Educational Research and Training (SCERT) are the main research and development institutions in the respective states (Nordic, 2006: 5). At secondary level, school boards in each state affiliate schools and set examination standards in accordance with the national framework (Nordic, 2006: 5). An educational bureaucracy operating at state, district and sub-district levels controls, under the broad supervision of the political leadership, almost every aspect of school education. These aspects include curriculum and textbooks; recruitment, deployment and training of teachers and certification of children graduating at secondary and senior secondary stages (Mohan, 2010: 12) The sovereignty of the states explains wide variations in the school education in the different states: The Census of India in 2011 found that Kerala has become nearly literate (93.91%), whereas Bihar has a literacy rate of only 63.82% (Census India, 2011: 12).

The paradigm of reform in India is marked by the emergence of the spirit of democratization, accountability, and transparency in every aspect of life. Phenomena occurring in the public sector development in Indonesia today are a stronger demand for accountability for public institutions, both at central and regional levels. To Indra Bastian (2007: 52), in the service and the provision of education, limited allocation of funds from the government is one of the obstacles that make the quality of school education has not budged. To that end, schools must use the funds effectively and efficiently as possible in order to improve service

and quality of school education. If government funding is inadequate, the school may seek through funds from the public. Management of funds, from government and from society, should be based on the spirit of accountability and transparency.

Good governance is a process of making and implementing decisions. It is not just to make a correct decision but the best process for taking that decision. According to the United Nations, good governance should have transparency, accountability, efficiency and effectiveness, responsible for his decision, follow the law rule and have equity, consensus oriented and participatory in their work (Rogers: 2015). Watson et al. (2004) also argue about clarity ofroles and community input for good governance. Maxine Greene (1995) argues that the idea ofthe good education is for a better state of things for those we teach and for the world we all share.

UNESCO (2009) says that "a governance can help in strengthening accountability by enhancing participation and break down inequalities in education (p. 4). According to March and Olsen (1995: 45-46), the common ground governance needs the logic of appropriateness that concerns with ideals of democratic thoughts and the significance of rules and practices that are important for democracy.

The quality of education by keeping a balance between autonomy and accountability of institution (Henard and Mitterie, 2009: 15) and managing the risk factors. The governance by decentralizing the management, focus on the targets, productivity and effectiveness of education (Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard, & Henry, 1997: 84) and steering at a distance with the autonomy of the local level (Simola et al., 2002: 254). The central structure set educational goal through policies that are made to understands the problem. Educational governance should develop efficiency, accountability, transparency and flexibility so that they can respond more effectively to the diverse and continuously changing needs of learners.

Education governance helps us to understand the concept of governance, leadership, and management in education and their relationship with each other. Educational governance is "collective actions" to increase students learning and learning of those people who are in the governing process, and "all those who seek to learn" (Nixon et al., 2004).

CONCLUSION

It can be observed that every government that has been in India has had good thoughts for the nation particularly in the education sector but have been unable to achieve it due majorly to the problems of sustainability and implementation. Most of the colonial educational policies has the shortcoming of not taking into account our local peculiarities and not involving locales in their formulation. It is also essential to integrate all the good parts of earlier education policies, whether

colonial or post-colonial, into any proposed education policy. Therefore, NPE (10 + 2 + 3 system) of education came into being in India with the primary focus of meetingthe educational needs of its citizenry and equipping the youths' skills that will make them to be self-reliant.

RECOMMENDATIONS

(a) Every succeeding government should be selfless enough to continue with viable educational policies of previous government so as to minimize if not completely eradicate wastage of both human and material resources.

(b) Sensitization of the citizenry on the importance of technical/vocational education to the individual and the nation level.

(c) Remove the dichotomy that exists between graduates of/from technical/vocational and other higher institutions by not considering the certificates they get as lower than others which results in disparity in pay and respect accorded to them.

(d) Adequately equip all government schools at all levels and ensure that all monitoring/supervisory bodies to the establishment of private schools give approval only to schools that are well equipped.

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INDIAN JUDICIARY: A HORNETS' NEST

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Abstract

There are multiple problems in the three tier hierarchy of India's judicial system. The issues with other two organs of the government are highlighted and deliberated upon on public forums but the problems of Indian Judicial System are relegated to the background. The problem of judicial pendency in India is something we must reckon. Two issues of the Economic Survey have simultaneously focused on judicial pendency at length. The problem of judicial pendency is linked with judicial vacancies and several other problems like poor infrastructure, red-tapism etc. Apart from them judicial secrecy is also a matter of concern. India's ranking in the Rule of Law Index is continuously deteriorating. We must acknowledge all the problems before trying to find their plausible solutions

Keywords: Pendency of cases, Persisting-vacancy, Red Tapism, Appointment, Rule of Law

Judicial system of any modern nation state happens to be its backbone which helps in sustaining the entire system as such by interpreting the constitution, safeguarding the fundamental rights of citizens, ensuring enforcement of laws both civil and criminal, assuring delivery of public goods or services and resolving any dispute in between citizens or state and central governments.

In the context of India its judiciary is basically an inherited legacy of the colonial rule. Most of its cardinal laws and even buildings of existing courts were made during the British rule. However, since Independence we Indians have tried to change the existing system pragmatically to accommodate according to the changing needs of

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the era. Yet the pace at which reforms have been initiated has never been up to the mark. India's population has grown leaps and bounds over the years although its judicial system is still archaic. The Four Judges cases which concluded with National Judicial Appointments Commission case being the fourth and latest one have more or less established that the Indian judicial system is an independent one. Whenever the Executive or the Legislature would assert to diminish the independence of the Judiciary the Supreme Court of India is more than cognisant and like a bulwark which hard to impede. Albeit the recent transfer of Justice S. Muralidhar after his strictures against members of the incumbent government for their hate speeches will raise more than eyebrows but the process of transferring a Judge of the High Court still requires his prior consent. Hence the process in place takes care of an arbitrary transfers as such. Further the appointment of Ex-Chief Justice of India Justice Ranjan Gogoi has also raised questions on the sanctity at pinnacle of the Judicial System but it is merely a speculation about a possible quid pro quo. Hence this article would focus on other problems which are evident in the judicial system.

BURDEN OF CASES AND ITS RAMIFICATIONS

India today is the second most populous country in the world with more than 1.35 billion people living in the country. It implies that the number of cases in various courts is bound to go up and truly judicial pendency in India is a major problem that its system faces. There are more than 3.6 crore cases pending in the judicial system starting from subordinate level to the Supreme Court. To be precise according to National Judicial Data Grid as on 31 March 2020 there were 3,21,97,953 cases pending in various subordinate courts and 46,43,937 cases pending in respective High Courts. Even in the Supreme Court there are 60,459 cases pending. A Law Commission report a decade ago in 2009 had stated that pending cases at its current strength of judges it would require 464 more years to clear the. This menace of Judicial Pendency costs the Indian economy of about 1.5% of its GDP per annum according to DAKSH State of Judiciary Report, If one takes India's GDP of 2.9 Trillion USD and calculates then the lost amount due to Judicial Pendency will be 43.5 Thousand Crore USD. In spite of giant leaps in the Ease of Doing Business report which is published by the World Bank, one criteria where India has not seen any progress is that of enforcing contracts and dispute resolution. It still takes about 1,445 days to resolve a dispute through a local first instance court. The number of days taken has remained static at 1,455 for two consecutive years that is 2018 and 2019. Even the Economic Survey brought out by Government of India in 2017-18 had stated that judicial pendency leads to slowing down of projects which ultimately leads economic loss. The Economic Survey of 2018-19 further pointed out that about 50,000 crores are locked up because of various cases and this has further hurt the investment which is already reducing.

There are other major negative ramifications apart from economic vantage point are truly as important as the economic loss if not more important.

Denial of timely justice is denial of justice itself. If cases are timely disposed in any society a sense of justice prevails in the society as whole. Further timely justice is important to maintain the rule of law in any country because otherwise those who offend the laws of the land won't have any kind of fear or respect for laws. Also excessive delay in justice causes the common man to lose faith in the system. In India timely and speedy disposal of cases is considered a part of Article 21 enshrined in the constitution which guarantees Right to Life and Liberty. Speaking of Rule of Law as a concept, according to Rule of Law Index 2019 which is made by World Justice Report (an international civil society organisation) India's rank was downgraded by 3 ranks to the 68th position out of 126 countries. The Rule of Law Index basically measures "performance across various socio-legal and political focus-areas including Open Government, Fundamental Rights, Regulatory Enforcement, Civil Justice, and Criminal Justice." Such a downfall is indeed a matter of introspection for the Indian socio-political system.

The 239th Report of the Nineteenth Law Commission categorically states "delays in the investigation and prosecution of criminal cases erodes faith in the rule of law and the criminal justice system, which has serious implications for the legitimacy of the Judiciary. In fact due to judicial delays prisons in India are also becoming overcrowded so much so that a lot prisons are filled with double the prisoners than its original capacity. This is a severe violation human rights of the prisoners which adds to the social and economic burden of their families. As per National Judicial Data Grid of the total 2,31,84,739 criminal cases at subordinate level 74.63 per cent or 1,73,61,518 criminal cases are more than one year old. It is truly sad that in subordinate courts even today 51,711 cases are more than one year old and a total 76,31,227 or 25% of the cases are more than 5 year old. Even in the High Courts as many as 13,34,469 criminal cases are pending. As mentioned earlier the common man has started losing his faith in the judicial system because of such socio-economic spasms caused by judicial pendency.

Further just the perception of judicial pendency also causes corruption albeit petty in nature at the level of Peshkars. Basically in order to hasten the hearing of a case either the Peshkar asks for a petty amount or people willingly give it to him/her.

THE GORDIAN KNOT OF INTERCONNECTED PROBLEMS

The problem of judicial pendency is linked and correlational to various other problems in the judicial system. This has created a web of problems for both the Government of India and the people of India. Untangling this web and solving this

Gordian knot of interconnected problems is indeed a humongous task because at every level of India's three tier judicial system. Only a comprehensive approach and cooperation in between the Centre and the States can solve these problems.

Subordinate courts are the pedestal on which the hierarchical three tier Indian Judiciary stands. In each of the 720 districts of India there is a District Court and Article 233 of the Indian Constitution gives it constitutional validity. Of the approx. 3.6 crore cases in India 87.5% or 3,21,97,953 cases are pending in District or the subordinate court, of these 2,37,64,012 cases are criminal cases and 84,94,266 cases are civil cases. Of these 81,353 cases are more than 30 years old. Hence one can easily deduce that the problems at this level shall be the most. Of the total cases, 77,46,166 cases are pending in subordinate courts of Uttar Pradesh followed by Maharashtra (38,16,222), Bihar (29,05,613) and West Bengal (23,01,425).

First of all there is acute shortage of judges in subordinate courts. In 1987, 11th Law Commission in Report no. 120 had recommended a standard of 50 judges per million people on contrary today in India there only 20 judges per million people today. However later in 2013 Report no. 245 of the Twentieth Law Commission had recommended that scientific data and research should be done by the government for finding the apt number of judges required but no concrete steps have been taken in this direction. In fact even today 25 per cent of the already sanctioned posts of judges 25% are vacant. The recruitment at this level is the responsibility of respective state governments rather State Public Service Commissions which already are functioning poorly and are often accused of malice, leaking of papers, red tapism in publishing results and even corruption. Also due to these accusations litigations are filed in courts which either lead to cancelation of results or delay in publishing them. The Economic Survey of 2018-19 states that only 2,279 vacancies need to be filled up in order to achieve 100 per cent clearance rate and rest 2,580 posts can be left vacant. The reason for this is the fact that the annual disposal rate per judge in District Courts is 746 per year which is truly commendable. In 2019 1,49,89,325 cases were disposed by the subordinate courts and their hard work must be appreciated. However it's not just the vacancy of judges at this level which needs to be filled up but also adequate administrative staff should be provided to the courts as such staff compliments the hard work which judges are doing. It is truly astonishing that about 30 per cent of a case's life is spent in something as simple as servicing a notice or in serving summons. The Supreme Court of India has took cognizance of the issue and to solve it the e-Committee of the Supreme Court has launched a mobile application called NSTEP which stands for National Service and Tracking of Electronic Processes. NSTEP is a good step for expeditious serving of notices and summons albeit the problem is that is not used by the District Courts or its use is still very marginal. It will perhaps take time for this application to mix into the work culture of District Courts but still with proper impetus it might reduce 30 per cent of the time taken by a case.

Low budgetary allocation is another problem which judiciary of India faces. India spends only 0.9 per cent of its GDP on maintaining its infrastructure. Only four countries namely Japan, Norway, Australia and Iceland spend less on their judiciary. It is important to note that none of the above stated four countries have gargantuan problem of judicial pendency as India does. In 2016 a report by the Supreme Court stated that of 20,558 sanctioned posts its current infrastructure can only hold 15,540 judicial officers. The states again are clearly responsible for this miserable condition of infrastructure at the subordinate level. The Parliamentary Standing Committee on Personnel, Public Grievances, Law and Justice in its report on Development has categorically stated that the states should provide suitable land for construction of buildings of courts and even go for vertical expansion if land is limited but states do not adhere to this hence the infrastructure of courts is in a bad state.

Apart from the inadequate and perishing infrastructure and empty posts, the Indian judiciary at the subordinate level also suffers from corruption and the exploitation of poor and illiterate people by lawyers. In addition, the laid down procedure of three adjournments per case is never followed and the number of working days is never up to the mark if one takes into account the huge backlog they have. The District Courts work for about 242 days in year which decent but only till one does not look at it from the vantage point of judicial pendency and other professions as such. Along with increasing the number of judges the number of workings days should also be increased in a balanced manner so that District Court Judges who already have long working hours also do get time to wear of the steam of workload and also get apt time for writing judgements or doing research which is imperative for increasing the quality of judges.

Speaking of quality of judgements, well as most judges believe it's an art which requires reason as well as lucid language. Recently as a result of injunctions and stay orders granted by various subordinate courts primarily due to poorly drafted or imperfectly reasoned judgements and orders has led to stalling of projects worth more than 50,000 crores. Further poorly reasoned judgements at times also signify corruption or a possible quid or quo and at times the time frame stipulated or process in the Civil Procedure Code is not followed.

The very idea of **Fast Track Courts** was to reduce the burden on subordinate courts. However with due course of time Fast Track courts have remained seldom fast. Initially they were supposed to help subordinate courts by reducing their burden of criminal cases specifically, because prisons were overburdened but eventually now Fast Track Courts have themselves become overburdened. Fast Track Courts were established in the year 2000 to expeditiously dispose criminal

cases which were long pending in various Sessions Courts and long pending cases of under trial prisoners on day to day basis in a time bound manner. The 11th Finance Commission for the period of 2000-2005 had recommended for the creation of 1734 Fast Track Courts in the country by the state governments in consultation with respective High Courts. However even today we have only 699 functional Fast Track Courts even when the recent 14th Finance Commission had suggested for creation of 1800 such courts. Even of these 699 functional courts, many courts were created not because of state governments and their will to create them rather they were created by orders of various High Courts on specific offences such as sexual offences, corruption and frauds in payment etc.

Like Fast Track Courts, tribunals are also an instrument to ease the burden on subordinate courts although initially they were supposed to perform special functions. The Supreme Court of India in 1952 had defined tribunal as expressed in Article 136 of the Indian Constitution not as 'courts' but all adjudicating bodies, provided they are constituted by the state and are vested with judicial functions as distinguished from administrative or executive functions. Later in 1976 the 42nd Constitutional Amendment added Article 323A and 323B gave constitutional validity to tribunals. In India there is no central authority to coordinate and assure proper functioning of the all the tribunals like the United Kingdom where previously they were placed under Council of Tribunals and now are placed under Senior President of Tribunals since 2007 for supervision. In fact data collection about pendency in all tribunals at central and state level is an enormous task because they are not centralised at one place like National Judicial Data Grid. In this scenario one such entity is highly desired for common public as well as researcher. The incumbent government in order to reduce the number of tribunals is merging a lot of them which has been criticised for perishing the autonomy of such tribunals.

Further according to the Economic Survey such tribunals specially the revenue or tax ones due to their poor quality of judgements and orders have resulted in contested tax revenues in the region of ₹7.58 lakh crore as till March 31, 2017. Albeit no recent data is available on this but it is likely to increase. Even this value of 2017 is equal to 4.7 per cent of the GDP. The government must assure that quality is maintained in the tribunals because this further burdens the High Courts and the Supreme Court along with economic loss.

Apart from tribunals there are various executive bodies such as Board of Revenue or Courts of District Magistrates and Divisional Commissioners which adjudicate on matters like land or revenue. Such executive bodies are criticised because they in principle violate the principle of checks and balances.

THE BURDEN OF JUSTICE ON HIGH COURTS

There are 25 High Courts in India for 28 States and 8 Union territories. As mentioned before as per National Data Judicial Grid as on 31 March 2020 there are 46,43,937 cases pending in all the High Courts across India. In these 19,31,974 are civil cases and 13,34,479 are cases are criminal cases. There are also 13,77,480 writ cases pending in High Courts. It is truly sad that of these 46,659 or 1% of the total cases are more than 30 years old and still await justice. About 19.2% or 8,91,901 (approx. 9 lakh) cases are more than 10 years old justice. There are total 1079 functioning High Court Judges in India of these 771 are permanent and 308 are additional judges. Among the various High Courts the ones with most pending cases are as follows:

- Allahabad High Court: It has 7,34,609 cases pending out of which 5.49% or 40329 cases are more than 30 years old **(this also accounts for 86.4% of the total cases pending for more than 30 years)** and 160 judges.
- High Court of Punjab and Haryana: It has 5,62,781 cases pending and 85 judges.
- High Court of Rajasthan: It has 4,81,311 cases pending and 50 judges.
- Madras High Court: It has 3,98,311 cases pending and 75 judges.
- High Court of Madhya Pradesh: It has 3,66,344 cases pending and 53 judges.

The Economic Survey states that out of the total 408 vacancy of judges if only 93 more are appointed then High Courts can achieve 100% clearance rate i.e. all the cases filled in a year would be disposed within that period. However the huge number of pending cases suggests that more judges would be required to clear the backlog. On an average a Judge of the High court disposes 2,348 cases which is way more than judges of subordinate courts. Hence it is imperative that vacancies of High Court Judges should be filled by the government and the collegium on priority basis. Even after so much of work load the quality of judgements have been maintained by Judges of the High Courts which should truly be applauded. The High Courts are still an institution of faith for the common people as it is perceived to be relatively untouched by corruption although there have been allegations of corruption on certain judges at times.

An area where High Courts might improve is the total number of working days. The High Courts across the Country function for only 212 days per year. While it is true that Judges do need proper rest in order to function on their optimum level. We should also keep in mind the huge problem of judicial pendency some High Courts are facing. Also more judges should be allocated to such High Courts where large number of cases are pending. Along with this all the High Courts must be properly staffed and court managers should be appointed in order to ensure that justice is not red tapped due to administrative lacunae. Further the High Court

Judges and all other staff of all High Courts must be properly trained adapt to an electronic ecosystem which will reduce their workload. Another issue which crumbles the public faith in High Court is the lack of willingness by the courts to disclose information under the Right to Information Act 2005. Apart from these at times ego clashes and spats in between the Chief Justice of a High Court and other judges or in between judges becomes public which truly erodes the sense of justice a common citizen has instilled in the High Courts. Nepotism has also diminished the stature of High Courts in India as it leads to possible quid pro quos and ignoring merit.

SUPREME COURT OF INDIA

There are about 60,459 cases pending in the Supreme Court of India which is not so much when you consider the number of cases pending in subordinate courts or even in most of the High Courts. However the very fact that 40% of these are actually Special Leave Petitions under Article 136 of the Indian Constitution is indeed something to introspect upon because most of them are on the ground of gross injustice and this leaves the Supreme Court with less time for important constitutional matters and matters under its original jurisdiction. Also of these cases about 11,987 are incomplete (preliminaries are not complete like process fee not paid or notices have not been served or pleadings are not complete, etc.) miscellaneous cases.

After a recent increase in the number of Supreme Court Judges, its tally has gone up from 31 judges to 34 judges including the Chief Justice of India. Further there are 1770 employees of the Supreme Court who help these 34 judges.

In comparison to other courts problems with the Supreme Court are comparatively negligible when it comes to infrastructure, funds and even pendency of cases. Although there are certain other areas of concern which require attention and even discussion on public forms. Of these the lack of transparency and judicial secrecy stands first in line. This perhaps is distressing when looks at the process of appointments in higher judiciary which is still opaque as even after a recent judgement in November 2019 nothing more than names of names of recommended candidates can be disclosed not even the reasons for selection. In the words of famous philosopher Jeremey Bentham "in the darkness of secrecy, sinister interest and evil in every shape have full swing. Only in proportion as publicity has place can any of the checks applicable to judicial injustice operate." Judicial secrecy might be seen as an instrument to protect judiciaries' autonomy from excesses by any other organ of the state but still one cannot deny the fact that serious doubts and ambiguities arise due to the opaqueness caused by it.

There are some miscellaneous but important problems apart from the ones which have been stated which require attention these are:

- As per Legal Information and Management System (LIMBS) more than 46% of the cases are against the state governments and the central government. If the governments function well at their own levels this is bound to decrease.
- While due to increasing literacy there are is an increase of 13% of increase in the cases of judicial activism and this increase is healthy for any democracy. On the other hand it is also true 26% people in India are still illiterate people are often exploited by lawyers along with literate poor people who have no understanding of law.
- In the criminal cases the investigation done by the police is inefficient and slow because of either negligence or lack equipment and proper training. This causes lower conviction rates and even judicial pendency.

The principal aim of this article is to highlight the problems in India's Judiciary and not to find its solutions as recognition of a problem is the first step toward a possible or plausible solution. However there few solutions which might help in dealing with the problems:

1. Judicial vacancies are directly related to judicial pendency. In the short run it is only by cooperative federalism that the existing problem of vacancies can be solved at level of the subordinate courts because judges at this level are appointed by the respective State Public Service Commissions. In the long run All India Judicial Service as stated in Article 312 is the only option to ensure that the problem of judicial pendency is solved for good. The only question in this regard is to ensure that judicial autonomy is not compromised because of creation of this service.
2. IT solutions such as NSTEP launched by the Supreme Courts should be made mandatory in order to reduce the 30% extra time caused in serving summons is reduced. More such IT solutions are possible if proper research is done. IT solutions will also lead to elimination of multiple cases on the same issue by the same applicant in various cases.
3. The Indian government should increase the expenditure on the judicial system because it will give more returns than expenditure actually done as earlier mentioned a lot of money is locked because of judicial pendency.
4. Alternate Dispute Resolution institutions such as LokAdalats and Gram Nyayalayas can also reduce the burden of cases on the judicial system. Pre-litigation mediation by Legal Services Authorities can also mitigate the huge inflow of cases to courts.
5. The long pending Judges Enquiry Amendment bill should be passed and the Supreme Court should make itself and High Courts more transparent.

CONCLUSION

The problems in the third pillar of democracy of Indian democracy is truly a matter of concern but it has long been neglected. A healthy an efficient judiciary is important for the functioning of any democracy. Its only by cooperation from all the organs of the state that the Gordian Knot of interconnected problems in the judiciary can be solved.

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STATE INTERVENTIONS FOR WOMEN EMPOWERMENT IN BIHAR: AN ASSESSMENT

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Abstract

Women empowerment, in short, is that capability of the women by which they take decision by themselves and play roles in socio-economic and political domains. But it requires state interventions for empowering them in the shape of financial support, providing infrastructure, morale boosting, opportunities for adequate active participation in social domain and political institutions. All these enable them to think, to understand, to participate, to hold and represent for the development of themselves. A variety of schemes covering socio-economic and political spheres have been provided by state in Bihar. These schemes have shown promise but there is need of making them self assertive to get the benefits of state interventions and enjoy the fruits of the schemes. The PRIs are the most potential instrument to empower them in real sense. We can hope for the best.

Keywords: SHGs, Schemes for Girls, PRIs, Jeevika, Prohibition, Bihar

INTRODUCTION

Women constitute almost the half of the population but their representation in the political institution and governmental agencies do not match to their share in population. In order to give them opportunities to ladder up in the society, Bihar state has taken the commendable steps. Bihar is a state that has thrown a number of schemes for upliftment of girls and women including social aspects like child marriage, educational, nutritional etc. in last one and half decades. Definitely these state interventions have shown promise, but the situation of gender based maladies

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persists. The present paper intends to take stock of the steps of Government taken in variegated areas. All these schemes, measures and politico-administrative arrangements made by Nitish government need to be assessed in context of women empowerment.

WOMEN EMPOWERMENT: CONCEPTUAL CONSIDERATION

The term empowerment denotes a situation in which a depowered section the society is empowered. It is a very complex concept having varied dimensions, and each dimension is interchangeably used. Tulika Tripathi (2010) rightly observes, "Only half of Indian women fall into category of empowered, later defined in terms of having higher education, exposure to mass media, decent job and freedom of movement. Still, a large part of them don't have sufficient autonomy regarding the value choices for their own life if autonomy of women is seen into the acts and decisions in accordance with their authentic interests or integrated values and desire, like decision making and gender role attitude." In general terms empowerment refers to freedom, enabling and control over resources by the section in question. In context of women empowerment freedom concerns with freedom from subjugation, oppression and deprivation perpetuated through institutionalised methods by male bastion. Enabling refers to enabling women to play self assertive roles in social, economic and political domains and control over resources denotes women's control over both the material resources and social ideology at par with men (Verma and Singh: 2001). The politico-legal arrangements have been made by state apparatus in shape of affirmative action and provisions of support mechanism to empower women in order to bring them up for equal status. But the question remains to be answered as to how to inculcate ability in them to enjoy the granted rights and the fruits of these state interventions.

Women's empowerment has three dimensions – social, economic and political. Education, health and equality in society are the social components. Health aspect includes the enjoyment of reproductive rights of women on the line of Cairo Convention 1994. Control over income, ancestral property, employment and self sufficiency in economic activities are the economic empowerment. Equality in and opportunity of political participation at par with men constitute the aspect of political empowerment (Tabassum: 2007). The state interventions are supposed to provide education and health services to enable them and opportunities for economic activities, livelihood and employment. There a number of impediments in the way of women empowerment even after legal provisions. In context of women's roles in local self governments in India, Palanithurai (2002) argues, "But empowerment of women is neither an easy process nor comes merely with the institutional arrangements. It requires a change in the social institutions, people's mindset, and for more determined efforts on the part of women representatives,

NGOs, officials and policy makers concerned." Finally, empowerment is the expansion of assets and capabilities of women to participate in, negotiate with, influence, control and hold accountable institutions and ideology that affects their life (Batliwala: 1995)

STATE INTERVENTIONS IN BIHAR

Women empowerment is vital to their value systems leading to the development of a good family, good society and ultimately a good nation. But the women in Bihar are largely become victims of social maladies like dowry system, child marriage, domestic violence, foeticide, gender based discriminations, insecurity in social domain, crimes against women and so on. The Government of Bihar in last fifteen years has launched a number schemes in all the areas of women empowerment including politico-legal provisions and supportive measures. In addition to constitutional provisions of right to equality, the Government of Bihar has taken initiatives of affirmative action like making provisions of reservation of seats in Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) and Urban Local Bodies (ULBs) to the extent of 50 percent in all categories and tiers for the first time in India. Besides, the provision of reservation of 33 per cent of seats in government services in all categories have been made. There emerged a phenomenon of proxy women leadership in these institutions in the initial stage evident from the practice of Mukhiyapati, yet with the passage of time the proxy leadership gradually diminished. The government schemes in Bihar encompassed the eradication of social evils that facilitated the rise of women in decision makings. Let us have a look on the politico-legal arrangements made by the state of Bihar.

Prohibition: The growing anti-social attitude among the boozers and complaints and protests on large scale from women prompted Bihar Government to clamp total prohibition in the state in 2016 by a law named Bihar Prohibition and Excise Act 2016. The law makes strict punitive provisions for storing, marketing and consuming liquor. It is claimed that after implementation of prohibition law the women of this state became strong, powerful and capable. They got rid of domestic violence against women and bad habits of the male members of the family. The reports revealed that the passage of one year, since implementation of the law, witnessed a sizeable decrease in number of murders and gang robberies by 20 per cent and 10 per cent in traffic accidents (Anand: 2017). Besides, it was marked a sizeable decrease in domestic violence, petty crimes, anti-social behaviour and wasted income. All these enabled women to strive for transformative change (http://movendi.ngo:2019)

Affirmative Steps: In addition to the constitutional provisions of 33 percent reservation for women in local self governments under 73rd and 74th amendment

Act, Bihar Government increased the reservation provisions in PRIs and ULBs up to 50 per cent by Bihar Panchayati Raj Act 2006. Besides, in January 2016, the state Government made provisions of 35 per cent reservation for women of all categories in all government jobs. Prior to it, Bihar Government had made 50% reservation for women in appointment of teachers upto middle school. Due to this, there are a huge number of women teachers in Bihar in upper primary schools. This type of reservation policy gives constructive support for the upliftment of women (Kumar: 2018).

Chief Minister's Girls Marriage Scheme: This scheme was started by the Social and Welfare Department in 2007-08. Under this scheme government provides economical support to poor family for the marriage of their adult daughter. Getting the benefit of this scheme it is essential that either father or mother of the girl's should be native of Bihar. On the time of marriage ₹5,000 is paid to those family whose income is less than ₹60,000 per annum.[9] On the launch of this scheme the then President Pratibha Devi Singh Patil said that "The nation can achieve its full potential only when women realise their own potential" (*The Hindustan Times*: 2008).

Chief Minister's Women Shakti Scheme: This scheme was initiated through Women Development Corporation in 2007 with the aim of social, economical and cultural empowerment of adolescent and women of the state. Under this scheme women resource centre has been established and running for the development of their skill, recruitment and other benefits.[11] For economical empowerment of the women, the training of computer, beautician, sales management, teacher-training etc. are going on. For the encouragement of women industries self-help group has been transferred into Jeevika by which the information is passed regarding social matter, gender and women circulars of the state. For social empowerment, Women Helpline has been started. Under this scheme there is an arrangement of support for lodging an F.I.R., temporary residential arrangement and vocational training as well as permanent residential arrangement for oppressed and tortured women. Except this, there is an arrangement of women lodging, security home and temporary home also. For the cultural empowerment, on the occasion of women/girls day there is an arrangement of cultural programme at districts and headquarter level.

SHGs: WDC (Women Development Corporation, Bihar) considers Self Help Groups (SHGs) as the means of a women owned community based organization, where women analyze critically their own situation & drive strategy to overcome difficulties, providing mutual support & serving the social change, take loan for economic development and sustaining a framework for raising awareness on literacy, information dissemination, health, etc. The WDC works on partnership model in a phased manner with various NGOs in the state. It organises and

nurture the SHGs, strive for capacity building through training and programmes and promote entrepreneurship among women. Indeed, with the aim of improving literacy and trying to capture social and cultural aspects of empowerment pave the way for a better life for these hapless women (WDC: 2010). The number of SHGs under different projects were as below:

SHGs under Different Projects

Name of Projects	*Fund Support*	*No. of SHGs*	*Project Duration*	
			Start	*End*
Swa-Shakti Project	World Bank/IFAD	400	1999	2005
Swawlamban Phase I	Additional Central Assistance GOI	1000	2004	2007
Swawlamban Phase II	Additional Central Assistance GOI	1000	2005	2008
Swayamsiddha	GOI	6300	2004	2006
DEEP	Special Component Plan GOI	1885	2004	2008

Source: WDC: 2010.

Chief Minister's Girls Security Scheme: This scheme was launched by Women Development Corporation in 2007-08 with the aim of stopping foeticide, registration of girls birth and improvement of sex-ratio. Under this scheme, poor family girls child who took birth after 22nd November, 2007, are getting certificate of fixed deposit of ₹2,000 which will be drawn on the completion of 18 years of the said girls child (Kumar: 2018).

Inter-Caste Marriage Encouragement Scheme: This scheme was launched for the encouragement of inter-caste marriage. Under this scheme a certificate of fixed deposit of ₹1,00,000 has been given in the name of girl for her economical support. Due to this, there is a try to hurt on child-marriage, dowry, caste and untouchable system. For getting the benefit of this scheme there is a compulsion of marriage registration and adult bride & groom (Ibid.).

Bihar State Rural Livelihood Mission (Jeevika): This scheme was initiated in April, 2013 with the aim of reducing poverty where state government provides an opportunity for livelihood to earn liveliness. Attempts are made to empower them financially and economically. At present it is working in whole Bihar. Under this scheme a few women make a group and get loan for their different work from the government. At present, women are participating in this Jeevika group and enhancing their capabilities (Kumar: 2018). Some of the other initiatives have been taken by Bihar state government such as, Chief Minister's Girls Uniform Scheme, Laxmibai Social Security Pension Scheme, State Social Security Pension Scheme,

Special Residential School 'Dristi', Bihar Integrated Social Protection Strengthening, Chief Minister's Disables Marriage Incentive Scheme, Chief Minister's Incentive Scheme, Mahadalit Development Mission, etc.

In addition to that, there are many central government programmes and schemes to empower the women. There are also such types of schemes which run through centre-state co-operation and funding. Such as, (i) MNREGA, (ii) Prime Minister's Residence Scheme, (iii) Purn Shakti Centre, (iv) One Stop Centre, (v) Beti Bacho, Beti Padhao, (vi) Rural Convergence and Facility Centre, (vii) Women Helpline 181, (viii) National Social Assistance Scheme (viii) Rajeev Gandhi Kishori Empowerment Scheme (Sabla), (ix) Ujjawala Yojana, etc.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

No doubt, there are so many schemes for the empowerment of women but the condition is not as such as it is shown in the different sources of media by state governments as well as centre. However, the situation and staus are improving substantially also with their own efforts. In course of my research work which is related to women empowerment, it was found that still the condition of empowerment of women is not satisfactory. Most of women don't know their rights and responsibilities and are unaware of schemes and programmes which are made for their upliftment. In addition to that there are so many obstacles such as poverty, illiteracy, population, caste, pardah and such other social taboos making them lag behind.

Finally, on the basis of the above facts, we find and realize that for the empowerment of women, there is a need to make them responsible and accountable to get involved in the decision making process and implementation of developmental programmes for their upliftment. PRIs can play vital roles in making their impressive presence in political activities, women have to be aware of their rights and duties assigned to them.

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UNIFORM CIVIL CODE AND ITS IMPACT ON CHILD MARRIAGE

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Abstract

India is a country where more than 23 million child brides are reported and yet the courts and parliament dread to intervene in the matter on the pretext of personal laws. Are personal laws beyond the scope of Right to Life and Dignity of a person? India's plural legal system especially with regard to personal law in general and child marriage in particular has made India a breeding ground for various gender discriminations. The tussle between the national legislation applicable to every citizen of our country irrespective of their religious affiliation and the personal laws has resulted in widespread ambiguity in the field of child marriage, leading to violation of constitutional and other internationally protected human rights of women. A positive intervention from the government is required to eliminate any anomalies from child marriage provisions.

The paper is a humble attempt to highlight the impact of bringing personal laws within the jurisdiction of fundamental rights and the need of a uniform civil code especially in the field of child marriage.

Keywords: Child Marriage, Personal Laws, Gender Discrimination, Uniform Civil Code, Human Rights

> "Not all traditions are equally valid, and those which run counter to human rights must be combated. It is essential to distinguish between tolerance, which is necessary and blind acceptance of customs which may involve degrading treatment or blatant violations of human rights"[1]

It is estimated that, globally, 82 million girls now between 10–17 years of age will marry before their 18th birthday. This includes significant numbers of girls married

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at much younger ages.[2] The impact of national legislations trying to mitigate child marriage from the society is continuously being drained down by discriminatory personal laws which legalize practices derogatory to the health of women. There is an apparent conflict or incongruity between the provisions of the Indian Penal Code 1860, Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act 2012, Prohibition of Child Marriage Act 2006 and the Personal laws relating to marriage. This conflict or incongruity needs to be resolved in the best interest of the girl child and the provisions of various complementary statutes need to be harmonized and read purposively to present an articulate whole.

DEFINITION OF CHILD UNDER INDIAN LAWS

According to the Convention on the Rights of the Child, a child is "every human being below the age of eighteen years unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier."[3] There is no uniformity in the way child has been defined under various laws in our legal system. Every legislation according to the object sought defines child in different manner creating a chaos in the legal arena. The definition of child under the Indian Majority Act, 1875 is as "*Every person domiciled in India shall attain the age of majority on his completing the age of eighteen years.* Section 2(12) of The Juvenile Justice (Care And Protection Of Children) Act, 2015 defines child as a person who has not complete eighteen years of age. However under The Prohibition of Child Marriage Act 2006, "child" has been defined as a male who has not completed 21 years of age and a female who has not completed 18 years of age. A simple implication of this is that while a male of 19 to 21 years will not be child under Juvenile Act, he will be a child under Child Marriage Act.

Going by the Dictionary meaning of Child, "it refers to a young human being below the age of puberty or below the legal age of majority." Similarly a Minor is a person who is too young to have the legal responsibilities of an adult. Going by the meaning both Child and minor can be used interchangeably since both connect it with the legal age of majority. However, in the Indian Legal system, there is a lot of confusion between the two.

A child is and remains a child regardless of the description or nomenclature given to the child. It is universally accepted in almost all relevant statutes in our country that a child is a person below 18 years of age.

THE QUESTION OF MARRIAGEABLE AGE

While the society has agreed that there is no upper age limit for getting marriage solemnized, but a lower age limit for marriage is advisable both emotionally as well as physically. A child reaches the biological development to become a parent as soon as he/she hits puberty. But puberty strikes different people at different ages.

Moreover the age of puberty has really been ascending due to several factors[4] and has gone to as low as 8 in certain cases, making it impossible to consider puberty as the parameter to decide the marriageable age. It is at this juncture that law plays a crucial role. A uniform marriageable age fixed by law taking into consideration the biological and emotional strength of the population on an average is the best possible solution. But in the Indian context, law has created more trouble than remedy. The absence of Uniform Civil code and prevalence of different personal laws has divided the society into different marriageable age and many of them falling under the age of minority. There was no minimum age of marriage for a child till 1929.

STATUS OF CHILD MARRIAGE UNDER INDIAN LAWS

The Child Marriage Prohibition Act is specifically drawn to eradicate the menace of child marriage from our country. But conflicting personal laws are making it impossible to show effective result. The conflict of law is making the situation even more arbitrary. The PCMA goes on to the extent of punishing the persons who negligently failed to prevent or even attended a marriage knowing it to be a child marriage thus considering such marriages to be a grave criminal offence. Such marriages remain voidable for two years after the girl and boy reaches the requisite marriageable age.[5] This act is applicable to all persons irrespective of their religions and personal laws.

The Hindu Marriage Act has created all the more discrepancies in the legal arena. A girl married after the age of 15, even if married without regard to her preference, is considered to be in a valid marriage. Such marriage is neither void nor voidable but absolutely a valid marriage punishable under law. The punishment also applies to only the participants of child marriage and not to the family.

Though uncodified in India, Muslim personal laws establish puberty— which is presumed to be 15 years of age as the minimum age of marriage.[6] Parents are guardians can even arrange marriage of the girl child below the age of puberty and all such marriages remain to be a *sahih* or valid marriage under the Muslim Personal Law. The girl married below 15 years of age has been given the option to repudiate her marriage but she can exercise this power before she turns 18 and if the marriage has not been consummated.[7] Thus child marriage under Muslim personal law enjoys a valid and non punishable status.

The Indian Christian Marriage Act, 1872 considers a person below the age of 21 to be a minor however a marriage solemnized between a minor would be held valid if a preliminary notice is provided.[8]

Under the Parsi Marriage and Divorce Act the marriage of a girl under the age of 18 is considered invalid.[9] However, in the provision on grounds under which a marriage can be declared void, age is not included. The failure of the PMDA to clearly state whether a child marriage is invalid from the outset or needs to be invalidated through a legal process creates ambiguity about girls' right to leave such marriages.[10] Also there are no penalties imposed for the conduct of child marriage.

The Child Marriage Prohibition Act has no where mentioned about its effect on personal laws and the status of child marriage thereafter the enactment of the said legislation. The judiciary has also failed to answer the question in clear terms. The absence of the use of the term "notwithstanding anything contained in any other law" has led to contradictory judgments by the various courts. There have been various reports suggesting the parliament or the judiciary to adopt a mechanism to establish a clear cut superiority of the Child marriage prohibition act over the divided personal laws.

EFFECT OF CHILD MARRIAGE

It is not a matter of controversy that child marriage has a specific gender dimension and the adverse effects of such kinds of marriage are more rampant on girl child. Child marriage is also believed to be similar to girl child abuse and for in cases of many girls, it is the beginning of frequent and unprotected sexual activity which can have serious health consequences like anemia, maternal mortality, infant mortality, and result in certain diseases like HIV/AIDS.[11] It has also been observed that such girl child is more prone to domestic violence. Many other related rights like right to education and over all development are affected as a consequence of child marriage. Thus women in child marriage are a victim of their violation of right to equality guaranteed to them under Article 14 and 15 of the Indian Constitution. The different marriageable age under different religions and provisions against the national legislations are arbitrary, unreasonable and deprived of any intelligible differentia. Religion cannot be a ground to deprive women of their right to equality.

The Supreme Court has held that right to life with human dignity includes right to protection of health.[12] A recent analysis of Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) data showed that spousal violence had been experienced in the previous 12 months by 10.4% in India. Child, early and forced marriage is associated with a number of poor health and social outcomes and other negative consequences. Specifically, early and frequent pregnancies and forced continuation of pregnancy are all common in child marriages. They are closely linked to high maternal and infant morbidity and mortality rates and can have an adverse effect on girls' sexual and reproductive health[13] In fact, "pregnancy-related complications are the main cause of death for young women, with girls being twice as likely to die from childbirth as women in their twenties". Girls and women who are subjected to

child, early and forced marriage are often not empowered to make decisions about, or lack accurate information about, their sexual and reproductive health, which compromises their ability to, inter alia, decide on the number and spacing of their children and negotiate contraceptive use, and places them at heightened risk of contracting sexually transmitted infections and HIV.[14] Thus child marriage violates right to health and right to life and dignity of women and thus law which allows such practices should be declared to be void by the constitution.

With the latest Supreme Court judgment on marital rape with minor, the issue has been resolved in the favour of a minor by stating that any sexual intercourse by husband with women above the age of 18 years shall not be considered as rape. Re framing the above statement, we come to the conclusion that any sexual intercourse between a man and women irrespective of the marital status, shall be considered to be as rape.

THE DILEMMA OF THE JUDICIARY

The Judiciary is often found hand tied in these situations because of the limited reading of the term law under article 13, which tries to exclude personal laws from its ambit, thus leaving the judiciary with no scope to declare the provisions of personal law which allow child marriage, to be void on the ground of violation of the Fundamental Right. Though many progressive Judgments can be found in this regard, however nothing concrete has actually come out of it. Personal laws that reflect discriminatory, patriarchal norms against the constitutional philosophy of the country should be struck down. No religion or religious practice is beyond the superiority of the Constitution. Indian concept of secularism is unique but cannot be allowed to go beyond the principles of constitutionalism. No law made by the legislature or Judge made, customary otherwise can be enforced by any court in our country if it is inconsistent with or repugnant to guarantee of Fundamental rights.[15] The difference in the age of marriage under various personal laws as well as the impact of child marriage on the health of the girl child is violative of her Fundamental Rights enshrined under Article 14, 19 and 21 of the Constitution and any person which is affecting the rights of a women should be struck down to make homogenous laws compatible with the fundamental rights of the women. Any custom or usage irrespective of their proof of existence in the pre constitutional days cannot be countenanced as a source of law to claim any right when it is found to violate Human Rights, dignity and social equality.[16] The victimization of women at the hands of personal law should be declared unconstitutional. Contours of law in an evolving society must constantly keep changing as civilization and culture advances.[17] The practice of child marriage in a society where female education was a distant dream is still a conceivable idea but in a society which considers free and compulsory education of children to be a fundamental right, such practices

are outright derogatory. The law although may be constitutional when enacted but with the passage of time the same may be held to be unconstitutional in view of the changed situation.[18]

The court emphasized that even though child marriage is not void under personal law yet sexual intercourse with girls below 18 should be prohibited. This practice may be sanctioned by tradition but not only the statutory and constitutional provisions, but also the constitutional morality advocates that such practice is not sustainable.[19]

The Judiciary has not been able to take a stern step towards the removal of such arbitrary and harmful practices towards women because of the reason that it is often suggested that personal laws are not covered by the definition of law under article 13(2), thus the court cannot hold it violative of Fundamental Rights. The remedy lies not in the judiciary but in legislature[20] and that is why repetitive recommendations have been provided to the houses to implement Article 44.

NEED FOR UNIFORM CIVIL CODE

Article 51(c) of the Indian Constitution urges the state to foster respect towards international law and treaty obligations. There are many international treaties ratified by India under which India is under an obligation to make laws ensuring elimination of child marriage from the country.

General Recommendation 29 concerning equality in marriage, the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW Committee), which monitors states' compliance_Personal laws can result in ambiguity around women's and girls' rights with regard to child marriage and can lead to violations of constitutionally and internationally protected rights that manifest in sexual violence and a continuum of reproductive health harms. CEDAW, affirms that "identity-based personal status laws and customs perpetuate discrimination against women and that the preservation of multiple legal systems is in itself discriminatory against women"[21]

Women's rights under CEDAW are violated where countries have adopted constitutions that uphold women's equality and nondiscrimination but fail to protect women from the discriminatory effects of marriage under customary practices and religious laws.[22] The CEDAW Committee has established that states parties must address inequality stemming from personal laws: "Personal laws should embody the fundamental principle of equality between women and men, and should be fully harmonized with the provisions of the Convention so as to eliminate all discrimination against women in all matters relating to marriage and family relations.[23]

Examples from neighboring countries can also be borrowed. On the basis of a campaign launched in Nepal on the elimination of discriminatory practices against women from the personal laws, the Supreme Court ordered the legislature to amend the laws within a year. Such positive steps by the Judiciary should also be followed by the Indian Supreme Court in granting the status of equality to women in our country. Non willingness of the concerned religious communities to amend the gender discriminatory provisions should not be accepted as an excuse. The international treaties ratified by India casts an obligation on the government to make the law discrimination free.[24] India, however has made a reservation that it would abide by the obligations under CEDAW only till the extent that their policy of non interference with the personal laws of the community. Such reservations should be treated as violative of the International principles as the whole purpose of the law is to secure equality, which is being denied by such reservations.

Even if there was a custom which had been recognized by law, that custom has to yield to Fundamental Right.[25] And any such custom which plays hazards on the life and development of women must be declared to be void. It is high time that personal laws should also be considered to be law in Article 13 of the Constitution.[26] This is required to provide equality to women. Even Article 25 which allows the secular nature of the country to prosper mentions explicitly in 25(2) (a) that the State is not prevented from making any law regulating or restricting any economic, financial, political or secular activities which may be associated with religious practices. Marriage, succession and like matters have been declared to be of secular nature.[27] Thus even under article 25, state can easily regulate such activities. Moreover, the restrictions imposed under article 25 are public order, heath and morality. As already statistically stated, health of the woman is enormously affected by such laws and thus such practices should not be allowed and easily restricted.

There remain so many unanswered questions. What is the status of the women who has hit puberty and married under the Muslim law and has consummated the marriage? Can she proceed against the husband on charges of rape, and punish him and his family under PCMA, and exercise her choice of void ability under PCMA, while the marriage remains valid under Mohemmedan Law? Similarly under Hindu Marriage Act, such marriage is valid and punishable and a ground for rape if consummated. Such laws are defeating the purpose, the purpose of law is to bring order in the society, but such laws are creating more confusion and problem of order than solving it. Though Uniform Civil Code can be called to be farfetched dream in India looking at the diversity and political angles involved in it, it is important that at least in the field of child marriage which has direct and grave impact of women's health, uniform law should be drafted.

CONCLUSION

It is a matter of regret that Article 44 of the Constitution has not been given effect to, by the Parliament. A common civil code will help the cause of national integration by removing the contradictions based on ideologies.[28] If not in the matter of ceremonies and rituals at least on the matters which have a direct impact on the health of the women, a uniform code is explicitly required. The Supreme Court has also regretted that Article 44 has so long remained a dead letter and the court also recommended early legislation to implement it.[29] It can be safely said that the time has come which demands a complete reform of the law of marriage and makes a uniform law applicable to all irrespective of their religion or caste. Especially in the areas where practices have gender dimension, state must stop administering law according to personal practices.

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SARS, MERS AND COVID-19 : A STUDY OF IMPACT ON SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND HEALTH CONDITIONS OF INDIA

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Abstract

The entire world is undergoing the crisis of Covid-19 pandemic which the newest of the corona virus family like SARS and MERS. This disease was first recognized in Wuhan, China which sooner covered the whole world and declared as pandemics on 11 March 2020. As such the present article intends to provide a comparative analysis of the impact of these three kinds of viruses on the health, society and economy. The reason of undertaking these three in view of the fact that these viruses appeared in the 21st century. To comparison with SARS and MERS what India can learn from these epidemics. This study tries to underline the possible extent of its effects in India and suggest solutions. This article focus to know the positive and negative impact of COVID-19 on India.

Keywords: SARS, MERS, COVID-19, Impact, Economy, Health, Social

INTRODUCTION

Corona virus infection is not new but the new corona virus known as Covid-19 is more deadly than that of earlier versions. In 1930 corona viruses was first discovered in animals which later transmitted to human being. in (7) The two viruses of same family have spread in recent past namely SARS and MERS. The new corona virus known as Covid-19 is the recent edition which causes severe respiratory illness in human being leading to death too. (1). The first outbreak of the Covid-19 virus appeared in Wuhan city of China in December 2019 and later spread throughout globe. Despite lower case fatality rate than SARS and MERS, COVID-19 spreads

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more easily between people which results in increasing the cases rapidly(2). Lakhs of people so far have succumbed to this virus in world. More than eleven thousand people in India alone have lost their lives till the time of writing this paper and the speed of growing cases are ferocious. The Covid-19 pandemic has affected not only human health but socio-economic and governance spheres also. As such the present paper intends to examine the health hazards caused by SARS, MERS and Covid-19 and socio-economic impacts of Covid-19 pandemic. The paper is mainly based on secondary sources of data collection.

THE MENACE OF SARS

SARS (Severe acute respiratory syndrome) is a severe viral respiratory illness caused an outbreak of severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS) corona virus was first detected in Guangdong, Southern China in November 2002. It confirmed 8422 cases including 916 deaths at the end of June 2003 with case fatality rate 11% and spread in 29 countries and regions(3). SARS was related to civet cats and it was thought to be an animal virus from an as-yet-uncertain animal reservoir, believed from bats, that spread to other animals (civet cats). Its mode of transmission mainly between humans to humans through close contact through respiratory droplets. High fever, headache, an overall feeling of discomfort, and body aches, sometimes diarrhea, a dry cough (after 2-7 days) and pneumonia were some of the basic symptoms of SARS. SARS was a very virus virulent infection in all ages of people(4). There are no new cases that have been testified since 2004 but it should not be considered eradicated. SARS caused more fear and social distraction(5). According to WHO 8422 cases including 916 deaths at the end of June 2003. Half of the recovered patients showed anxiety and near about 20% were fearful(6). Nearly 20% of reformed patients showed negative emotional effects and could not able to come out from bitter memories of SARS and it disturbed their routine activities included depression and sleeplessness(6).

SARS affected the economy apart from the direct cost of medical care and control. According to WHO Trade and Travel sectors affected nearly 50-70% internationally, hotel tenancy came down to 60% and more. Businesses failed and production services were enforced to close down(7). WHO's Western Pacific Region covered above 95% cases and 12 countries were affected. Infectious diseases had been given insufficient attention to SARS due to this public health were not ready to handle the situation. Especially countries that depended on Asian goods and manufacturing capability suffered more and economic projected growth come down(5). Asian states suffered nearly 12-18 billion USD loss in retail, travel and tourism sectors(10)the international community has urged Chinese leaders to do more to address infectious diseases. This paper looks at two cases in which the Chinese government securitized infectious disease (SARS and avian influenza.

Tourism and its associated industries, transport, business sectors were affected highly. Demand for entertainment, travel, clothes, food had reduced among families(9). Globally SARS's impact on the economy projected nearly 30-100 billion USD per case (11)severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS). In China, its estimated nearly 12-28 billion USD with a reduction of 1% in GDP and 0.51% in Southeast Asia(12). SARS fears reduced the people interactions and due to increased expenses on healthcare and prevention, it had a bad impact on families and their income. Reduced consumer demand. In actual cost of SARS illness was extreme in comparison to the cost of its treatment. It was estimated at nearly 54 billion USD total GDP loss in 2003 alone(8)the consequences of the disease in other areas are less well calibrated. The purpose of this paper is to provide an assessment of the global economic costs of SARS. Our empirical estimates of the economic effects of the SARS epidemic are based on a global model called the G-Cubed (Asia-Pacific).

THE MENACE OF MERS

MERS (Middle East respiratory syndrome) is a severe viral respiratory illness caused an outbreak of MERS coronavirus (MERS-CoV) was first detected in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in September 2012. It confirmed 2519 laboratory-confirmed cases including 866 deaths at the end of January 2020 with a case fatality rate of 34.3% and spread in 27 countries(13). All cases have been linked with the Arabian Peninsula. MERS-CoV is a zoonotic virus, transmitted between animals and people. People are infected through direct or indirect contact with infected dromedary camels (one-humped camels)(14). Psychological instability. Social distancing and self-protective behavioral changes put an impact on infected individual health(16). In study quality of life stated lower for MERS survivors, need of long term medical and psychological services(15). A study suggested three initial steps in consider the MERS epidemics i.e incorporation PHC (Primary health care) and PH (Public Health), will and support of political, skilled development programs(17)fears and psychosocial stress among population, economic loss and major political change at Ministry of Health (MoH).

Studies showed that due fear of infection interactive got reduced among people in urban areas. It affected the rural labor market. Vulnerable society avoiding consumption and other activities other than basic requirements result in reducing the consumption of goods & services, it indirectly affected the labor market(18). After Saudi Arabia Korea economy strongly affected, it was projected that the impact of MERS on the Korean labor market was high despite low cases and mortality rates. According to WHO due to psychological unawareness of illness, no vaccination and non-specific symptoms MERS impact was higher(20). In the study, it was concluded that older workers faced higher unemployment after MERS whereas in the young group it was partially increased due to their vulnerability being healthy

in the labor market (19) job status, working hours, reason for unemployment and underemployment status. In particular, the study investigates whether the U-shaped curve becomes a J-shaped curve due to the interaction between medical vulnerability and labor market vulnerability after an outbreak, assuming that the relative vulnerability in the labor market by age shows a U-curve with peaks for the young group and middle aged and old aged groups using the Economically Active Population Survey. We use the difference in difference approach and also conduct a falsification check and robustness check.\n\nResults\nThe results suggest that older workers faced a higher possibility of unemployment after the Middle East Respiratory Syndrome outbreak. In particular, they experienced higher involuntary unemployment and underemployment status as well as decreased working hours. It was confirmed that the relative vulnerability of the labor market for older workers was higher than for the other age groups after the epidemic outbreak due to the double whammy of vulnerability in the medical and labor market. The vulnerability in the young group partially increased compared to the 30s and 40s age groups due to their relative vulnerability in the labor market despite being healthy. We find that assuming the relative vulnerability in the existing labor market shows a U-shape with age increase, the U-shaped curve became J-shaped after the outbreak.\n\nConclusions\nDisasters like epidemics can occur unexpectedly and affect certain groups more than other. Therefore, medical protection should be enhanced for groups vulnerable to disease and economic measures are also required for the protection of their livelihoods in the labor market to prevent unemployment stemming from inequality." From the first outburst of MERS, the Korean economy slowdown for the next six months in May 2015 and the Bank of Korea declined the key rates to 1.50% from 1.75%. In Korea, the projected loss in tourism was 2.6 billion USD, the study considered transportation, hotels, food and beverage sectors to the defined loss in tourism(21). According to WHO a disastrous affected global economy, disturbing travel, trade and livelihoods(13).

COVID-19

Covid-19 pandemic is an acute respiratory illness caused by an outbreak of novel corona virus that was first detected in Wuhan, China at the end of 2019 with a case fatality rate of 2.2% and spread worldwide. As compared to SARS, COVID-19 spread very rapidly, it has notified that SARS took six months to exceed the cases above 5,000 whereas COVID-19 spread just in one month in Wuhan, China. There two major reasons of spread of Covid-19 infection – first, cough and sneezes of and contact with infected persons and the second, contact with contaminated surfaces because the virus can survive for hours (22). It is not airborne diseases because **droplets are too heavy to hang in the air**(23)**.** Fever, tiredness, dry cough and some patients may have aches and pains, nasal congestion, runny nose, sore throat

or diarrhea are some of the symptoms of COVID-19. These symptoms are usually mild and begin gradually. There are no specific vaccines or treatments for COVID-19. According to WHO COVID-19 affecting the psychosocial and mental health of all types of ages, to be a Public Health Emergency of Worldwide Anxiety and declared pandemics on 11 March 2020(24). Bursts like this affecting individual, systems and societal levels and can impact sexual, generative health and rights in numerous ways.

The following Table depicts a comparative analysis of these three Corona viruses.

Comparison of SARS, MERS, and COVID-19

	SARS-CoV	MERS-CoV	COVID-19
Origin of Country	Guangdong, Southern China	Kingdom of Saudi Arabia	Wuhan, China.
Year	November 2002	September 2012	End of 2019
No of the country covered	29 countries and regions	27 countries from Middle-East	Spread around the world
Source of the virus	SARS-CoV was related to civet cats. SARS-CoV is thought to be an animal virus from an as-yet-uncertain animal reservoir, believed from bats, that spread to other animals (civet cats)	MERS-CoV is a zoonotic virus, transmitted between animals and people. People are infected through direct or indirect contact with infected dromedary camels(one-humped camels)	sources of COVID-19 have not yet been confirmed. causing COVID-19 is unknown. Indication suggests that it has a natural animal origin and is not a constructed virus. The SARS-CoV-2 virus most probably has its ecological reservoir in bats.
Mode of transmission	Transmitted mainly between humans to humans through close contact.	Often from touching infected camels or consuming their milk or meat, no evidence of sustained human-to-human transmission through close contact	Human-to-human transmission through close contact. It spread from person to person through small droplets land on objects and surfaces from the nose or mouth which are spread when a person with COVID-19 coughs or exhales.
Case fatality rate	11%	34.3%	2.2%

Type of diseases	Viral respiratory illness. It might be airborne spread or in other ways but not confirmed.	Viral respiratory illness. Airborne precautions should be considered when performing aerosol-generating procedures.	Viral respiratory illness. It is not airborne diseases. droplets are too heavy to hang in the air
Symptoms	high fever, headache, an overall feeling of discomfort, and body aches, sometimes diarrhea, a dry cough (after 2-7 days) and pneumonia	non-specific symptoms and can include headache, tiredness, feverishness, mild cough, sore throat, and runny nose Pneumonia is common, but not always present. Gastrointestinal may occur	fever, tiredness, and dry cough. Some patients may have aches and pains, nasal congestion, runny nose, sore throat or diarrhea. These symptoms are usually mild and begin gradually.
Incubation Period	1 to 14 days (median 4-5 days, mean 4-6 days)	2 to 14 days (median 5.4 days).	1 to14 day, most commonly around five days
Cases	8422 cases including 916 deaths at the end of June 2003.	2519 laboratory-confirmed cases including 866 deaths at the end of January 2020.	Above 20 lakh cases including 1,28,886 death on 15th April 2020
Prevention and Treatment	no specific treatment or vaccine The focus lies on prevention, including surveillance and early detection, proper hygiene, and avoiding direct contact with infected bodily fluids.	no specific treatment or vaccine available All Patients-Standard precautions, triage procedures; Patients with ARI (acute respiratory infection) - Droplet precautions; When performing aerosol-generating procedures in patients with ARI - Airborne precautions	there are no specific vaccines or treatments for COVID-19. Focus on proper hygiene, avoiding direct contact with infected bodily fluids, maintain distancing

Age groups most affected	killed people of all ages	The virus causes more severe disease in older people, people with weakened immune systems, and those with chronic diseases	Adults aged 60 and above, and people of all ages with any medical conditions
Current status	No new cases reported since 2004. 87% of cases in China and Hong Kong and the rest are in other countries.	80% of cases related to the Arabian Peninsula in Saudi Arabia. Others in two dozen countries and deaths have been declining since 2016.	Currently, COVID-19 affecting 210 countries and territories worldwide and cases are going to be increasing.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACT OF COVID-19

The workers, particularly migrant labourers are worst sufferers of this pandemic. Besides, MSMEs, retail and transportation sector faces medium and long term consequences, its result in undue social burden(26). The possibility has been raised to work from home to prevent the virus from spreading and to ensure work continuity. It has harmed business travel, international conferencing and both physical and mental health(27). Studies show that there has been both positive and negative impact of Covid-19 on environment. In a study it has been argued that a failure of government plans and delivers services that show increased inequality and reduced avail of free healthcare(29) Jonathan Whittal, describes how the coronavirus disease COVID-19 pandemic will affect some fragile settings and vulnerable communities – including those left without adequate healthcare – more than others.", "container-title": "Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF. Internationally this illness has affected the educational system also. COVID-19 recession has mentioned an economic recession that is occurring across the world economy (30 31). Globally this coronavirus having significant consequences for the business. In the second quarter some estimates that US GDP falling up to 40%(32). According to UN DESA, the world economy could come down up to 1% and shrink even further. Because businesses fail in earning in the service sector like retail trade, regeneration, and transportation services, leisure and hospitality are likely to increase in unemployment. Analysts have found that continued economic restrictions in developed economies would show an adverse impact on developing countries. There is more likelihood that this pandemic put a significant impact on the international economy in a short period, there is a need to invest in public health systems particularly in developing countries to avoid the large scale of cost(33)this paper explores seven different scenarios of how COVID-19 might evolve in the coming year using a modelling technique developed by Lee and McKibbin (2003.

The OECD has projected 2.4% global growth in 2020, this could be the slowest growth rate ever since the recession of 2009(34).

The major objective of this paper is to present a comparative analysis of impact of SARS, MERS, and COVID-19 on health, socio-economic and governance. In today's scenario, the world economy is connected so it will be impacted directly or indirectly by the pandemics. After SARS China suffered numerous months of economic recession and then recovered dramatically. The impact of diseases is affected by the behaviour of many people. Due to Hong Kong's dependency on travel and tourism, short term SARS shockwave affected excessively. Now from comparing to China, we consider the Indian Economy. At the time of the SARS Chinese government started a campaign against SARS. In late June effectively bringing the diseases under control and eradicating all cases by August (35). Through the cooperation of society, China government was able to control the diseases. There is a need for alertness, teamwork, and co-operation among 1 individuals, agencies, individual countries and societies to make the world safer. Accuracy of information and its knowledge reduce unnecessary panic.

IMPACT ON INDIA

On 30 January 2020 in Kerala, India stated the first confirmed case of COVID-19 infection. The Indian government has started many protective steps to reduce the spread of coronavirus such as a 24 × 7 query control room, lockdown and social distancing. The Indian government announced a package of ₹20 lakh crores to bring the economy back on track and support the poor people and labourers. Coronavirus is estimated to present both positive and negative to Indian pharmaceutical manufactures. Indian pharmaceutical industry has an opportunity to cover share from their Chinese competitors. It projected nearly 348 million USD impact on Indian trade and likely to increase due to the extension of lock-down(36). India's dependency on imports on China is too high especially in Pharma APIs, India may project a strategy to replace it, choose new markets and take advantage of FDI opportunities. Opportunity in crypto currency, artificial intelligence and machine learning, paperless trade, the digital platform is a perfect solution to bring back the economy on the progress track. A country may handle safe and secure trade instead of free trade(37). Opportunity for IT vendors to become more vigorous and inventive to boost the demand and its helpful in recovery from pandemics(38).

According to the investors' services agency, Indian banking prospects is likely to be declined due to coronavirus outbreak and result in declining profitability and loan growth upset capitalization (39). Nearly 75% of workers are either self-employed or casual workers and the remaining 25% regular and informal workers have suffered badly. In India, the economic shock will be high because firstly Indian

economy was slow down before COVID-19 and secondly Indian large casual sector nearly 91% is vulnerable(40). ICRA in his report said lifestyle and fashion sectors will also have affected most because of suddenly demanding pressure due to constraints and overall restriction on the movement of people. In a short period, the Retail industry will be unfavorably impacted(41). Moody's investors' service projected 2.5% of India's GDP growth in compare 5.3% growth in 2019(42). The COVID-19 outbreak hurts many sectors including the capital market. According to IMF due to COVID-19 diseases, Indian GDP comes down to 1.9% and in 2021 it will sharply increase to 7.4%.

According to IMF Asia-Pacific, economic growth will grind to be a pause in the last 60 years due to COVID-19 impact on the service sector and key export destinations. This time is highly challenging and uncertain for the worldwide economy. China reacted very strongly to this outbreak of the crisis and get ready in worse situations by more use of fiscal and monetary policies.

In conclusion, here priority is staying safe and isolation to help the government at the current stage. We know we live in a delicate economy which is directly or indirectly interconnected where need to focus on the economic ambiguity, attracting new capital and encouragement a flourishing economy might help to fight against the crisis.Indian Government has taken many steps on all levels of society during the coronavirus crisis to ensure that society doesn't feel the squeeze of lockdown.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST

There is no conflict of interest.

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ABROGATION OF THE ARTICLE 370 AND 35A: A COMPARISON WITH MERGER OF SWAT IN PAKISTAN

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Abstract

The present paper intends to discuss an important issue of disturbed territory of J&K in India and compares it with the similar situation of Swat in Pakistan. We have attempted to underline the different approaches adopted to solve the issue by India and Pakistan in their respective ways. Kashmir for India and Swat for Pakistan, which maintain special status in their respective constitutions. Both these states known for their pristine beauty and ethnic and cultural diversity. These two territories have been victim of militancy. The regular casualty violation of human rights, law and order remained economic burden on the pocket of their respective governments. India took a constitutional measure whereas Pakistan resorted to shun the problem with use of military. In August 2019, the Government of India abrogated the part of constitution, Art. 370 giving special status to J&K, to resolve the problem. Pakistan did also made constitutional amendment but adopted the coercive measures.

Keywords: J&K, Swat, Special Status, Militancy, Constitutional Measures

INTRODUCTION

The story of India and Pakistan the closest neighbor and traditional rivals has remained the subject of interests for the scholars. The present article unfolds one important aspect where these two countries amended their constitutions respectively to maintain their control in their respective disturbed territories but with difference. This is the story of Pakistan's instance in the Swat Valley and India's

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in Kashmir. The present paper is divided in five sections, such as, first section provides the historical background of Swat and Kashmir, second and third sections are devoted to the actions of Indian and Pakistan governments for tackling the problems of their respective territories, the fourth section analyses the respective positions of both the countries and the fifth is epilogue.

KASHMIR ISSUE IN INDIA

The Kashmir problem dates back to the da of power transfer by the British and remains unresolved to this date. The state of Jammu and Kashmir, with an area of 84,4711 sq miles, was the largest princely state in the Indian subcontinent (Ahmed, 2000).Within months of the partition of the Subcontinent in1947, India and Pakistan went to war over Kashmir. The war ended with the division of the province between the two antagonistic, postcolonial states but the Kashmiris continued to see themselves as one people (Ganguly and Bajapai, 1994).

Militancy in Kashmir: In 1988 an insurgency began in the Kashmir Valley led by by young nationalists from the Jammu Kashmir Liberation Force (JKLF). This was supported by hundreds of thousands of Kashmiris, who flooded onto the streets in early 1990 to demand a referendum on the future of Kashmir. India responded with force; it called the insurgency a proxy war by Pakistan and sent security forces into the state. The militancy (as it is called by supporters and opponents alike in Kashmir) gathered strength after 1990 and has become mainly driven by armed groups seeking union with Pakistan. Pakistan in turn supported the militants. A JKLF cease-fire in 1994, however, helped turn the militancy more Islamist, as groups like the Lashkar-e-Toiba and Harkat-ul-Ansar joined, bringing hardened fighters from the Afghan war. These fighters form the militant core today, and continue to wage guerrilla war on Indian forces. In response to the insurgency, the Indian government reintroduced direct rule in Kashmir in 1990 (Evan, 2001). Since 1947 Kashmir is a challenge for Indian government.

INTERNAL CAUSES: INSTITUTIONAL FAILURES, MOBILIZATIONAL SUCCESSES

Kashmir reflects the growing and larger crisis of India's political institutions. Their decay over the past two decades has included the steady organizational decline of the once-dominant Congress Party, the politicization of the civil services and judiciary, the reliance on the military to restore public order (Bajpai and ganguly 2001). The basic challenge was governing Kashmir peacefully and several military actions were taken to check it but failed. On the other hand India was compelled to fight three wars with Pakistan. Uncountable militant activities became the part of daily routine and the life in valley was shrouded into militancy.

Constitutional Arrangement in Kashmir (Abrogating the Article 370, 35A): Two of Constitutional arrangement which ware dedicated to Kashmir only were scrapped in 2019 as the BJP government feel that these two provisions are creating challenges in governing Kasmir. "Article 35A is a unique provision of the Constitution of India. It is a part of the Constitution, but does not figure in the bare Act! One does not find Article 35A after Article 35 in the Constitution. Article 35 is followed by Article 36. But, 35A can be seen in Appendix i of the Constitution. (See Annexure I) It was conceived exclusively for the benefit of the State of Jammu and Kashmir through a Presidential Order issued in 1954. It empowers the Jammu and Kashmir State Legislature to define the State's 'permanent residents' and their special rights and privileges. It was specially devised to save the State subject laws that had already been defined under the Dogra ruler Maharaja Hari Singh's regime and notified in 1927 and 1932 . However, this Article which came into force in 1954 without a place in the bare Act of the Constitution was unknown to the public. It came into limelight only when cases were filed in the apex court challenging its validity, thereby raising an intense debate."

Kashmir was provided special status as accepted by India under Article 370 of Indian constitution.[1] Article 35 A was in the Constitution provided certain privileges to the Kashmiris, "Notwithstanding anything contained in this Constitution, no

1. Article 370 in The Constitution Of India 1949
   370. Temporary provisions with respect to the State of Jammu and Kashmir
   (1) Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution,
   (a) the provisions of Article 238 shall not apply in relation to the State of Jammu and Kashmir;
   (b) the power of Parliament to make laws for the said State shall be limited to
   (i) those matters in the Union List and the Concurrent List which, in consultation with the Government of the State, are declared by the President to correspond to matters specified in the Instrument of Accession governing the accession of the State to the Dominion of India as the matters with respect to which the Dominion Legislature may make laws for that State; and
   (ii) such other matters in the said Lists as, with the concurrence of the Government of the State, the President may by order specify Explanation For the purposes of this article, the Government of the State means the person for the time being recognised by the President as the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir acting on the advice of the Council of Ministers for the time being in office under the Maharajas Proclamation dated the fifth day of March, 1948;
   (c) the provisions of Article 1 and of this article shall apply in relation to that State;
   (d) such of the other provisions of this Constitution shall apply in relation to that State subject to such exceptions and modifications as the President may by order specify: Provided that no such order which relates to the matters specified in the Instrument of Accession of the State referred to in paragraph (i) of sub clause (b) shall be issued except in consultation with the Government of the State: Provided further that no such order which relates to matters other than those referred to in the last preceding proviso shall be issued except with the concurrence of that Government
   (2) If the concurrence of the Government of the State referred to in paragraph (ii) of sub clause (b) of clause (1) or in the second proviso to sub clause (d) of that clause be given before the Constituent Assembly for the purpose of framing the Constitution of the State is convened, it shall be placed before such Assembly for such decision as it may take thereon

existing law in force in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, and law hereafter enacted by the Legislature of the State (a) defining the classes of persons who are or shall be permanent residents of the State of Jammu and Kashmir; or (b) conferring on such permanent residents any special rights and privileges, or imposing upon other persons any restrictions, as respects i. Employment under the State Government; ii. Acquisition of immovable property in the State; iii. Settlement in the State; or iv. Right to scholarships and such other forms of aid as the State Government may provide shall be void on the ground that it is inconsistent with or takes away or abridges any rights conferred on the other citizens of India by any provision of this Part'. EFFECTS OF ARTICLE 35A A most prominent feature of the Constitution of Jammu & Kashmir, as distinguished from the rest of India, is the provision for the special treatment of 'permanent residents' of Jammu & Kashmir. iv. The permanent residents are such persons as are declared so by any existing law of the State or by any future law enacted by the Legislature of the State. As stated in the Article, any such law may either confer special rights or privileges or impose restrictions upon the permanent residents with respect to employments under the State Government, acquisition of immovable property in the State, settlement in the State and the right to scholarships and other forms of aid as the State Government may provide. Such legislation shall be valid notwithstanding that it is inconsistent with the Fundamental Rights conferred by the Constitution of India upon the other citizens of India [e.g. by Articles. 15(1), 16(1), 19(1) (e)-(f) of Part III of the Constitution dealing with the fundamental rights]."

With the passage of time it was being felt that Article 370 has been misused. The vested interests in Kashmir, be these politicians, bureaucracy, businessmen, judiciary, etc., have misused Article 370 for their own nefarious purposes, by exploiting the poor and the down-trodden people of the state. The rich have consistently used Article 370 to ensure that no financial legislation is introduced in the state, which would make them accountable for their loot of the state treasury. These include the provisions dealing with Gift Tax, Urban Land Ceiling Act, Wealth Tax, etc.[2] The Article 370 was a temporary arrangements.

SWAT VALLEY CASE IN PAKISTAN

Historically, the Swat Valley was a part of Afghanistan, but the 1893 Durand line agreement made Swat a part of British Empire. In 1915, a jirga (tribal council of

(3) Notwithstanding anything in the foregoing provisions of this article, the President may, by public notification, declare that this article shall cease to be operative or shall be operative only with such exceptions and modifications and from such date as he may specify: Provided that the recommendation of the Constituent Assembly of the State referred to in clause (2) shall be necessary before the President issues such a notification

2. http://www.indiandefencereview.com/spotlights/impact-of-article-370/

elders) was held that declared Swat a state and in 1917 Mian Gul Abdul Wadud became its first ruler. In 1926 he was granted the title of wali (ruler) of Swat and was provided an annual subsidy. At the time of the partition of the Indian subcontinent in 1947, Swat, then a princely state, acceded to Pakistan while maintaining internal autonomy. This status continued until 1969 when the states of Dir, Chitral and Amb were incorporated within Pakistan and according to Article 246 of the Constitution of Pakistan 1973, these states became part of Pakistan as the Provincial Administrated Tribal Areas of Pakistan PATA (Orakzai, 2012,).[3] Till date Swat was a land of ethnic and cultural diversity. The area has a rich history that has been examined in great depth by anthropologists and local scholars.4 Swat was once the life-center of Vajrayana Buddhism in the region. After a period of influence by the Hindu Shahi kingdom, the Muslim forces of Mahmud of Ghazna invaded Swat at the height of the Golden Age of Islam (Fleischner, 2011, 12).

The PATA transition has been proven a major factor responsible for political resentment in Swat Valley region.Poor and clumsy governance in the PATA administered regions, especially in the judicial and law enforcement spheres, has raised calls for the implementation of sharia, or Islamic law, as an alternative to corruption and inefficiency. Observers of tribal politics note that there is no single popular understanding of what "sharia law" should mean, suggesting that it may be far more popular in the abstract hypothetical than in formal implementation, especially if implementation resembles the harsh rule of the Taliban in Afghanistan. Leaders of the Tehreek-e-Nafaz-eShariat-e-Mohammadi (TNSM), an anti-state militant organization that temporarily took over the Swat Valley in 2007, have proven especially skilful at harnessing the appeal of sharia to win popular support (Markey, 2008). In 1970 a new phase of popular politics started under Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, the leader of Pakistan People's Party (PPP), which won the 1970 elections and whose manifesto called for Islamic socialism resting on the abolishment of large-scale holding of private property, thus threatening the power base of landlords across the country. This pattern was also visible in the Swat Valley in which local khans were facing the dilemma of a decline in their traditional power due to economic transformation and market reforms. The secular regime of Bhutto gave his opponents ample ground to appeal to Islam as a political alternative. This was mostly favourable to the landlords, who in order to save their property from being nationalised made an alliance with imams (prayer leaders) and traditional mullahs (religious leaders) to issue a fatwa (religious decree) and argued that the abolishment of private property was against shariah (Islamic law) and therefore damned socialist policies as a threat to Islam leading to the call for a jihad (holy war)

3. A type of governing mechanism of the government of Pakistan is the Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA), made up of seven of the twenty four districts of the NWFP and five territories within Balochistan. A number of these districts were princely states incorporated into Pakistan as of the early 1970s and now administered by provincial authorities.

against it. They supported the Nizam-e-Mustafa (System of Mohammad) campaign against Bhutto's regime, which ultimately led to his fall and his subsequent hanging by the military leader, General Zia ul Haq, who promised to enforce shariah in the country (Orkzai, 2008).

Governance in Swat: The Constitution of Pakistanhas four kinds of regulatory spaces provided for its territory under the Constitution. Under Article 246 (b)[4] of the Constitution, Swat is a provincially administered tribal area (PATA). Under Article 247 (2), the President can give directions to the Governor of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa for purposes of administration of Swat. Similarly, under Article 247 (3), the provincial assembly cannot legislate for Swat unless the President approves a legislation to be implemented. When an area is placed under the provision of Article 247 the normal jurisdiction of the courts is ousted, so the right of recourse to High and Supreme Court is denied (Aziz and Lurds, 2006).

Militancy and Military Action in Swat: Once a popular tourist destination Swat Valley was known for its great natural beauty, pristine rivers, and the Malam Jabba ski resort was captured by the Taliban. The constitutional arrangements didn't made administrative conditions peaceful and the Swat was administered by Taliban.Once paradise the Swat Valley was converted in hideout . to make Swat free Pakistan took strong military actions from 2007 to 2009 Pakistani forces were deployed in Swat in 2007 to launch a large-scale operation against Taliban militants. The last deadly attack carried out by the Taliban in Swat valley was in January 2013 when 21 worshipers were killed and 70 others injured at a religious centre.[5]

PAKISTAN INTERVENED BUT INDIA DID NOT

Pakistan reaction was felt from all the sides diplomatic, business front. Pakistan closed the air space for Indian flights. According to Ambassador D P Shrivastava, "Articles 370, which gave special status to Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) was part of Indian Constitution. Its repeal does not violate any international agreement. The article ensured that the people of J&K enjoyed democratic rights within the Indian Union, which the people of Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK) never had. Even after the recent amendment, there will be no change in this position. As part of the Union Territories, the people of J&K and Ladakh will continue to have representation in

4. **246. Tribal Areas.** In the Constitution,
   (a) "Tribal Areas" means the areas in Pakistan which, immediately before the commencing day, were Tribal Areas, and includes: (i) the Tribal Areas of Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Province; and (ii) the former States of Amb, Chitral, Dir and Swat; (b) "Provincially Administered Tribal Areas" means (i) The districts of Chitral, Dir and Swat (which includes Kalam), the Tribal Area in Kohistan district, Malakand Protected Area, the Tribal Area adjoining Mansehra district and the former State of Amb; and (ii) Zhob district, Loralai district (excluding Duki Tehsil), Dalbandis Tehsil of Chagai District and Marri and Bugti tribal territories of Sibi district
5. https://www.dailysabah.com/asia/2018/10/23/pakistan-ends-military-operations-in-swat-valley

Indian Parliament. On the other hand, the people of POK and Gilgit–Baltistan do not have any representation in Pakistan National Assembly, though Islamabad is the ultimate arbiter of their fate". Though constitutional amendment is an internal issue of any country thou Pakistan's steps unfold its interest and intervention through militancy has revealed. Is reaction were as follows. Pakistan showed bitter attitude and downgraded diplomatic relations with India and suspended bilateral trade. The move came in the wake of New Delhi's 'unilateral and illegal' move to revoke the special status of Jammu and Kashmir. A Pakistani statement said that the country will observe this Independence Day on 14 August in solidarity with Kashmiris and observe 15 August as black day.[6]

CONCLUSION

In case of these two cases Swat and Kashmir both the governments have repealed the problem of the special status of these two provinces. Both the states faced severe militancy. Being the frontier state, the geo-strategic interests of the countries like Iran, Afghanistan were politically unstable and producers of narcotics, sellers of weapons as this location was closed to Golden Crescent known for producing opium. The geographical conditions ware tough and the terrorist activities taking place in Afghanistan border. The political instability, economic destruction brought these countries to take constitutional measures and military actions. These actions were not accepted by all the sections of communities due to their vested political interests. Though India remained only critic of the Pakistan's action to destroy Hinduism temples, Buddhist culture and suppression of minority rights yet Pakistan opposed was very strong. Pakistan reached to the United Nation Security Council and call for the Indian envoy. Though Pakistan took the step to repeal the special status of Swat in 1970 whereas India took 65 years. India considered the merger of Swat was an internal matter of Pakistan yet Pakistan arrogance against India reflects that article 370 and 35a were probably serving its interest and therefore the abrogation of these article has been opposed by Pakistan.

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WHY LAND REFORMS POLICY FAILED IN BIHAR?: TRACING THE POLITICAL CONTENTS

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Abstract

Whatever the share of agriculture in SGDP (State Gross Domestic Product) may be, but the agriculture is mainstay of Bihar's economy owing to two reasons – firstly, more than seventy five per cent of Bihar's population depends on agriculture for their subsistence and secondly, Bihar has abundance of land, water and human resources. As such, soon after independence the policy framers took up the task of land reforms first keeping in mind the realisation of Gandhian philosophy of Gram Swaraj, granting equality by judicious redistribution of land landholdings and making the landholdings economically viable. The exercise of land reforms started as early as in 1950s by introducing Zamindari abolition laws, amendments in land-tenure laws and finally the consolidation of landholdings. But it is irony that it could not be implemented fully in Bihar despite rigorous attempts by successive governments. The efforts of governments with a band of bureaucracy in acquiring the surplus land, implementing the Land Ceiling law and completing the process of consolidation of landholdings (chakbandi) could not be completed even after passage of decades together. It is well established fact that now the land reforms policy has lost its significance owing to two reasons diminishing average landholding size and non-profitable agricultural practices caused by influence of globalisation, yet it becomes pertinent to understand the role of political interests in the policy process. In view of the above situation, the present study intends to trace the reasons of its failure and the political contents in it.

Keywords: Zamindar, Land-ceiling, Chakbandi, Zamindari abolition, Bihar

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INTRODUCTION

Agriculture plays a vital role in shaping the Bihar economy and is still the engine of growth in Indian economy, so far rural India is concerned. The life and culture of the Indian people depend upon it to a great extent. In agriculture sector 59 per cent of the total workforce of the country depends and its share in gross domestic product (GDP) is merely around 18 per cent. The study of the growth and diversification of agriculture has been very important for India. Several five year plans were launched concentrating on growth in output. Land reforms, consolidation of holdings, restructuring credit institutions, remodeling Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs), etc. The trend of diversification of rural economic activities in this part of the country is reflected through introduction of regional planning for Cash-Crops in North Bihar. The economic development of Bihar and Jharkhand concerned all as one tenth of India's population resides here. Any progression or regression in this part of the country has a direct bearing on the well being of the country. There is over dependence on agriculture in the plains of Bihar but the average size of land holdings is very small. Forests in the plateau region of Jharkhand, on the other hand, have been an important source of livelihood for the tribal population and their fast depletion is a matter of concern. Some development is noticeable in both the regions, but it is a long way to go. Low productivity in agriculture and extremely poor infrastructure (both physical and social) are among the more important factors explaining the general poverty in both the states.

After introduction of Land Reforms Act (known as Zamindari Abolition Act), the landlords (Zamindars) took every measure to retain the land by finding holes in the law. Though its linkages, alliances and collusion with the bureaucracy, the landlord class had been able to retain sufficient acreage of land much beyond the permissible limits. Equally important is the role of its linkages with political elite at all levels which it forges with a view to protect its interests in general and to frustrate land reform measures in particular. This aspect of the politics of land reforms is highlighted here.

With reference to social fabric of our villages, it has been observed that the landlord class constituted a small but a quite distinctive and an influential group within the village community. Politically, the landlord class, ever since its creation by the British imperialists, has always been quite influential in the countryside. The dynamics of the post-Independence political process and the government strategy of community development have been further useful for it to perpetuate and enhance its power and influence. It is however relevant to mention in passing that in the initial stages the landlord class disdained running for these institutions, partly for the reason that it could not know the political potentialities of these institutions and mainly for the reasons that the idea of begging votes, especially from those who were their tenants, subordinates and socially too inferior to them, hurt their sense

of vanity. The result was an enormous scramble for offices, which, in turn, made power at the local level highly competitive. In the process land emerged as a strong factor in social politics. The scholarship on land reforms has largely ignored this aspect, so far the case of Bihar is concerned.

THE POLICY PROCESS OF LAND REFORMS IN BIHAR (POLITICAL CONTENTS)

The present article intends to examine the political contents in the policy process of land reforms in Bihar. We know that any policy has to pass through four stages – bringing the issue on political agenda, policy formulation/enactment, implementation and monitoring and evaluation (Turner and Hulme: 1997). In the entire policy process of the land reforms in Bihar has been brought by the landlords on the political agenda on one hand but the same class delayed the formulation, enactment and implementation of the Land Reforms Law by using their influence, power and political positions on the other (Verma: 2005). Three major enactments were adopted for land reform, namely Land Reforms Act (known as zamindari abolition Act), Land Ceiling Act, amendments in land tenural laws and Consolidation of Landholdings. These laws had to pass through the stages of policy process like agenda setting, formulation of policy, implementation of policy and finally monitoring and evaluation.

The scenario of land holdings by big cultivators even after the introduction of Land Reforms Act 1950 reveals that the outcome of the policy was dismal. This is evident from the fact that till 1992 the total number of landlords occupying above 200 acres of land each in the state were 706 and the area amounted to nearly 3,72,889 acres alone. This must be noted that the ceiling of landholding was fixed at 20 acres per unit family. In addition to these land holdings, there were enormous surplus landholders not falling in the category of 'above 200 acres' (Prasad: 1997). A study reveals that percentage of surplus land acquired was 6.29 per cent in Purnea and 0.10 per cent in Nalanda. It reflects that the implementation of the Act was dismal (Prasad: 1986). Later the implementation of Land Ceiling Act 1970 could not be implemented well. In the 1980s, it was attempted to consolidate the landholdings which were scattered into small plots due to partitions in families and sale purchase of the land. The consolidation of land holdings could not be completed even after exercise of 20 years by Chakbandi Directorate (Verma: 2005). In short, Bihar failed in implementation of the land reforms. Besides, various tricks were applied to retain the surplus land by creating fake units in family like wife by producing fake divorce certificate, minor children, Diety (in the name of Radhakrishna, or Kuldevi etc.), sometimes pet animals and Maths (convent of Hindu saints). Such units were created to retain 20 acres of land per unit. We call it as 'benami' landholders.

Agenda setting is most important stage of policy process. The political actors play a significant role at this stage (Grindle and Thomas: 1998). The exercise of introducing land reforms laws had started well in 1947 itself at party forum of Indian National Congress. The Dar Committee recommended the introduction of land reforms by redistributing land among people and the issue was brought on political agenda at the Central level. So far Bihar is concerned, the issue was brought on political agenda by initiating a Bill in 1947 itself but instead of passing it, it was sent to Select Committee of Legislature consisting of the then Zamindars as member of the Committee. It is like allowing the players to make rules in the midst of game. This opportunity enabled them to look into the Bill and set up their next course of action (Dhar: 1981). After a great deal of processes, the Bill was passed in 1950. The law did not encompass under-rayots and actual cultivators of land. The Act made the Zamindar members of the legislature to react and challenge the constitutional validity of the Act. In this way the enactment was put in litigation that persisted for another eight long years. In the mean time the big landholders got time to find remedies to retain the land. The law allowed such landlords to retain their land as 'khas possession' (privately owned land). Further, the legal litigation were occurred on the issue of the definition of khas possession. The Supreme Court finally defined it in 1964 as land under personal cultivation. The Act also allowed the revenue officials to investigate the fake transfers of land done by the zamindars.

In the post independence period, there were efforts to impose ceiling on the agricultural landholdings. The Bill of land ceiling was introduced in Bihar Legislature in 1955 but was referred to the Select Committees of the both the Houses of Bihar legislature for shelving it for another two years. Again the Bill was referred to Bihar Land Commission set up under section 34 of the Act 1950. As such the legal provisions were watered down and the Bill was passed in 1961 as the Bihar Land Reforms (fixation of ceiling Areas and Acquisition of Surplus Land) Act. Its provisions turned sufficiently mild so as to help most of the land lords escape its applications (Iyer: 1993). The land ceiling law was again amended in 1976 introducing a provision of voluntary surrender of surplus land in which a land lord could make his children separate unit for the family in the land. The new law took away the right of third parties other than landholder to file objections and restore possession of surplus to allottees of surplus land. In another amendment in 1982, land lords were enabled to retain the transferred land.

The tenancy pattern has direct impact on agricultural productivity. The prevalent tenancy pattern was not friendly to economic viability of land holdings. As such, a step towards consolidation of landholdings was thought to be essential. Though the law for consolidation of holdings was brought for legislation in 1956, yet the administrative structure was rejuvenated in 1980s with provision of a Directorate of Chakbandi. The dominant land lords with political power did not

allow the consolidation-bureaucracy to implement it, if it was not in their favour. After nearly two decades of governmental unsuccessful efforts, it was decided to wind up the process of consolidation of land holdings.

The entire policy process of land reforms in Bihar suggests that policy process was molded, watered down and weakened by the vested interest in politics. It delayed the legal enactment and slackened in implementation. Every attempt to make these laws perfect had left holes in it that facilitated the landlords to flout the purpose (Verma: 2005). This has been presented in the following concept table

Role of Political Actors in The Policy Process of Land Reforms

Stages of Policy	*Roles of Political Actors*
Agenda Setting	Diagnosis of the problem, bringing the issue on political agenda and lingered it in passage in legislature
Policy Formulation	Delaying passes, allowing landlords to take preventive actions and weakening the provisions
Policy Implementation	Making state apparatus to facilitate litigations, opposition parties not exerting pressure on bureaucracy for its implementation and amending laws to woo voters
Monitoring/evaluation	Political actors, even opposition parties did not attempt to assess the implementation of the law neither did they press the bureaucracy for evaluation of the progress

Source: Verma, 2005

POLITICIAN-LAND-POWER NEXUS

After the end of colonial regime, the power was transferred to Congress party with negligible opposition. Congress was dominated by upper caste land owners who protected their interest in land. The land owning OBCs joined the bandwagon of the dominants in Congress. There was little opposition in the political circle. With the rise of socialist movements, the roots of Congress was weakened by 1967 but the opposition was not too strong to resist. The elites of land owning OBCs came in power who had interest retaining land as it was a source of power at micro level. Besides the leadership of leftist parties were also in the hands of land owning upper castes in Bihar. The situation changed dramatically after the Mandal-politics and OBCs dominated the power structure of the state in 1990s. The caste texture of party politics in Bihar was changed in a way that the earstwhile land owners and ryots entered into power. The power shifted from traditional dominants to neo dominants cultivating castes namely Yadav, Kurmi and Koiri. Here lies the reason of poor or non implementation of land reforms policy. It owes to the reason that ruling political actors in Bihar had been banking on those sections of the community for support who did not need any land reforms.

CONCLUSION

The process of land reforms policy in Bihar was initiated by the political actors on one hand and they lingered the passage of the law and weakened the provisions of the law on the other, as they were themselves the affected parties. At every stage of policy process the political actors poked their nose to flout the purpose by putting it in litigations in courts and applied tricks to retain the land in the midst of litigations. It is also a fact that now the land reforms policy has lost its relevance due to the passage 60-70 years and shrinking the average landholding size. What is important here to underline is the political contents in the policy process is to indicate the role of political actors in weakening the policy enactments, watering down the provisions and reluctant attitude towards implementation, if it is not in favour of the political actors. The policy makers and academicians may learn lessons from the examination of land reforms policy process in Bihar to be applied in the future policy process.

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PROHIBITION POLICY OF BIHAR: A STUDY OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF BIHAR PROHIBITION AND EXCISE ACT 2016

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Abstract

In his first innings in the Bihar Government, Chief Minister Nitish Kumar had proliferated the liquor trade down at block level but this time he ventured to overturn the entire policy to total ban. The Bihar Government policy of total prohibition (Bihar Prohibition and Excise Act 2016) has been subject matter of both appreciation and criticism. The prohibition law is a politico-administrative measure for social reforms on the line of Gandhian philosophy enshrined in the part IV of the Constitution known as Directive Principles of State Policy on one hand and the faulty implementation of the policy has been target of criticism from various corners on the other. This makes an urgent imperative to assess the entire policy process of introducing prohibition. As such, the present paper seeks to examine the Bihar Prohibition and Excise Act 2016 in context of the policy process i.e. bringing the issue on political agenda, formulation, implementation and monitoring and evaluation of the policy. The present paper bases mainly on secondary sources of data collection.

Keywords: Prohibition Law, Policy, Implementation, Socio-economic impact, women, Bihar

THE BACKGROUND: ISSUE BECOMES POLITICAL AGENDA

Boozing is a social evil and is the devastating phenomenon for the people, especially poor people who easily get into the miseries. Due to drinking habit, many families waste their hard earned money in alcohol and face a situation of troublesome family life resulting into domestic violence, child battering and ill health. Besides, society

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level impacts in shape of accidents and breach of social peace add to the menace. In short, alcohol abuse is the bane of Bihar. Thus, prohibition has been a long desired issue. It is not that it was not attempted earlier. In his second instant in power of Bihar during 1977-1979 Chief Minister Karpoori Thakur had imposed liquor ban in Bihar but in vain as the he lost power and also that there was lack of firm political will on the part of his government.

Women in Bihar started protesting against the sale of liquor. Alcohol consumption had increased manifold after Nitish Kumar became the chief minister who allowed liquor shops down at block level during his regimes from 2005 to 2015. Government's excise policy of 2007 allowed the organized sale and production of liquor, so as to control its unlimited sale. In 2006 Nitish Kumar had already established the Bihar State Beverages Corporation Limited to provide suppliers remunerative prices, make liquor available at reasonable prices, maintain buffer stock and intervene in the market for price stabilisation. The process of distribution of liquor shops was changed to put a hold on monopoly in its trade. The positive outcome of this was the increase in revenue receipts, but its negative impact was disastrous on the poorer sections of the society as consumption of liquor increased manifold. This led women to protest, *"Hamari aabroo ki keemat pe sharab kadhanda nahi chalega"* (the sale of liquor will not continue at the cost of our honour). The idea to ban alcohol came to Nitish Kumar on the 9 July 2015 when he was attending a women's self-help group function at Shri Krishna Memorial Hall Patna, where women complained about the widespread addiction to country liquor in rural areas and demanded a total ban on alcohol. He told them, 'you are correct, if I retain power, I will impose ban on liquor in the state.'[1] After Nitish Kumar came to power he announced ban on alcohol on November 26, 2015 six days after he joined. This was his government's first decision after being re-elected to power. However due to response of the people especially women who pressed for total ban, Nitish Kumar declared total ban on 5 April 2016. The Bihar Excise (amendment) Bill 2016 was passed unanimously.

IMPLEMENTATION AND MONITORING

Soon after the Act came into existence, fieldwork for the implementation of liquor ban had been initiated a few months before the actual implementation. Campaigns were underway to create awareness about the ill-effects of liquor as the government wanted to make this a people's movement, so that villagers would give up liquor on their own. Various steps were taken to motivate people like awarding districts and villages which went fully dry. Campaigns were conducted highlighting the merits of prohibition. De-addiction centres were opened in every district. Administrative and financial issues were decided by a committee. The BSBCL (Bihar State Beverage Corporation Ltd.) was entrusted to create website for raising awareness among the

people. The children of schools were involved in shape of taking a written pledge from their parents that they would abstain from touching and consuming liquor. This campaign was to educate and convince alcohol users to give up drinking, 'more than 40,000 volunteers, including members of self-help groups, went from house to house to ask people to give up liquor.[2] The officials of the Excise and Prohibition Department of the state had been told to identify habitual drinkers. Those who were addicted and were unable to give up the habit were sent for treatment to de-addiction centres. Businessmen, involved in the liquor trade, were offered them alternative business like trade of Sudha milk products. The Chief Minister had said, "I have directed my officers to begin work for the formulation of the new Excise Policy which will come into effect on April 1".[3]

Initially the cabinet had proposed a phase wise liquor ban. In the first phase, the government intended to stop issuing licenses for manufacturing, trade and consumption of country-made and spiced liquor. Restrictions were to be imposed on the sale of Indian manufactured foreign liquor in the areas falling under Municipalities and Municipal Corporations. The BSBCL would own a limited number of shops, at that time no deadline had been set for complete ban. The CM expressed his firmness to implement the policy, to quote him, "While banning liquor I have followed the preachings of our ancestors right from Chandragupta to Mahatma Gandhi (bapu) and even Jayaprakash Narayan and Morarji Desai. Even the late CM Karpoori Thakur had banned liquor in 1977 in the state.'[4] On an occasion, Speaker of Bihar Vidhan Sabha Vijay Kumar Choudhary said, 'Gandhiji was against intoxication. So, the legislators of all parties took a pledge neither to consume alcohol nor allow others to take it. This was the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi. We should come together to fulfill Gandhi's dream of Gram Swaraj and economic development of villages.'[5] Government offered alternative sources of income in shape of allowing molasses based distilleries to produce ethanol for use as fuel and in case of excess production it would be exported.

EVALUATING THE POLICY: STRINGENT PROVISIONS AND THEIR IMPACT

Bihar is following the most stringent prohibition law in India. The main provisions of the Act empowers District Magistrates to impose fine on a village or locality that shows a trend of frequently violating the new excise law. Consumption and even offering liquor to anyone is an offence punishable by imprisonment from ten years to life and fine of ₹1 lakh to 10 lakhs. Nitish warned liquor shops in neighbouring states not to look for opportunities to spike their sales. Technically Bihar is can drink outside Bihar's boundaries but the Act will be applicable for them if they create a nuisance upon returning. On experiencing problems government resorted to a few amendments, like making not only liquor intake a non-bailable offence but all sections of the Excise Act non-bailable and cognizable. Section 86 of the Act

was amended, magistrates would no longer have jurisdiction to try offences. The ordinance would ensure that the accused would be tried in session's courts below it.[6] The responsibility for enforcing prohibition has been entrusted to the Station House Officers (SHO's). If they did not do their duty diligently in their respective areas, the provision of strict action against them was made like debarring him from posting in a police station for ten years, if liquor is reported to be sold or consumed in the area under their jurisdiction. The State Government sent a communiqué to Airport Authority of India to prevent liquor entry on Patna and Bodh Gaya bound flights, airports took strict action. The government put a check on transportation of liquor on Bihar bound trains. Anyone found drunk or in possession of liquor would be arrested even if they were crossing Bihar by train. Even army personnel found in possession of liquor on trains would not be spared in Bihar. Luggage scanners were installed at exit points on Rajendra Nagar Terminal, Patna, Danapur and Patliputra stations.

Patna High Court had ruled the liquor ban 'illegal, impractical and unconstitutional,' on the 30 September 2016. The government did a lot of research before implementing but it seems they did not consider factors such as substitutes and black marketers, who are responsible for making the law ineffective. The law is very ambitious and should have been more meticulously planned. The government needs to involve the people, as one of the reasons it has been unable to produce the expected results is that it is not participatory enough. The Panchayats can play an effective role in sensitizing the local people, can point out people with potential substance use disorder and can provide social support. The government has realized that the stringent law has unintended consequences, so recently they have amended the law, making them more lenient now first time offence was made bailable.

More the law was made stringent, situation started getting worse. In the beginning everyone took this Act seriously. Sincere steps were taken for its implementation, more than thousand people were arrested across the state. Many were arrested while entering Bihar from neighbouring states of UP, Jharkhand and West Bengal after consuming liquor, in this case bordering districts more vulnerable. Police officials and excise officials from Purnea in Bihar along with their counterparts in North Dinajpur in West Bengal formed a joint team to check illegal supply of liquor across the border. However it is next to impossible to stop people crossing the border for consuming alcohol. Neighbouring states have gained in terms of revenue due to prohibition as people not only crossing the border for boozing but did also indulge in smuggling. This trend grew high resulting into availability of smuggled liquor throughout the territory of Bihar. Arguing on the issue, an economist of Connecticut University Nishith Prakash opined, "'Moreover, bans have always led to black market sales, and then greater expenditure to enforce

the ban. The answer to growing alcoholism and related social malaise lies in higher taxes and limitations on access to alcohol."[7] With initial positive signs of decrease in crimes and satisfaction of women, on whose demand it was introduced, things started getting worse. Crimes did not come down as claimed. Government resorted to cover up the policy faults by making amendments in the Law and rules as well as maneuvering the statistics to exihibit a favourable picture. The government has done everything to make this a successful policy from conducting raids, to confiscating vehicles, to arresting bootleggers, to massive prevention drives, to making government employees swear not to consume liquor and so on. However all their endeavours have not borne fruit, recently they have roped in old alcoholics who have quit to spread awareness in society. The government banned liquor to improve the condition of women. In the beginning there was improvement as people were scared of the law as many were arrested, lessening of domestic violence and even crimes. However due to lack of alternate employment opportunities for those who were in the liquor trade, they started illegal trade in liquor- bootlegging and manufacturing spurious liquor at home. One of the reported cases was the death of four people who quenched their thirst with home-made intoxicant. In most villages the situation has worsened than it was before. Police have been ineffective in controlling the illegal trade and it is well known that in many places they are hands in glove with these illegal traders. There have been numerous cases of confiscated liquor disappearing. Ironically, there have been instances in which rats were blamed for the disappearance of seized liquor lots. On the ground level everyone who drinks, gets their drink illegally at a higher rate. A few arrests are made from time to time.

ECONOMIC IMPACTS OF THE POLICY

With the implementation of prohibition Bihar has suffered a huge loss of revenue of the estimated amount of more than ₹4000 crore annually. Chief Minister Nitish Kumar did not attach much importance to this loss, he said his government was ready to forgo this loss for the betterment of society. On the contrary, the neighbouring states like Jharkhand, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal gained better revenues from Bihari boozers. Wedding functions and business meetings have shifted to the cities of these states and even of to Nepal. Not only these but corporate events, birthday parties and other party's venues have also shifted to outside Bihar. It tells up on the revenue income of the state. Further, it hampered the employment, particularly, among the poor wine shops. Smuggling of psychotropic substances has increased by 20 to 25% after enforcement of total prohibition. STF sources said that the pavement dwellers around Gandhi Maidan, Jagdeo Path and Patna Medical College and Hospital get a high on heroin, they even sell their blood to buy it. This shows that alcohol prohibition has not put a stop to intoxication.

CONCLUSION

The prohibition law in Bihar is very well intentioned and much needed, however, very inadequately successful. The present situation in Bihar is almost the same as it was before prohibition except for the superficial cover of the ineffective law. A national liquor policy is needed, as a ban effective in a part or a few parts of the country may create opportunity to neighbouring states to promote liquor trade for better revenue. This causes the failure in implementation of in that particular state/ part of country, as has been in the case of Bihar. Steps should be taken to plug all the loopholes so that the lofty ideals for which it was implemented is realized, or a better and more practical solution would be to do away with the Act and keep strict control over the quality and amount of liquor supplied. In this way the flow of spurious liquor and black marketing can be controlled. There is a need to reassess the Excise Act and amend it properly after thorough examination of practical aspects and legal implications.

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LEGAL SERVICES AUTHORITIES IN INDIA

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Abstract

Vide 42nd Constitutional Amendment Act, 1976 inserted Article 39-A in the Constitution of India obligating the State to "provide free legal aid, by suitable legislation or schemes or in any other way, to ensure that opportunities for securing justice are not denied to any citizen by reason of economic or other disability". It is in this context that a comprehensive law was enacted in 1987 - Legal Services Authorities Act 1987. This has led to the setting up of Legal Services Authorities at the National, State and District levels along with Legal Services Committees at the Supreme Court, High Court and the Taluka levels. The aim has been to increase the outreach and quality of legal services with a view to bring justice to the doorstep of those who are vulnerable.

Keywords: Legal Services, Lok Adalat, Legal Aid, Legal Literacy and Legal Awareness

INTRODUCTION

Article 39 A of the Constitution of India provides for free legal aid to the poor and weaker sections of the society and ensures justice for all. With the object of providing free legal aid, the Government of India by a resolution dated 26 September, 1980, appointed "Committee for Implementing Legal Aid Schemes" (CILAS) to monitor and implement legal aid programs on a uniform basis in all the States and union territories. But on a review of the working of the CILAS, certain deficiencies had come to the fore. It was felt that it would be desirable to constitute statutory legal service authorities at the National, State and District levels so as to provide for

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the effective monitoring of legal aid programmes. Therefore, the Legal Services Authorities Act, 1987 (Act No. 39 of 1987) was enacted with a view to constitute Legal Services Authorities at National, State and District Levels. However, the Act was brought into force with effect from 9-11-1995.

CONSTITUTION OF LEGAL SERVICES AUTHORITIES

At the national level, the Chief Justice of India is the Patron-in-Chief of National Legal Services Authority (NALSA). The Senior most Judge of the Supreme Court of India is the Executive Chairman. The Central Government in consultation with the Chief Justice of India has also appointed a person as Member Secretary of NALSA. NALSA was constituted on 5.12.1995 and became properly functional by February, 1998.

Supreme Court Legal Services Committee has been constituted to administer and implement the legal services programmes insofar as it relates to the Supreme Court of India.

In every state, a State Legal Services Authority (SLSA) has been constituted with the Chief Justice of the High Court as the Patron-in-Chief and the Senior most Judge of the High Court as the Executive Chairman. There is a Member Secretary for each SLSA.

In every High Court, a High Court Legal Services Committee has been constituted with Judicial Officer as the Secretary.

At the District level, District Legal Services Authorities have been constituted with the District Judge as the Chairman of the District Legal Services Authority and a Senior Judicial Officer as the Secretary of the District Legal Services Authority.

Similarly, at the Takula level, Takula Legal Services Committees have been constituted to give effect to the policies and directions of NALSA.

FUNCTIONING OF LEGAL SERVIES INSTITUTIONS

NALSA lays down policies, principles, guidelines and frames effective and economical schemes for the State Legal Services Authorities to implement throughout the country. Primarily, the State Legal Services Authorities, District Legal Services Authorities, Takula Legal Services Committees, etc. are mandated to discharge the following main functions:

(i) Providing free and competent legal services, including legal aid and advice to the eligible categories of persons.

(ii) Taking appropriate measures for spreading legal literacy and legal awareness amongst the people;

(iii) To organise Lok Adalats for amicable settlement of disputes;

(iv) To implement the Schemes and policy directions of NALSA.

Persons eligible for getting free legal services includes women and children; members of SC/ST; industrial workmen; victims of mass disaster, violence, flood, drought, earthquake, industrial disaster; persons with disability; persons in custody; persons whose annual income does not exceed ₹1 lakh or as notified by the Central/ State Government; victims of trafficking in human being or beggar. Legal services Authorities have the unique potential to rapidly expand access to justice for India's poor and marginalized who face routine discrimination and denial of rights.[1]

FREE LEGAL SERVICES

Free legal services entail the provision of free legal aid in civil and criminal matters for those poor and marginalised people who cannot afford the services of a lawyer for the conduct of a case or a legal proceeding in any court, tribunal or before an authority. The right to free legal aid has been held to be a Constitutional right covered under Article 21 of the Constitution of India.[2] **Lok Adalats.**

Lok Adalat is defined 'as a forum where voluntary effort aimed at bringing about settlement of disputes between the parties is made through conciliatory and pervasive efforts.'[3]

Lok Adalat is an important Alternative Disputes Resolution Mechanism available to a common person. It is a forum where the disputes/cases pending in the court of law or at pre-litigation stage are settled/compromised amicably. Under the Legal Services Authority Act, 1987 an award made by a Lok Adalat is deemed to be a decree of a civil court and is final and binding on all parties and no appeal lies against thereto before any court.

If the parties are not satisfied with the award of the Lok Adalat, they are free to initiate litigation by approaching the court of appropriate jurisdiction. There is no court fee payable when a matter is filed in a Lok Adalat. If a matter pending in the court of law is referred to the Lok Adalat and is settled subsequently, the court fee originally paid in the court on the complaints/petition is also refunded back to the parties. The persons deciding the cases in the Lok Adalats are called the Members of the Lok Adalats, they have the role of statutory conciliators only and do not have any judicial role; therefore they can only persuade the parties to come to a conclusion for settling the dispute outside the court in the Lok Adalat and shall not pressurize or coerce any of the parties to compromise or settle cases or matters either directly or indirectly. The Members shall assist the parties in an independent and impartial manner in their attempt to reach amicable settlement of their dispute.

These types of matters may be taken up in the Lok Adalats such as matrimonial/ family disputes, criminal compoundable offence cases, labour disputes, bank recovery cases, pension cases, housing board and slum clearance cases and consumer cases, electricity matters, telephone bills disputes, municipal matters including house tax cases, other civil matters such as partition, recovery of possession, rent matters, etc.

Chapter VI-A had been inserted in the Legal Services Authority Act, 1987 in the year 2002, with a view to provide compulsory pre-litigative mechanism for conciliation and settlement of disputes relating to Public Utility Services (PUS). Pursuant to this, Permanent Lok Adalats have been set up in most states.[4]

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

Legal Services Authorities should be a household name in each state. The general public is largely unaware of the existence and functions of Legal Services Authorities and how to approach them. An effective publicity campaign involving mass media should be launched to make people aware of it. This country men deserve better legal services from its institutions and let us make a united effort to change the system that come in our way in our endeavour to "reform, perform and transform", to borrow the words of our Prime Minister, in the legal services for 21st century.

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FACETS OF INDIAN MODERNITY: REALM OF POSSIBILITIES

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Abstract

Modernity is invariably related to the spirit of freedom. This freedom is rooted in the critical consciousness that it generates. There is nothing which is beyond critical examination. Instead, everything – including the most sacred-has to be observed, verified and interrogated. No wonder, this fundamental Enlightenment spirit which was evolved through the historic Renaissance and Reformation, broke the static/taken for granted world: a world often legitimated by social customs, religious sanctions and an institutionalized divine order. As such the present paper examines the phenomena of modernity in context Indian traditions and thoughts.

Keywords: Modernity, National Struggle, Gandhi, Ambedkar, Aurobindo, Nehru, India

MODERNITY: THE BASIC TENETS

This breakdown led to the ever-expanding discoveries, innovations and experimentations in every field of social life. In a way, modernity gave one the confidence to question the most cherished/established beliefs, and propose new ideas. This freedom from orthodoxy-or the freedom to question, and explore new ideas- is indeed a great achievement of modernity.[1] One is not born with one's destiny; one makes it. In other words, modernity means a radical shift: from fatalism to active agency, from ascription to achievement, from passivity to meaningful choice.[2]

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Indeed, modernity – its primary importance to the individual and his/her rightsn – makes democracy an integral component of political culture Political democracy, it would not be wrong to say, is often seen as a hallmark of modernity. And we do experience tremendous gains of this political culture. Democracy means freedom transparency, openness, the ability to dissent and the willingness to listen to others. Democracy means that everyone, black or white, right or poor, has his space, and it has to be respected. As a matter of fact, modernity, because of its democratic spirit, creates a culture of debate, dissent and refutation. The ban on this intellectual and artistic/aesthetic freedom is seen as sort of pre-modern/medieval orthodoxy.[3]

DIVERGENT AND COMPLEX IN INDIA

When we look at India, we see divergent and complex responses modernity. It is significant that ours is a society that has definitely sought to accomplish the modernist agenda. As historians would argue, the intellectual roots of this agenda could be seen in the making of new India itself: the way we encountered colonialism, coped with the West, critiqued some of the oppressive/traditional practices, engaged in the struggle for de-colonization, marginalized revivalist trends, and evolved a broadly secular/progressive agenda of the freedom struggle which, despite internal differences, celebrated equality, freedom, justice and human dignity.[4] The legacy of this historic struggle that caused grand nationalist consciousness could also be seen in the Constitution that the new nation chose as its guiding principle. Indeed, the Constitution as the embodiment of our collective aspirations reveals our willingness to embrace the spirit of modernity: say, the republican spirit in political democracy, acknowledgment of the individual and his/her fundamental rights, an independent judiciary to check the abuse of power, directive principles for social welfare and justice, and moreover, a secular ethos that seeks to resist the tyranny of majoritarianism.

This modernity was further intensified by divergent 'nation-making' endeavours. The result was the consolidation of huge modern structures in India: the speedy growth of the techno-industrial infrastructure which Nehru was fond of regarding as 'temples' of new India, proliferation of scientific/professional institutions and universities, massive network of transportation and communication, expansive army structure, and above all, emergence of a new social class trained in modern knowledge systems, and having a 'progressive' orientation to the world.[5] Indeed, the emergent bourgeoisie, the professional middle class and the powerful state celebrating science as the language of development further legitimated modernity as a cherished ideal. Modernity meant reason, science and development – something that we must incorporate in order to embrace the new age. Not surprisingly, Nehru – the architect of new India – pleaded strongly for a modernist project. He seemed to be a strong believer in modernity – its rationality, its scientific spirit, and its

developmental ethos. He saw the devastating consequences of 'the heavy burden of the past'. The condition of 'mental stupor and physical weariness', he didn't hesitate to argue, .caused India's degeneration.[6]

No wonder, Nehru welcomed the new age, the ethos of reason and scientific method, or, as he put it, 'the adventurous and yet critical temper of science, the search for truth and new knowledge, the refusal to accept anything without testing and trial, the capacity to change previous conclusions in the face of new evidence'.[7] Science, for Nehru, ought to be seen as the 'temper of a free man' that we must cultivate in the new age. It was, therefore, quite natural that Nehru could not always agree with the man he otherwise adored most. Gandhi's moral/spiritual approach, and his critique of some of the principles and practices of modernity, Nehru wrote in his autobiography, did not appeal to him.[8] Nehru saw our future in modernity. It may have many problems, but then, it has the capacity to rid itself of those evils. 'We cannot stop the river of change or cut ourselves adrift from it, and psychologically we who have eaten of the apple of Eden cannot forget that taste and go back to primitiveness'.[9]

Yet, Nehru was immensely romantic. He was willing to 'discover' India: not always as a 'modern critic', but as someone eager to understand the mystery of a five thousand year-old civilization. This negotiation with Indian culture and its enduring civilizational structures somewhat softened his modernity. It made him humble. He could appreciate the philosophic depth of the Upanishads, the eternal significance of the Bhagvadgita, the wisdom of Buddha, or Gandhi's engagement with the masses. The quest for modernity, he realized, should not make us blind to the depth of our civilization.

As Nehru writes: Behind and within her battered body one could still glimpse a majesty of soul...Despite the woeful accumulations of superstition and degrading custom that had clung to her and borne her down, she had never wholly forgotten the inspiration that some of the wisest of her children, at the dawn of history, had given her in the Upanishads. Their keen minds, ever restless and ever striving and exploring, had not sought refuge in blind dogma or grown complacent in the routine observance of dead forms of ritual and creed. They had demanded not a personal relief from suffering in the present or a place in a paradise to come, but light and understanding: "Lead me from the unreal to the real, lead me from darkness to light, lead me from death to immortality."[10]

At this stage of analysis, it needs to be pointed out that Nehru's romanticism – or his enthusiasm over the philosophic significance of our great/classical tradition – was not necessarily shared by the victims of history: the marginalized castes and communities. They experienced the hierarchy of caste structure, its trauma and oppression. Any softness, or nostalgic attitude towards our civilization, they might have feared, would reproduce the hegemony of upper caste Hindu ideology. Possibly

this led them to strive for modernity, and modernity alone. Its rational/universal ethos, its egalitarianism, and its doctrine of human rights, it was believed, would pose a meaningful challenge to the age-old religious ideology. Here it would be interesting to look at, for instance, B.R. Ambedkar's uncompromising modernity, his deep-rooted faith in the Enlightenment doctrine of equality, liberty and fraternity, and hence his vehement critique of the philosophy of Hinduism.[11] Hinduism, as he argued, upholds privilege and inequality: it means that each man has his vocation preordained; it has, therefore, no relation to capacity nor to innovation. Hinduism, far from spreading knowledge, is a 'gospel of darkness', it refuses the large section of the population of the light of education; moreover, its textual/scriptural form of learning is old-fashioned; it cannot cope with the new age.

In other words, Ambedkar posed a rational/modernist critique of the philosophy of Hinduism. Never did Ambedkar feel comfortable with Gandhi. Gandhi, for him, was old-fashioned, a proponent of the *varna* system, and an enemy of modernity. In machinery and technology Ambedkar saw a new hope for the common man. Gandhi's philosophic critique of modernity made no sense to him:

Gandhism may well be suited to a society which does not accept democracy as its ideal. A society which does not believe in democracy may be indifferent to machinery, and the civilization based upon it. But a democratic society cannot. The former may well content itself with a life of leisure and culture for the few and a life of toil and drudgery for the many. But a democratic society must assure a life of leisure and culture to each one of its citizens. If the above analysis is correct then the slogan of a democratic society must be machinery, and more machinery, civilization and more civilization. Under Gandhism the common man must keep on toiling ceaselessly for a pittance and remain a brute. In short, Gandhism with its call of back to nature, means back to nakedness, back to squalor, back to poverty and back to ignorance for the vast mass of the people.[12]

In other words, modernity, for Ambedkar and his disciples, must play a historic role in India. It must fight casteism and hierarchy, abolish Hinduism, introduce machinery, technology and science for liberating the toiling masses, and create a just society.

Furthermore, we also notice the absence of what is known as professionalism. A universal scale of achievement based on professional aptitude and merit, it is believed, is often scarified, and particularistic criteria based on family/kinship ties acquire undue importance in the selection of teachers, doctors and engineers. Possibly this explains the anguish of a sociologist/historian like Satish Saberwal when he laments that we Indians, because of our confinement to a 'small-scale segmented universe', have proved to be incapable of coping with the requirements of a modern 'mega-society'.[13] Likewise, it is alleged that because of the heavy weight of traditionalism modernity fails to assert itself. If newness and innovation

characterize modernity, we are lagging behind. Because India continues to look 'old' and 'traditional'. Even when the 'youthfulness' of new India is seen in select sites in New Delhi, Bangalore and Chandigarh, we cannot escape the 'old' India – in the streets of Haridwar and Varanasi, in innumerable traditional rituals and customs, in dowry death, female infanticide and caste violence. India has not yet been able to overcome its past. This inertia, it is argued, has done severe damage to our modernity.

It needs to be said that modernity in India has not yet succeeded in presenting itself as 'praise worthy', something that can be compared with 'Western modernity'. This has possibly led a sociologist like Dipankar Gupta to lament, and regard our modernity as 'mistaken modernity'.[14] Modernity, for Gupta, is not just about technology and contemporary artifacts. Modernity, he asserts, means 'dignity of the individual, adherence to universalistic norms, elevation of individual achievement over privileges or disprivileges of birth, and accountability in public life'. As far as these deeper meanings of modernity are concerned, we seem to have failed. Well, there is a move from tradition; but, as Gupta reminds us, we are not yet modern. 'If the clock were to stop here, the final diagnosis would, or rather should, declare India as still un-modern'. He sees no hope in the Indian middle class. It may try to project itself as modern or Western, but it is not truly modern or Western. It is just 'Westoxicated'. 'Unlike westernization, which implies the establishment of universalistic norms and the privileges of achievement over birth, westoxication is about superficial consumerist display of commodities and fads produced in the West'. Even though he is not romanticizing the existing Western society, he does not hesitate to conclude that 'in balance, these societies are preferable because they do not discriminate against individuals the way pre-modern societies did and still do'. Gupta wants India to overcome this 'mistaken modernity'. He entertains no ambiguity, and argues that 'there is no alternative but to resolutely press on With the modernist agenda'.[15]

There is, however, another way of seeing our destiny. It does not necessarily condemn our modernity as 'mistaken'. Instead, it sees the possibility of differences, and reminds us of the specificity of our own modernity. For example, modernity in India need not necessarily be seen as an antithesis of tradition. As a matter of fact, traditional symbols, values and structures have been modernized; and modernity itself has reinforced traditions. For instance, caste, far from withering away, has acquired a new political meaning because of modern democracy. Or, to take yet another illuminating example, Gandhi's life demonstrated how the traditional ideal of a renouncer could be experienced in a modern mass movement. Likewise, modern modes of transportation and communication have intensified religious festivals and pilgrimage. In other words, we see the continual interplay of tradition and modernity.[16]

This distinctiveness of our modernity, it is argued, needs to be appreciated. We need not feel apologetic if our society does not resemble what the West regards as modernity. In fact, as Yogendra Singh has argued, the 'historicity of modernization' is a fact to reckon with.[17] It should not be forgotten that between tradition and modernity 'a selective process of assimilation and syncretism' occurs. For example, a person who is well-trained in the modern role structure with high instrumental value – say, a surgeon or an engineer or a scientist, may be deeply committed to traditional categorical values. Because, as Singh says, 'categorical values enjoy autonomy over the instrumental values'.[18] There is, therefore, no escape from 'the diversity in the pattern of modernization in different societies'.

Modernity in India has its specificity and uniqueness. But then, we should also be careful enough: we need not feel excessively proud of it. In fact, our modernity has also immense problems. How often we have seen that the mobilization of caste for a supposedly radical purpose like 'empowerment' has caused tension-ridden, violent and exclusivist identity politics.[19] We also have seen how at times the doctrine of nationalism and the tyranny of majoritarianism have become almost inseparable. And even though our modernity, as the matrimonial columns suggest, has not destroyed the practice of arranged marriages, we are also witnessing the resurgence of dowry, and an unholy alliance of patriarchy and consumerism. True, we need not find solutions in what is being loosely regarded as a standardized/universal Western modernity. But we have to acknowledge the problems with our own modernity, and think of more innovative and sensitive solutions.

But before we explore these possibilities, it is important to understand that there is also a critical voice amongst us that dislikes the idea of modernity itself, and critiques it relentlessly. They are not old-fashioned traditionalists who regard modernity as an immoral/materialistic/hedonistic life-practice. As a matter of fact, these critics include sophisticated social scientists and refined thinkers. They see the principle of colonial aggression in modernity: the way it annihilates alternative traditions through the ideology of nationalism, scientific planning and mythology of progress.[20] They see the essential dualism in modernity, and resultant violence.[21] Modernity is being alleged as elitist and anti people. This sort of 'post-colonial' critique of modernity is also being supported by those who speak of subaltern movements: the movements that seek to recover local traditions, indigenous knowledges and subdued/forgotten memories and histories. While modernity is centralizing, these critics plead for fragments and differences.[22] Not surprisingly, nationalism, state, science, development – all grand ideals of modernity are suspected. Indeed, we see the assertion of an intellectual milieu characterized by post-colonialism, postmodernism and some sort of reinterpreted Gandhism.[23]

It is not difficult to understand this critique. Because modernity, as we have analyzed, is a complex phenomenon. It has its achievements, promises

and possibilities. And it has also its own history of pain, agony and suffering. Modernity is bound to have its adherents as well as its critics. We have to live with this complexity. We have to learn perpetually from this tension and ambiguity, and create a more humane world. One thing is, however, clear. There is no way we can negate modernity completely; the logic of history would not allow it to happen. Furthermore, we are at a stage of evolution when it is no longer possible to live without some of the gains of modernity – its core values, its democratic ethos, or some of its technological achievements. Yet, self-reflexivity demands that we keep our eyes open, explore better possibilities, and retain the courage to innovate. We need not become prisoners of modernity.

REALM OF POSSIBILITIES

It is in this context that, we can learn a couple of lessons from what is being loosely regarded as 'Indian thinking' emanating from visionaries like Sri Aurobindo and Gandhi. This does not mean that we succeed in arriving at immediate and instant alternatives. Possibly we continue to live with our ambiguities. Yet, we must keep this reflexivity alive. Only then is it possible to innovate, and make our contribution to the making of a more humble, dialogic and life-affirming modernity.

First, it would be better to recall the lesson we can learn from Sri Aurobindo's profound analysis of the 'curve of the rational age'.[24] Yes, it was the 'revolt of reason' in a modern society that caused one of its remarkable achievements: the creation of individualistic democratic ideal. It was believed that the autonomous individual could question, interrogate, and choose his/her own destiny. But then, reason alone could not create an ideal order. We saw the conflict between the powerful and the powerless; in real terms, individualistic democracy meant, as Sri Aurobindo felt, 'the role of a dominant class over the ignorant, numerous and less fortunate mass'. Possibly this discontent led to yet another manifestation of reason: the ideal of democratic socialism. It was, however, no less problematic. It too degenerated into a 'collectivist mystique'. We saw 'a rapid crystallization of the social; economic, political life of the people into a rigid organization' leading to 'a complete unanimity of mind, speech, feel, life'.[25]

The message, for Sri Aurobindo, was clear enough. Even though the age of reason was an advance upon the comparative immobility of 'infrarational' societies, it could not arrive at perfection by its own methods, because 'reason is neither the first principle of life, nor can be its last, supreme and sufficient principle'. It is high time we realized that no machinery invented by reason could perfect either the individual or the collective man. Neither the market nor the state – the twin symbols of the modern/rational age – can replace what is urgently needed: man's inner transformation. Each of us ought to realize the real source/inspiration behind

an ideal/harmonious society: 'the spiritual comradeship of oneness'. Only then is it possible to transcend the conflict between the individual and the collective, and realize the shared divinity that arouses love, brotherhood and solidarity. As Aurobindo writes:

The solution lies not in the reason but in the soul of man, in its spiritual tendencies. It is a spiritual, an inner freedom that alone creates a perfect human order. It is a spiritual, a greater than the rational enlightenment that can illuminate the vital nature of man and impose harmony on its self-seekings, antagonisms and discords.[26]

It is indeed true that the central thrust of modernity is towards the mastery of the outer world. It knows how to tap natural resources, create technologies, and evolve mechanical structures to fit the world into its cognitive map. It overemphasizes the role of its scientific/bureaucratic machinery, its market and technology. This excessive inclination to the outer world is like over-emphasizing the vital/physical aspect of the human being. It is filled with terrible *rajasic* energy. But in the process it seems to have forgotten the higher ideal of calmness, inner transformation, and spiritual evolution. That is the crisis of modernity. And, for Sri Aurobindo, it is high time we realized the need of 'the inward view of the East which bids man seek the secret of his destiny and salvation within'.[27] This spiritual evolution, or this new journey beyond the age of reason does by no means negate the achievements of Western modernity. Because, as Sri Aurobindo repeatedly emphasized, for the pioneers of the new age, nothing would be alien to them, nothing would be outside their scope.

Gandhi's notion of *swaraj* is immensely illuminating. He wanted us to regain the power of 'soul-force', and become independent of the huge techno-economic enterprise of modernity. We have seen how modernity elevates the power of the techno-scientific structure and the nation-state. It is not our contention to deny that these modern structures have made our life easier. But then, these very structures, as we have indicated, have also led to an 'iron cage' or an 'administered totality' that tends to paralyze our own agency and reflexivity. In other words, we become increasingly dependent on the 'expertized' solutions emanating from the technobureaucratic elite. This, as Gandhi worried, has belittled man. If I have a problem with my neighbour, I am now incapable of negotiating and arriving at a solution. Instead, I become more and more dependent on an anonymous/impersonal legal structure: its lawyers and courts. To quote Gandhi:

If people were to settle their own quarrels, a third party would not be able to exercise any authority over them. Truly, men were less unmanly when they settled their disputes either by fighting or by asking their relatives to decide for them. They became more unmanly and cowardly when they resorted to the courts of law. It was certainly a sign of savagery when they settled their disputes by fighting. Is it any the

less so, if I ask a third party to decide between you and me? Surely, the decision of a third party is not always right. The parties alone know who is right. We, in our simplicity and ignorance, imagine that a stranger, by taking our money, gives us justice.[28]

Further Gandhi felt that the modern civilization was based on the centrality of *desire*. It cultivates and stimulates man's desire for the ever-expanding needs, and never-ending comforts. Yes, we do indeed become prisoners of these comforts. This causes perpetual restlessness for more and more. Even though it is naive to imagine that we can go back to the world in which our ancestors lived, the essence of what Gandhi was saying needs to be understood. This excessive desire, we should not forget, has two disastrous consequences: (a) it deprives one of evolving a zone of peace, and (b) it violates the ecological principle: a harmonic engagement between man and nature. Gandhi critiqued this 'immoral' or 'satanic' force which contemporary critics often regard as the seduction of consumer culture. He was thinking of a life: truly independent in the sense that it is not a slave of desire. This is possibly the other meaning of *ahimsa*. Though modernity has indeed done a lot of good things; but it has also caused severe damage to our life and environment. We moderns would lose nothing except our arrogance if we learn a couple of lessons from Gandhi's visionary insight.

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CHALLENGES OF EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN BIHAR: A STUDY IN CONTEXT OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

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Abstract

The primacy of development goals shifted to human development goals in 1990s. The United Nations approved the parameters of gazing human development threefold – life expectancy (health conditions), educational status (attainment of education) and income (level of poverty). Substantial improvements in case of life expectancy and minimising poverty have been made in India and Bihar finds better place in reducing the multidimensional poverty in comparison to most other states of India for period from 2004-05 to 2014-15 as per UN reports. But inc case of education Bihar lags far behind on the all the parameters of educational development as compared to most other Indian states. As such the present paper intends to underline the challenges of education development in Bihar. The major challenges are – inadequate number of educational institutions, paucity of infrastructure and pupil-teacher ratio, social and gender based discriminations.

Keywords: Education, Literacy, Pupil-Teacher Ratio, Dalits, Girls, Bihar

The culture of developing nations in Asian countries is bound to witness changes as the traditional values may face contradictions in its core structure. This way education will serve as the most important indicator of human development to bring social change and development in countries like India and the state like Bihar where cultural multiplicity still revolves around the traditional values of discrimination and tenacity. India is placed very low (in almost all the human development parameters as compared to developed nations and even some Asian countries also. In India, state of Bihar lags behind many other states and further

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within Bihar dalits (Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes) and girls are the worst sufferers. Though the situation of girl education in Bihar has substantially improved from 2011 onwards, yet girls of deprived sections of Bihar society are still behind. Perhaps, for this reason there are many distinct sub-groups in the national human development index. The present paper concentrates on underlining the bottlenecks of achieving goals of educational development in context of human development in Bihar.

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT : PRIOR TO THE PRESENT DECADE

Bihar is endowed with huge quantum of human resource – a most invincible component of economic and social development. Poor health of the economy and society of the state may be attributed largely due to its inadequately equipped or empowered manpower. Poor management of human resource and other productive inputs result into large scale migration of labourers from the state. The state Government has so far lags behind to realize the crucial role of education in development of the state. The situation up to 2010 is reflected in NUEPA's state-wide educational development index (see Table -1 below) prepared on the basis of DISE data reveals that Bihar still continues to remain educationally backward holding last position among all the states in the country. The Census 2011 data also reflects lowest literacy rate in the state (63.8 %,) compared to all India (73.4%).

Table 1: Education Development Index of Indian States

Rank	*S. No.*	*Primary*	*Upper Primary*	*Both Primary and Upper Primary Together*
Best	1.	Delhi	Kerala	Kerala
	2.	Tamil Nadu	Pondicherry	Delhi
	3.	Kerala	Chandigarh	Tamil Nadu
	4.	Pondicherry	Tamil Nadu	Pondicherry
	5.	Mizoram	Mizoram	Mizoram
	6.	Sikkim	Sikkim	Sikkim
Worst	1.	Bihar	Bihar	Bihar
	2.	Jharkhand	West Bengal	Arunachal
	3.	West Bengal	Uttar Pradesh	West Bengal
	4.	Arunachal Pradesh	Arunachal Pradesh	Arunachal Pradesh
	5.	Assam	Assam	Assam

Reference: NUEPA, New Delhi, 2010.

The NSS 64th round data also reflects a gloomy picture of educational attainment in Bihar in 2007-08. It may be revealed from the Table 2 below that in the reference year, majority of the people in the state were either illiterate or had attained a lower

level of education. Populations having secondary and senior secondary levels of education comprised 5.68% and 2.28% of total populations of the state. Attainment at the tertiary level of education is for only 1.96% of population. The Table further shows that there is a wide rural urban Gap in the level of educational attainment. Attainment at the tertiary level of education is for 15% of the population in urban areas and only 2.17% of the population in rural areas. There is also a gender inequality. 61% of the population is illiterate among the female and 40% of the population is illiterate among the male. At the tertiary level female has educational attainment for only 0.76% of the population.

Table 2: Level of Educational Attainment in Bihar 2007-08 (in %)

Educational Attainment	*Overall*	*Rural*	*Urban*	*Male*	*Female*
Illiterate	50.65	53.42	27.54	40.79	61.44
Below Primary	21.49	9.72	5.88	23.92	18.81
Primary	10.65	11.33	10.92	12.31	8.84
Upper Primary	7.29	11.20	16.04	9.31	5.08
Secondary	5.68	8.88	13.06	7.11	3.81
Sr. Secondary	2.28	3.27	11.52	3.50	1.26
Tertiary	1.96	2.17	15.03	3.06	0.76

Source: NSS 64th Round data.

It is clear from the Table that illiteracy is higher among the socially weaker sections like STs (53.55%), SCs (66.18%) and OBCs (50.28%) as compared to the other socially advanced sections (30.50%). Among the literates of all categories, educational attainment of larger proportion of population of the state was below primary or primary level. There were no significant variations in the proportions of below primary and primary literate population among different social groups. However, the proportions of socially high up categories of populations attaining upper primary and above educational levels were higher compared to socially weaker section of populations.

STATUS OF PROGRESS IN LITERACY

Despite a modest progress in the literacy front over the last few decades, the state's performance was not commensurate when compared with other states of the country. Table 3 below reflects that over last five decades, the literacy rates of Bihar continue to remain far below the national average. However, the gaps in the literacy rates between the state and nation have gradually declined over the years. Decadal increase in the literacy rates in the state of Bihar between 1961 and 2001 also tended to remain lower than national rates. However, the decadal increase in the literacy

rate is marked to be higher (16.6 percentage points) compared to national rate (8.6 percentage points).

Table 3: Literacy Rates in India and Bihar (1961-2011)

Decades	*India*			*Bihar*		
	Male	*Female*	*Persons*	*Male*	*Female*	*Persons*
Literacy Rates						
1961	40.4	15.3	28.3	37.9	8.7	23.4
1971	46	22	34.5	38.3	10.7	24.9
1981	56.4	29.8	43.6	46.8	16.6	32.3
1991	64.1	39.3	52.2	51.2	22	37.5
2001	75.9	54.2	65.4	59.7	33.4	47.2
2011	82.1	65.5	74.0	73.4	53.3	63.8
Decadal Increase						
1961-71	5.6	6.7	6.2	0.4	2	1.5
1971-81	10.4	7.8	9.1	8.5	5.9	7.4
1981-91	7.7	9.5	8.6	4.4	5.4	5.2
1991-01	11.8	14.9	13.2	8.5	11.4	9.7
2001-11	6.2	11.3	8.6	13.7	19.9	16.6

References: Census 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001 and 2011

Despite above mentioned success achieved through BEPC and its SSA programme interventions during last two decades, state's expectations with regard to cent percent enrolment of children and quality of education are yet to be achieved. Moreover, the issue of equal access to all irrespective of all kinds of social and economic discriminations continued to remain unresolved. Spatial widening and physical access has, however, by and large not been supported by satisfactory curricular interventions, including teaching learning materials, training designs, monitoring and evaluation mechanisms and classroom transactions, or even suitable infrastructure.

However, educational development of the state in terms of achievement of literacy levels has not been uniform throughout the districts. While the districts of Rohtas, Munger, Bhojpur, Aurangabad and Patna were top five scorers (with above 72.5% literacy level) ranking first, second, third, fourth and fifth, the districts of Saharsa, Madhepura, Katihar, Sitamarhi and Purnea performed least with 34th, 35th, 36th, 37th and 38th ranks respectively. In female literacy also the above five top and least scorer districts (with variation in ranks) were the top and least scorers.

CHALLENGES OF EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT IN BIHAR

Availability of Schools

If we take up the issue of educational development, the first and foremost pre-requisite is availability of adequate number of educational institutions for meeting the need of the society. Bihar has variety of government or government supported schools Central Government run Schools, railway-run schools, model schools, sainik schools, state government run elementary schools, buniyadi vidyalays (basic schools) and residential schools for the SCs and STs children. Private schools are solely owned and managed by individuals or communities; some of these schools are government aided religious and linguistic minority schools. According to Bihar Economic Survey 2010-2011 data, there were about 7 primary and upper primary schools (five primary schools and two upper primary schools) for every ten thousand population. It may be perused that there is variation in the degree of availability of the government primary and upper primary schools per 10000 populations in different districts of Bihar. About 18% districts have above average, 34% districts have average and rest 52% districts have below average status with regard to availability of primary schools per ten thousand populations. The upper primary schools are relatively more equitably distributed among different districts of the state than those of the primary schools. Proportions of districts (with regard to availability of upper primary schools per ten thousand populations) with above average, average and below average comprise 39%, 45% and 16% respectively. According to RTE the distance of schools should not be more than 1 km for primary and 3 km for upper primary schools. But according to the DISE data the distance of primary schools from cluster resource centre are generally within the range of 1-5 km. To reduce the distance, there is need to set up more schools

Pupil-Teacher Ratio

The second most important pre-requisite is the availability of adequate number of quality teachers. There is no any substitute of deployment of adequate number of quality teachers in schools. The Right to Education Act has fixed norms for PTR for effective delivery of services. Elementary schools of Bihar still lack adequate number of teachers. The official data available so far depicts there is acute shortage of regular and quality teachers in Bihar. Efforts have been taken to provide teachers in schools with Shikshamitras and Niyojit Shikshak (may be called para-teachers). Although such teachers acquire prescribed qualifications, but they are ill paid and ill experienced. The situation up to 2010-11 as per official data depicts that altogether 1,77,626 posts of teachers of any kind at primary and upper primary level schools were vacant in Bihar. The districts of Gaya, Aurangabad, Begusarai, Darbhanga,

East Champaran, Kaimur, Rohtas, Patna (rural), Nalanda, Nawada, Samastipur and Madhubani districts had vacancy of teachers amounting to five thousand to ten thousand each district. (Government of Bihar, District Planning 2010-11). It is argued that shortage of teachers and institutional bottlenecks are responsible for not attaining cent percent enrolment and retention in the elementary schools of Bihar. Statement of account on PTR (pupil-teacher ratio) in government-run schools in Bihar and India has been placed in the Table 4 below. It is clear from the table that more than 45% of schools in the state of Bihar had PTR more than 60 as compared to 12% in the country as a whole.

Table 4: Statement of Account on PTR in Government run Schools in Bihar and India

Indicator	*Bihar*	*India*
No. of Recognized Elementary schools	67656	1303812
No. of Government schools	67618	1048046
Average no. of instructional days in previous session	241	224
% schools with PTR>60 Primary	45.26	12.11
% schools with PTR>60 All schools	45.23	12.21
No. of teachers (All schools)	332834	5816673

Ref: Flash Statistics relating to Bihar & India: DISE 2009-10

STATE OF EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT AMONG DEPRIVED SECTIONS

Exclusion of the children especially those belonging to socially and economically marginalized sections of society is not necessarily correlated only with the access to school but with the alienation of those families and society from the mainstream production and distribution process. However, the faulty education system followed by the state gives stress on the necessity of home-tasks to the children, which give rise to the need of private tuition. Moreover, load in the curriculum has negative impacts on the children of marginalized communities. Language of teachers and medium of instruction are another hurdles before the children of the socially disadvantaged communities to get themselves familiar with the teaching process. It appears that there is cyclic relationship among the poverty bondage, social backwardness and pedagogical limitations. Deprivation of the Dalits in Bihar in imparting education is reflected through factual data presented in the Table 4 below:

Table 5: Literacy Rate of Dalits in Bihar

Literacy rate	*All SCs in Bihar*	*Dhobi*	*Paasi*	*Dusadh*	*Chamar*	*Bhuiya*	*Musahar*
Persons	28.5	43.9	40.6	33.0	32.1	13.3	9
Females	15.6	27.9	25.3	18.5	16.8	6.5	3.9
School going children of age 5-14 years	29.4	45.6	39.4	34.1	33.7	15.1	9.8

Source: Mahadalit Ayog Report, Government of Bihar, 2007-08.

The RTE Act has provision to address the issue of exclusion of children belonging to marginalized communities in two ways, viz., through enforcement of their legal entitlements and by making special provisions to free them from the onslaughts of social and economic disparities.

(i) **Girls' Education:** GPI in the state of Bihar continues to be in favour of male children. This trend is alien to the intent and spirit of the RTE Act. Recognizing the significance of gender parity in elementary education, the Government has adopted a number of programmes including setting up of Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalays. However, the efforts made so far are not commensurate with the actual efforts to be made to bring all the out of school girls to enroll and retain in the schools. Poor communication facility to reach to upper primary schools and inadequate or absence of sanitary facilities for girls in many upper primary schools that compel the girls to drop out from completing elementary education are still not fully resolved.

Dalit, comprising of SCs (divided into dalits and mahadalits), Tribes/Primitive Tribes and dalit minorities, is a special social category of caste structure in India, which are induced to great social repulsion in traditional social structure that deprived them of the natural resources and the humanitarian respect. Their major problem has been their inadequate actual accessibility to the schools, motivational schemes, attachment and continuity.

Enrollment of Dalit children has been great boost in recent years. Right to education is a recent phenomenon in the Indian constitution in practice, which helped the state of Bihar to appoint a large number of school teachers in the rural Bihar in the conformity to the norms of a functioning school for universal education in one-kilometer radius of a social habitation. The state of Bihar seem to be serious to implement universal education of 6-14 years children in the Five–year plan, with new vigor, and with massive planned preparation to assure the quality education to all. With this act of compulsory education to all expected is to provide further boost to the education of the Dalits. It is a matter of observation in next few years how the government meets the challenges of universal and quality education, which is an important indicator of human- development, in the state of Bihar.

Another important issue is related to differently abled or divyang children. Mechanisms for early identification are inadequate to find out the exact number of such children. With the growing concern about the disabled children, the issue has been under active considerations. The National Curriculum Framework for Teacher Education has made several provisions for ensuring all new teachers were empowered with at least some knowledge on working with children with disability. The RTE Act mentions of special education for these children. However, there is feeble move on the part of the educational administrators towards creating favorable space for education of these children in the state.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The entire gamut of above discussion suggest that despite improvement in educational sphere in Bihar, the basic challenges have inadequately been addressed by the state, viz. the paucity of schools especially in rural areas, inadequate availability of quality teachers of any category, pupil-teacher ratio and actual encircling the children of dalits into education fold. Dalits in behaviorism and resource owning structure, played extreme negative on psychological and physiological health throughout the recent history. People who are socially alienated or rejected susceptible to a host of behavioral, emotional, and physical problems, suggesting that human beings may possess a fundamental need to belong. Stigma arises during a social interaction when an individual's actual identity (the attribute he or she can be proved to possess) does not meet society's normative expectations of the attributes individuals should possess (his or her virtual social identity). Thus, the individual social identity is spoiled, and he or she assumed is incapable of fulfilling the role requirements of social interaction. The psyche of the group in general is deviant from the prototype dominant role attributional character, the excluded untouchables. The Dalits, on many occasions do not have even anticipation of psyche of role performance in the positive or the neutral social environment that they more often meet only on migration out of the state, Bihar.

ABBREVIATION

BEPC: Bihar Education Project Council

DISE: District Information System For Education

GPI: Gender Parity Index

NUEPA: National University of Educational Planning and Administration

NSS: National Sample Survey

OBC: Other Backward Caste

PTR: People Teacher Ratio

RTE: Right to Education

SC: Schedule Caste

SSA Sarv Shiksha Abhiyan

ST: Schedule Tribe

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INDIA'S ROLE IN SHARP ECONOMIC GROWTH OF BANGLADESH: A STUDY OF NDA REGIME AFTER 2014

Ratna*

Abstract

Bangladesh was one of the poorest countries in South Asia and its people were facing acute miseries at the time when it came in existence in 1971. Even after passage of 30 years it remained so may be owing to political turmoil till the year 2000. But a miraculous change took place since 2001 from where it jumped from the status of Least Developed Country likely to be Developing Country by 2018-19. Thus, it becomes an urgent imperative to examine the factors that facilitated its sharp jump in economic growth and other parameters of human development index. It has been argued that the major motoring factors are foreign direct investment (FDI), information technology (IT) and remittances from migrants. So far FDI and remittances are concerned, the role of stronger Asian economies come to fore. The questions are – What are the factors that improved Bangladesh? Which of the big economies of Asian region facilitated its rise in last one and half decades, if it has least resources to develop? With these questions in mind the present paper intends to mark the role of India in shape of investments and grants, particularly since Modi led NDA came into power. Despite the arguments in favour of recent Chinese contributions to the economic rise of Bangladesh, India's contribution can be rated higher than that of China.

Keywords: Economic Growth, LDC, FDI, Indian-assistance, Bangladesh, India

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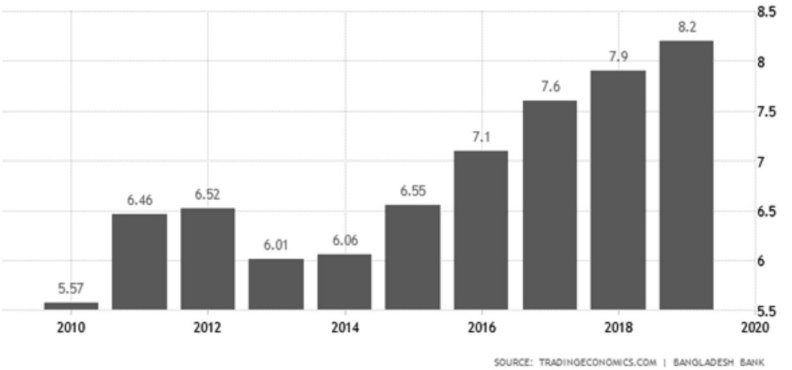
INTRODUCTION

It is not that Bangladesh improved its industrial infrastructure and generated internal resources for its development, but the foreign direct investment, information technology, remittances from the migrants and support from stronger economies like India and China facilitated its growth. Bangladesh was classed by United Nations (UN) as the Least Developed Country in 1975 but the World Economic Forum in its Global Competitiveness Report 2019 as approaching towards the category of developing country and placed it at 105th rank in the World. Not only this Bangladesh is already performing better in terms of GDP growth and is also racing ahead in many social indicators like Life expectancy (a major component of human development index (HDI), which is 72 years for an average Bangladeshi, much ahead of India and Pakistan. Indian media marked that 'Bangladesh this week formally shed the tag of Least Developed Country (LDC) after it clocked consistent growth rate of over 6 per cent for over a decade. It is a matter of celebration for India as it not only opens an economic opportunity for Delhi but over the past decade India has played a key role in Bangladesh's graduation from LDC category to Developing Country status through investments, Line of Credit at concessional rates, grants, market access for Bangladeshi products and easier visa regime.' (*Economic Times*: 2019). The World Bank Group (2019) found a sharp growth rate in GDP of Bangladesh which is reflected in the following trajectory char. It depicts that the growth in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in Bangladesh sharply rose from 5.57 per cent in 2010 to 8.52 per cent in 2019. The bar diagram reveals that there has been sharp jump from 2014, evident from the fact that the gradual growth of GDP of Bangladesh began from 6.06 per cent in 2014 as compared to 6.55 in 2015, 7.1 per cent in 2016, 7.6 per cent in 2017, 7.9 per cent in 2018 and finally 8.2 per cent in 2019. It does mean that the growth rate shoot up from 2014 in a short span of just five years, marking the rise above seventy five percent, if 2014 is taken as starting point.



Source: https://tradingeconomics.com/bangladesh/gdp-growth retrieved on 11 May 2020

Besides the growth rate, Bangladesh acquired respectable position in world trade, evident from the fact that by the year 2017 it became the second largest garments exporter, third largest outsourcing country, fourth largest rice producer, fifth largest fresh water fish producer, fifth largest supplier of legal migrants in the world, eighth largest remittance earning country, and tenth largest food grain producing country. The Hasina government's "Digital Bangladesh" program has extended internet access and government services to the far reaches of the country (*Economic Times*: 2019, op. cit). The figures makes us to draw inference that the NDA regime of India facilitated the economic growth of Bangladesh. Under the influence of this dominant inference and assumption, the paper intends to underline the contribution of India to the economy of Bangladesh since Modi regime. However, a quick glance on Indian contributions to Bangladesh prior to Modi regime has also been taken into consideration.

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION: THE BACKGROUND

Bangladesh-India relations were at their highest level during the period of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman (during Awami League government from 1972-1974). Since then, these relations have been fluctuating for reasons like changes of political regimes. In continuity of the good relations, Bangladesh acknowledged India's role for its active military support during the Liberation War of 1971 through "signing a treaty of friendship, peace and co-operation with India in March 19, 1972". But with the assassination of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on 15 August 1975, the relationship between the two countries started deteriorating expressed in open disputes and mistrust due to political changes in the two nations, particularly military dominance in Bangladesh (Dilara: 2001). The first Trade Agreement between India and Bangladesh was signed in 1972. But three major issues of tension rose between these two countries like recovering trade benefits, water-sharing issue related to Farakka and Teesta barrages and transit to North East Region through Bangladesh from Indian main land irked the relationship between these two countries. India did also wanted to keep close eyes on growing China's influence. India shares with Bangladesh a border of 4096.7 km which is longest land boundries, India has with any country.

Nontheless, India always tried to have good relationship with Bangladesh and intended to render economic support. The interest of India in Bangladesh has been in using sea routes through Bangladesh and passage for movements to North Eastern states through Bangladesh land. After the introduction of economic reforms, India tried to have good relations for which policies were taken up. The I K Gujral doctrine clearly mentions the necessity of India to play the role of 'big brother' with neighbouring countries. India has been rendering support to Bangladesh in shape of establishing atomic power plant, line of credit covering projects of construction

of infrastructure. The relationship began improving during the regime of UPA 1 and 2 in which steps were taken to render support to Bangladesh viz., in January 2010 India announced a package of 1 billion US$ for public transportation, roads, railways, bridges and inland waterways etc. (I HC in Dhaka: 2017). The then President of India paid a visit to Bangladesh in March 2013 and after a gap of 42 years, Bangladesh President Md. Abdul Hamid visited India in 2014.

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION: SINCE 2014 (MODI REGIME)

Things began changing substantially after acquiring the power by Modi led NDA which paid greater attention towards Bangladesh and East Asian countries by shifting from Look East Policy to Act East Policy. Indian Prime Minister Modi showed affinity to east Asian countries on the very day of his oath taking. As discussed above the bone of contention between these two countries was land and border disputes. Modi during his visit to Dhaka in June 2015 signed as many as 22 bilateral documents including that of exchange of instrument of ratification for Indo-Bangla land boundary agreement (LAB) and second line of credit worth 2 billion US$. Further in July, 2015 the clarification of strips of land was done and inhabitants of those land pieces were granted self determination. Those who wished to reside in India were allowed return by November 30, 2015. The bilateral Joint River Commission (JRC) held meetings at regular interval. The trade agreement was also extended for five years.

Trade relations were improved in favour of Bangladesh. The trade between the two countries has grown by more than 17%.India's exports to Bangladesh in the period July 2016–March 2017 stood at US$ 4489.30 million and imports from Bangladesh during FY 2016-17 stood at US$ 672.40 million. Total Indian investment proposals in Bangladesh registered with the Bangladesh Investment Development Authority (BIDA) exceed US$ 3 billion. Indian Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in Bangladesh reached US$ 88.0million in 2015-16. During PM Sheikh Hasina's visit in April 2017, 13 agreements worth around US$ 10 billion of mainly Indian investment in power and energy sectors in Bangladesh were signed (I H C in Dhaka: 2017).

So far financial assistance to Bangladesh is concerned, Modi Government extended the second Line of Credit to covers 15 projects in areas of Roads, Railways, Power, Shipping, SEZs, Health & Medical Care and Technical Education. During the visit of Bangladesh PM to India in April 2017, India extended a third LOC of US$ 4.5 billion to Bangladesh. The new LOC was to cover projects in areas of Port. As much as 600 MW of power is flowing through the two existing inter-connections between India and Bangladesh. Additional power connections could enable Bangladesh to draw another 1,000 MW of power. Bangladesh will also receive 340 MW from various Indian companies. Besides, ONGC has been awarded gas exploration

in two blocks of the Bay of Bengal and fresh MoUs have been concluded for the supply of renewable energy and nuclear cooperation. Bangladesh has expressed its desire to take part in hydro-power projects in the North-Eastern States as well as in Bhutan and Nepal which will also include cooperation under BBIN format. Petrobangla and Petronet have signed a MoU for the setting up of a joint venture re-gasification LNG Terminal. Sheikh Hasina's electoral success in 2018 added to the spree in shape of facilitating BIMSTEC (Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multisectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation) on one hand and India's Act East Policy through Bangladesh on the other. Trade relations have improved, with overall trade expected to cross the $9 billion mark, as of May 2018 and Bangladesh's exports to India will be almost $900 million, riding primarily on ready-made garments. During the past 11 months Bangladesh's garment exports to India increased by 113 per cent from $129 million to $276 million. Add to this footwear, fish, beverages etc and India's imports from Bangladesh increased by a 30 per cent. Since 2011, India's (dollar value) imports from Bangladesh grew an average of 6% per year over 2012-16, even as its imports from the world dropped by 8% per year (H C B in India: 2017).

It has been claimed that Bangladesh is the biggest recipient of India's Line of Credit which have contributed to country's infrastructure, power and railway sectors. Bilateral trade is growing and Bangladesh desires to take advantage of India's growth story and market including markets in Northeast India and West Bengal. Indian private sector has also committed to invest over 13 billion US $ in Bangladesh particularly in the power sector.

COUNTER FACTS AND ARGUMENTS

On the contrary, the international organisations and Bangladeshi analysts consider it otherwise. It has been argued that the responsible factors of its rapid growth have been infrastructure, manufacturing and trade, particularly in garments, FDI, agriculture, information technology sector, remittances from migrant workers etc. Afrin (2018) argues with rigorous methodological analysis that there is significant link between remittances and economic growth of Bangladesh. Whereas Sutradhar (2020) has countered this argument that it cannot be said to be a definite factor. The most significant factors of the rocketing growth are garment trade that has reached to 30 billion US$, service sector contributing to 53 percent of GDP and IT industry exports technology products worth one billion US$ that is expected to go up by 5 billion US$ by 2021 (Mia & Akter: 2019). The World Bank (2016) finds that the rural economy, especially the agriculture has been 'powerful driver in poverty reduction' in Bangladesh evident from the fact that the poverty has been reduced to half during 2005-2010. But it is also arguable that improvements in all these areas may be attributed to India's contributions in shape of assistance packages, liberal trade agreements and opening Indian market for Bangladesh.

CONCLUSION

It can be posited from the above facts that economic success of Bangladesh attributes to Indian investment, lucrative line of credit, trade on concessional rates, grants and assistance, market access for Bangladeshi products and easier visa regime. This position is subject to examination and empirical verification as it is not quantifiable by establishing relationship between India's contribution to Bangladesh and GDP growth of Bangladesh. Because it has been claimed by the Bangladeshi analysts that country's farmers, garments trade, remittances from migrant workers, entrepreneurs and people's participation have attributed to the sharp rise in GDP growth of Bangladesh in the last decade.

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A Research Note on
MULTICULTURALISM IN INDIAN CULTURE: BASE OF THE COHESIVE INDIAN POLITY

Purnima Singh*

The question is – why India survives with 'unity in diversity'? The answer lies in the Indian cultural heritage that embrace diversities. The present note intends to underline the tenets of multiculturalism in Indian culture. It invites debate on the issue. Indian culture has emanated from our ancient civilisation that was nurtured by our great sages and philosophers, whose wisdom and postulations have enriched cultural ethos of India. With the passage of time, Indian culture incorporated the traits of invadors and amalgamated different racial and linguistic stocks to emerge as a cohesive society with the doctrine of "सर्वे भवन्तु सुखिना सर्वे सन्तु निरामया:" The Vedic credo of "वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्", imbibed in the Indian culture, has embraced the multiculturalism through the ages, reflected in the verse of Rigveda itself, "सह गच्छध्वं सह बदध्वं सं वो मनांसि जानताम, देवभागं यथापूर्वे संजानाना उपासते।" (O human being, walk united, speak united, your mind should think united, as your ancestors accepted their parts united so you should also accept your parts united.) The position can be fortified with the argument that modern western philosophy propagates the individual centric theories like, 'survival of the fittest' and 'greatest good of greatest number' whereas Indian counterparts have laid more stress on communitarianism and collective good. Gandhi's idea of *sarvoday* and Deen Dayal's *antyoday* are probably the best exponents of this Indian school of thought.

The western concept of Neo-liberalism believes in the primacy of the 'spontaneous order' of human relationships which is exemplified in the free market system. This school of thought focuses mainly on the materialistic development of

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individual while our's is completely based on achieving the right balance between materialism and spiritualism. Therefore India's essential spiritualism often finds mention in the *Vishnu Purana,* something that reflects well on the wealth of our universally acknowledged cultural heritage. अत्रापि भारत श्रेष्ठम जम्बूद्वीपे महामुने। तो हि कर्म भूरेबा ह्यतोअन्या भोगभूमय:।। (In the *Jambudweep* also, *Bharatvarsha* is the supreme because this is *karmabhoomi.)* The growing threat to multiculturalism in western culture is due to the obsession of the neoliberals with unlimited individual liberty, lambasting the interests of the society. In India much more weightage is given to communitarianism which enables enumerable cultures and traditions to flourish under the one roof, side by side. In addition to it, the spirit of 'integral humanism' coursing through our veins acts as yet another pillar of multiculturalism because Indian cultural heritage nurtures the seeds of tolerance and accommodation in every man.

When Lord Macaulay toured the length and breadth of India, he made one apt observation, 'the cultural heritage of this country is so strong that you cannot rule it unless you destroy its spiritual heritage'. Indian culture calls for love for humanity, compassion and an urge to do good for all. Golwalkar (*Guruji*) emphatically said, "मातृभूमि की भक्ति दो प्रकार से होती है – एक, उसकी धूल माथे पर लगाकर और दूसरे, मातृभूमि की चिंता में तल्लीन रहने से।" Indian culture has been beautifully adorned with the efforts and sacrifices of our saints. They are actual creators and perpetuators of Indian cultural traditions. They have taught us the lessons of sacrifice, ethics, morality and tolerance. Their thoughts are holistic in nature. They considered themselves not only a part of a certain community or society, but of the whole universe and for the mankind. They imparted the lessons of identification, of individualism and universalism for us. They worked for the welfare and well being of the whole universe. Their broad thoughts are the source of India's tolerance and the key to integrate peacefully with each other. In Indian culture, we have given different names to the supreme reality. Gandhi the carrier of Indian culture once said, 'Let the winds come from all sides but let me not be blown away by them.'

The Rig- Veda says, "एकम् सद् विप्रः बहुधा वदन्ति", i.e. the supreme existence is one, but scholars have described it in various ways. Different sects worship the same God, just through different names. Ramkrishna Pramhans used to say, 'जातो मत तातो पथ (there are as many faiths as there are many ways to God). Swami Vivekanand further propagated this view at the world religion conference in Chicago, by explaining that each devotee, whatever be his method of worship, will definitely reach the same ocean. These thoughts stress on the value of diversity. Our cultural heritage lays a lot of emphasis on virtues like truth, compassion, tolerance, accommodation, non-violence etc and completely abjures all vices. Spiritualism, the most invaluable treasure of our cultural heritage, is the doorway to an ocean of virtues. It ensures equanimity in society and inculcates tranquillity in the mind and in the soul.

A nation is as good as its citizens. Therefore, if the individuals are virtuous, definitely the nation will reach its pinnacle of success. Therefore, spirituality is the foundation on which a nation and its unity rests. It is clear that multiculturalism and spirituality are intertwined aspects. Spirituality bestows the spirit of accommodation due to the sole reason that religion in India is not associated with creeds and dogmas rather, it stands for dharma, which means to hold or sustain 'just'. Thus, religion is a way of life and if we comprehend this wider perspective, there is no question of any rift due to religion. Instead it strengthens multiculturalism by continuously reminding us that we are headed towards a common goal, through different paths. Different religions may have different customs and may prescribe different ways to reach the same common goal, i.e. the light of truth. Our cultural heritage lays a lot of emphasis on communitarianism which further strengthens multiculturalism. In the present age, when the world is steadily moving towards the twin concept of 'global village' and 'global citizenship', it is already ingrained in Indian culture in which communitarian view of life accepted.

Our constitutional rights, democratic ethics and above all our spirituality are the guardians of this prized diversity. One should attempt to examine the foundations of multiculturalism embedded and intricately woven in the Indian culture since ages. Multiculturalism in India involves settlement of conflicts through assimilation of diverse cultural traits. The conflict situations among diverse ethnical groups have been driven by sharp economic and social inequalities both in past and contemporary societies. However, the plurality of India has been maintained and different cultural groups have lived together for thousands of years. This continuity of coexistence despite conflicts is a typical trait of synthesis of cultures, religions and languages.

There have been numerous attempts by Indian governments to promote multiculturalism in India through public policy such as teaching in national language as well as in mother-tongue, exemptions from dress codes in public laws etc. Efforts have also been made to move beyond conflict resolution to conflict avoidance. Finally, all these ethos of Indian culture makes an urgent imperative to undertake a serious and comprehensive research to understand Indian polity vis-a-vis Indian culture.

Hindi Section

हिन्दी प्रभाग

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प्राचीन भारत में नगर नियोजन : पर्यावरण संरक्षा के संदर्भ में एक अध्ययन

प्रवीण चंद्र*

सार संक्षेप

अठारहवीं शताब्दी के उत्तरार्ध से ही विश्व भर के विद्वान प्राचीन भारतीय वास्तु विज्ञान की समीक्षा कर रहे हैं। प्राचीन भारतीय वास्तुकला या नगर नियोजन आज भी उत्तम माना जाता है। आज हम पर्यावरण ह्रास की त्रासदी से जूझ रहे हैं तथा विकास के नाम पर पर्यावरणीय संतुलन को बिगाड़ते चले जा रहे हैं। शहरीकरण की दौड़ में आगे निकलने की होड़ में हम कंक्रीट का जंगल बनाकर प्रकृति को नष्ट करते जा रहे हैं। यद्यपि इक्कीसवीं सदी में आकर वैश्विक प्रयासों एवं दबावों के कारण पर्यावरण संरक्षा को ध्यान में रखकर कुछ नगर नियोजन से संबंधित नीतियां बन तो रहीं हैं पर उनसे वांछित सफलता नहीं मिल रही है। विश टाउन, ग्रीन टाउन आदि के नाम पर महानगरों में भवन खड़े कर दिए जा रहे हैं, परन्तु ये पर्यावरण संरक्षा की दृष्टिकोण से पर्याप्त नहीं हैं। ऐसे में आज यह अत्यंत समीचीन प्रतीत हो रहा है कि हम अपने अतीत में झांकें और प्राचीन भारतीय नगर नियोजन से सीख लें। इसी वैचारिक पृष्ठभूमि में प्रस्तुत आलेख प्राचीन भारत के नगर नियोजन में पर्यावरण संरक्षा के तत्वों को चिह्नित करने तथा वर्तमान समय में उनकी ग्राह्यता की संभावनाओं पर प्रकश डालने का प्रयास करता है।

विषयसूचक पदावली – सिंधु घाटी सभ्यता, मौर्यकाल, अर्थशास्त्र, कौटिल्य, पाटलीपुत्र, पर्यावरण, नगर-नियोजन

भूमिका

प्रचीन भारतीय वास्तुकला एवं नगर नियोजन पर वैज्ञानिक दृष्टिकोण से पश्चिमी वास्तुशास्त्रियों द्वारा परीक्षण का सूत्रपात अठारहवीं शताब्दी के उत्तरार्ध में हो चुका था। अंग्रेजों द्वारा इनके अध्ययन पर बल देने के पीछे मुख्य उददेश्य बेहतर शासन एवं नियंत्रण के लिए भारतीय संस्कृति को समझना था। (Dutta: 1977) की मान्यता है कि पाश्चात्य विद्वानों द्वारा प्रचीन भारतीय वास्तुकला एवं नगर नियोजन की पर्याप्त सराहना के बावजूद कुछ भारतीय पुरातात्विक विद्वानों ने इस विषय को अनदेखा किया है जबकि फ्रांस, जर्मनी आदि यूरोपीय देशों के विद्वानों ने इण्डॉलोजी में गहरी रुचि दिखाई है। दत्त के शब्दों में, "Many of the Western scholars

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working in this field of ancient Indian town planning and architecture genuinely felt that it was also worthy enough for an in-depth study and that all those historical monuments which stand as a testimony to these texts should be intrinsically preserved and analyzed." (Ibid.)

प्राचीन भारतीय नगर नियोजन की शुरूआत 2500 ई.पू. ही हो चुकी थी। हम पाते हैं कि उस समय भवनों के प्रतिमान एवं प्रकार, नगरों के स्वरूप, वास्तुकला आदि अत्यंत विविध एवं समृद्ध थे जिन्हें दो स्रोतों के आलोक में देखा जा सकता है – पहला, समस्त भारत में उपलब्ध भग्नावशेषों एवं धरोहरों के प्रत्यक्ष अवलोकन से जो शानदार नगर नियोजन एवं वास्तुकला के प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण हैं। ये मोनुमेंन्ट्स किसी एक काल के नहीं हैं अपितु 2500 ई.पू. से लेकर सातवीं शताब्दी तक के विभिन्न वंशों के शासकों तथा सभ्यताओं के हैं। दूसरा विविध साहित्यों के अध्ययन से जो संस्कृत भाषा में लिखे गए जैसे 'वास्तुशास्त्र' या 'शिल्पशास्त्र' तथा विदेशी पर्यटकों के वृतान्तों जैसे ह्वेन सांग, फाह्यान, मेगास्थनीज आदि के यात्रा वृतांतों से ज्ञात होता है।

इतना ही नहीं प्राचीन भारतीय नगर नियोजन में मानवीय आदर्शों एवं नैतिकता का भी समावेश दृष्टिगोचर होता है जो मानव जीवन को उत्तम बनाने में सहायक हैं। मानव जीवन को समृद्ध रखने हेतु नगर नियोजन में भवनों के स्थान, दिशा एवं प्रकृति की समझ भी दिखती है। भारत में वर्णाश्रम धर्म द्वारा सामाजिक स्तरीकरण तथा राज्य के कार्यों का वर्गीकरण निर्धारित होता है जिसके अनुसार समान वर्ग या वृति वाले लोगों के लिए अलग–अलग कल्स्टर का प्रावधान था जिससे आर्थिक दक्षता एवं उन्नति को सुनिश्चित किया जाता था। पात्रा (2014) लिखती हैं कि प्राचीन काल में नगरों को विभिन्न भागों में विभाजित किया जाता था जिससे नैतिक आचरण में समरूपता हो अर्थात व्यक्ति और समाज की नैतिकता धर्म पर आधारित हो। इससे व्यक्ति के चार औचित्यपूर्ण एवं मौलिक इच्छाओं को प्राप्त किया जा सकता है, जैसे – पुरुषार्थ – धर्म, अर्थ, काम एवं मोक्ष। इसी आलोक में जब नगर नियोजन होता था तो स्थान, पर्यावरण तथा नैतिक मूल्यों को ध्यान में रखा जाता था ताकि लोगों में टकराव की स्थिति उत्पन्न न हो तथा प्रकृति या पर्यावरण से जुड़ाव हो। इसके लिए वास्तु पुरुष मण्डल की आवश्यकता को महसूस किया जाता था (Patra: 2014)।

आर्ट ऑफ लिविंग समुदाय का भी मानना है कि प्राचीन भारतीय नगर नियोजन में महत्वपूर्ण बात यह है कि इन मोनुमेंट्स (भग्नावशेषों) में उत्तम नाली प्रवाह या जल निकासी की व्यवस्था होती थी। प्राचीन भारतीय शहरों में कचरा संग्रह तथा निष्पादन की उत्तम व्यवस्था थी साथ ही प्रत्येक घर में निजी शौचालयों का भी प्रावधान था। आज के इंजीनियर भी सदियों पूर्व के बने इन शहरों में मल प्रवाह या सीवरेज व्यवस्था को देखकर अचंभित रह जाते हैं। प्राचीन भारतीय वास्तुकला में उत्तम नियोजित शहरों का आवासन एवं शौचालयों की व्यवस्था उस काल में विश्व के किसी भी कोने में नहीं थे (Art of living)।

प्राचीन भारतीय सभ्यताओं में नगर नियोजन

यहां हम सिंधु घाटी सभ्यता एवं मगध के मौर्य कालीन शासन के दौरान खासकर कौटिल्य के अर्थशास्त्र के आधार पर नगर नियोजनों की चर्चा करेंगे।

सिंधु घाटी में नगर नियोजन – प्रचीन भारत की उन्नत सभ्यताओं में सिंधु घाटी सभ्यता में मोहन जो दाड़ो आदि प्रमुख हैं। सिंधु घाटी सभ्यता में नगरों का काफी विकास हुआ जो अपने स्थान पर सैकड़ों वर्षों तक स्थित रहे साथ ही उनमें आकार एवं घनत्व की दृष्टि से उत्तरोत्तर वृद्धि भी होती रही। सभी नगर आपस में व्यापार, आर्थिक गतिविधियों, धार्मिक विश्वासों एवं सामाजिक संबंधों से जुड़े थे। प्रत्येक नगर कृषि भूमि, जलाशयों, नदियों एवं जंगलों से घिरे होते थे। देहाती समुदाय, मछुआरे एवं शिकारी समुदाय के लोग नगरों के चारों ओर निवास करते थे। उन नगरों को कई श्रेणियों में विभाजित किया जाता था – जैसे दण्डका, सर्वथोभद्र, नंन्दियाव्रत, पद्मका, स्वास्तिका, परस्तर, कर्मुका और चतुर्मुख। इन नगरों का वर्गीकरण उनके आकार एवं विस्तार के आधार पर किया जाता था। इन नगरों की सड़कें और गलियां योजना के अनुसार बनायी जाती थीं तथा वे एक-दूसरे को समकोण पर काटती थीं। आमतौर पर नगरों में प्रवेश का द्वार पूर्व की ओर होता था।

इन नगरों में जल निकासी की उत्तम व्यवस्था थी। सड़कों के किनारों पर नालियां होती थीं जो ऊपर से ढंकी होती थी। इनसे घरों का गंदा पानी नगर के मुख्य नाले में मिलाया जाता था। नालियों के निर्माण में मुख्यत: ईंटों का प्रयोग किया जाता था। कहीं-कहीं पर चूने और जिप्सम का भी प्रयोग होता था। भवनों के निर्माण में पक्की ईंटों का प्रयोग होता था। कहीं-कहीं कच्ची ईंटों का भी प्रयोग होता था, जैसे – कालीबंगा और रंगपुर में कच्चे ईंटों का प्रयोग हुआ था।

सिंधु सभ्यता के नगरों में कुछ सार्वजनिक स्थल भी बनाए जाते थे, जैसे – सार्वजनिक स्नानगृह, अन्नागार आदि। उल्लेखनीय है कि मोहन जो दाड़ो अपने विशाल स्नानागार एवं अन्नागार के लिए प्रसिद्ध था। अन्नागार की लम्बाई 45.71 मी. तथा चौड़ाई 15.3 मी. होता था। कई बार छोटे अन्नागार भी पाए गए जिनकी लम्बाई 15.23 मी. तथा चौड़ाई 6.9 मी. होता था। इन नगरों में बड़े आकार के भवन के अवशेष मिले हैं जिनमें 30 कमरे होते थे तथा कई ऐसे भवन दोमंजिले भी होते थे। नगरों में स्वच्छता और सफाई का विशेष ख्याल रखा जाता था जिसके लिए भवनों एवं घरों के मुख्य द्वार सड़क की ओर नहीं खोले जाते थे बल्कि पीछे की ओर से खुलते थे।

मौर्य साम्राज्य में मगध की नगर योजना – मौर्य साम्राज्य की राजधानी पाटलिपुत्र (जहां आज का पटना स्थित है) में थी। इस नगर का विवरण कौटिल्य के अर्थशास्त्र के अनुरूप पाए गए तथा इसका विवरण मेगास्थनीज सहित फाह्यान और ह्वेन सांग के वृतांतों में मिलता है। घोष का मानना है कि पाटलिपुत्र का उल्लेख महापरिनिव्वानसुत में पुटट्भेदन के रूप में किया गया। (Ghose:1990, p. 46)।

मेगास्थनीज ने अपने ग्रंथ 'इण्डिका' में पाटलिपुत्र नगर के विषय में लिखा है – "भारत का सबसे बड़ा नगर वह है जिसे पालिब्रोथा (पाटलिपुत्र) कहते हैं। नगर की लम्बाई 80 स्टेडिया

(लगभग 15 किमी.) है तथा चौड़ाई 15 स्टेडिया (लगभग 3 किमी.) है। इसके चारों तरफ एक खाई है। जो 600 फुट (लगभग 185 मीटर) चौड़ी तथा 30 फुट (लगभग 9 मीटर) गहरी है। नगर के चारों तरफ लकड़ी की बनी हुई ऊँची रक्षा-प्राचीर है। इसमें 570 बुर्ज तथा 64 द्वार हैं।" (Dutt: 1977 p. 323)।

नगर-नियोजन के संबंध में कौटिल्य के अर्थशास्त्र में भी रोचक वर्णन मिलते हैं। इस ग्रंथ के अनुसार राजधानी की रक्षा के लिए प्राचीर या प्रकार के बाहर एक-दूसरे के समानान्तर तीन परिखाएँ (खाइयाँ) होनी चाहिए। प्रत्येक को पास की खाई से एक दण्ड (2 मीटर) दूर होनी चाहिए। इन तीन परिखाओं की चौड़ाई क्रमशः 14, 12 एवं 10 दण्ड (अर्थात् क्रमशः 25.6 मीटर, 22 मीटर तथा 18.30 मीटर) निर्धारित की गई है। खाइयों के किनारों को ईंटों अथवा पत्थरों द्वारा पक्का किया जाता था तथा सबसे भीतरी खाई से 4 दण्ड (लगभग 7.3 मीटर) की दूरी पर प्राकार (रक्षा-प्राचीर) का निर्माण किया जाता था। उसकी चौड़ाई 5 से 10 मीटर तथा ऊँचाई उससे दुगुनी होती थी। प्राकार-निर्माण में ईंटों तथा प्रस्तरों का विधान था तथा इसका ऊपरी छोर 5.50 मीटर से 11 मीटर चौड़ा होता था जिस पर एक रथ आसानी से दौड़ सकता था। प्राकार के ऊपर निर्मित इस मार्ग को परवर्त साहित्य में 'देवपथ' कहा गया है। इस प्रकार रक्षा-प्राचीर में आवश्यकता के अनुरूप चार से सोलह द्वारों का प्रावधान रहता था, परन्तु इनमें से ब्राह्म, ऐन्द्र, याम्य या सेनापत्य नामक चार द्वार प्रमुख थे (Shamasastry: 1915)। अर्थशास्त्र में निर्देशित है कि रक्षा-प्राचीर अत्यंत दृढ़ होनी चाहिए।

मेगास्थनीज ने जिस पाटलिपुत्र का वर्णन प्रस्तुत किया है, उसकी पुष्टि आधुनिक पटना के समीप बुलन्दीबाग नामक स्थल की 1915-16 तथा 1923 ई. में डॉ. डी.वी. स्पूनर द्वारा संपादित पुरातात्त्विक उत्खननों से होती है। बुलन्दीबाग में नगर के परकोटे अथवा शाल-प्राकार के अवशेष 450 फीट लम्बाई तक पाए गए हैं। वास्तव में बुलन्दीबाग के उत्खनन से यह सिद्ध हो गया है कि मौर्यकालीन राजधानी-नगर पाटलिपुत्र की रक्षा-प्राचीर काष्ठ-निर्मित थी जहाँ काष्ठ-निर्मित दीवार तथा खण्डित काष्ठ-स्तम्भ प्राप्त हुए हैं जो मोटे लट्ठों से बनाई गई थी और एक-दूसरे के समानान्तर पूर्व दिशा में गई थी। इस शहतीर के लट्ठों के नीचे कंकरीट से निर्मित सुदृढ़ फर्श पाया गया है जिसका विस्तार पूर्व की ओर 350 फुट तक देखा गया है। 1923 ई. में इस सुदृढ़ कंकरीले फर्श के पूर्व सिरे पर काष्ठ-प्राचीर के अवशेष पुनः मिले हैं। इस स्थान पर लगभग साढ़े तीन से चार मीटर लम्बे सागौन की लकड़ी के मोटे पटरों को रेलवे स्लीपर की भाँति बिछाया हुआ है। इस काष्ठ-शहतीरों की चौड़ाई 10" तथा लम्बाई 12-13' पाई गई है। इसके दोनों सिरों पर चूले काटकर उसी प्रकार लगभग पौने तीन मीटर लम्बाई के पटरों को खाई के दीवार के सहारे खड़ा किया गया है तथा इन खड़े पटरों को आपस में बाँधने के लिए लकड़ी तथा लोहे की आड़ी पट्टियों का प्रयोग किया गया है (Upadhyay: 2016)। कई विद्वानों का मत है कि भवनों में बने रास्तों के ऊपर लकड़ी या शहतीरों से बने छत पर कोटे की भित्ति के अन्दर बनाया गया गुप्त मार्ग रहा होगा। जितनी गहराई से ये काष्ठ निर्मित अवशेष प्राप्त हुए हैं, उससे यह स्पष्ट प्रमाणित होता है कि ये अवशेष पाटलिपुत्र के चारों तरफ बनी रक्षा-प्राचीर तथा चन्द्रगुप्त मौर्य के राजप्रासाद का ही भाग है (GoI: 1916, p. 76)। यथार्थ

रूप में बुलन्दीबाग स्थान पर प्राप्त काष्ठ-निर्मित दीवार एवं खण्डित काष्ठ-स्तम्भ के अवशेष नगर-वास्तुकला तथा मौर्यकालीन नगरनियोजन की श्रेष्ठता को इंगित करते हैं।

प्राचीन नगर नियोजन में पर्यावरण संरक्षा

वर्तमान समय में खासकर भवन निर्माण एवं नगर नियोजन में पर्यावरण संरक्षा के उपायों में सफाई एवं स्वच्छता, मल-जल निकासी हेतु सुरक्षित मूलभूत संरचनाएं, वृक्षादि या हरित वातावरण की व्यवस्था, वर्षा जल संग्रह, शौचालयों की उपलब्धता, कूड़ा-कचरा प्रबंधन तथा वातायनों का प्रावधान आदि प्रमुख उपाय माने जा रहे हैं। घर से लेकर सड़कों की सफाई, कचरे का निष्पादन एवं रिसाइकलिंग आदि को अधिक महत्व दिया जा रहा है। वर्मा (2019) ने पाया है कि पर्यावरण संरक्षा से संबंधित प्राचीन भारतीय नगर योजना में भवनों के निर्माण, कचरा फेंकने के स्थानों तथा निष्पादन विधि की व्यवस्था कौटिल्य ने अपने अर्थशास्त्र में विस्तार से किया है। इसके अतिरिक्त प्राचीन भारतीय धार्मिक ग्रंथों एवं अर्थशास्त्र में इन प्रावधानों के उल्लंघन पर पर्याप्त दण्ड की व्यवस्था की गई थी। राजा के ऊपर पर्यावरण संरक्षा के कई उपायों की व्यवस्था करने तथा उसका पालन करवाने की जिम्मेवारी दी गई थी। वर्मा का मत है कि हमारी प्राचीन राज व्यवस्था पर्यावरण संरक्षा के प्रति पर्याप्त सचेत रही है। इसके लिए न केवल कठोर कानून और दण्ड व्यवस्था का प्रावधान किया गया था बल्कि आमजन की दैनिक गतिविधियों से भी जोड़ा गया था। पौराणिक धर्म ग्रन्थों, जैसे - वेद, पुराणों तथा महाकाव्यों में पर्यावरण संरक्षा के उपायों की चर्चा है। ऋगवेद में इश स्तूति के साथ प्रकृति की पूजा के भी प्रमाण मिलते हैं। उपनिषदों और पुराणों में वर्णित कर्मकाण्डों में लोगों को पर्यावरण की संरक्षा के प्रति सचेत रखा गया है। उदाहरणार्थ - गरूड़ पुराण में वनस्पतियों को नष्ट करना तथा हरे-भरे पेड़-पौधों को काटना आदि पाप की श्रेणी में रखा गया है। पर्यावरण क्षरण को धर्म से जोड़कर लोगों के दैनिक जीवन में आवश्यक बनाया जाता था। राजा और धर्मगुरुओं द्वारा लोगों से इनका पालन करवाया जाता था। कौटिल्य के चिरप्रतिष्ठित राजनीतिक ग्रन्थ 'अर्थशास्त्र' में पर्यावरण संरक्षा के विभिन्न आयामों पर कई वैधानिक प्रावधान और राजा पर उसके पालन करवाने की जिम्मेवारी वर्णित हैं। कौटल्य ने राजा पर बंजर शुष्क भूमि को वनस्पति लगाकर संरक्षित करने, वनों, जलाशयों, नदियों तथा खनिज संपदा की संरक्षा की जिम्मेवारी दी गई थी। अर्थशास्त्र के खण्ड II/1/39 और II/2/5-7 में जंगली जानवरों और जंगल के उत्पादों की संरक्षा के उपाय वर्णित हैं। इन प्रावधानों के उल्लंघन पर दण्ड के प्रावधान किए गए हैं (Verma: 2019)।

नगर नियोजन तथा आम लोगों के व्यवहार की बात करें तो भी कौटिल्य सजग नजर आते हैं। आवासीय क्षेत्रों में उचित सीवरेज, कचरा प्रबंधन, जल संसाधन, महिलाओं की प्रसूति के लिए जल संग्रह (खण्ड II/8/6) आदि का पालन करवाना राजा की जिम्मेवारी थी। अर्थशास्त्र के खण्ड II/36/26 में इनके उल्लंघन पर दण्ड के प्रावधान हैं। खण्ड IV/3/1 में आपदाओं का प्रबंधन और वर्गीकरण किया गया है। आठ प्रकार की दैविक आपदाओं का विवरण है, जैसे - दावानल, बाढ़, महामारी, दुर्भिक्ष, चूहों, जंगली जानवरों, सर्पों आदि का प्रकोप तथा बुरी आत्माओं का प्रकोप। राजा को इन आपदाओं से निपटने के लिए पदाधिकारियों की व्यवस्था

करने का दायित्व दिया गया (Ibid.)। इसके अतिरिक्त विभिन्न पुराणों (यथा – शिव पुराण, अग्नि पुराण, विष्णु पुराण, गरूड़ पुराण), मनुस्मृति, पंचतंत्र, महाभारत, रघुवंशम्, यजुर्वेद आदि में प्रकृति (पर्यावरण) के प्रति मानवीय चेतना को सजग रखा गया है। अशोक के पांचवें स्तंभ पर भी पर्यावरण संरक्षा के नियमों की चर्चा मिलती है (भारद्वाजः 2017)।

निष्कर्ष

इस प्रकार हम देखते हैं कि प्राचीन भारत में 2500 ई.पू. से सातवीं शताब्दी के बीच जो नगर नियोजन देखने को मिलता है वह आज के नागरिक एवं मानकों पर खरा उतरता है। इसके अतिरिक्त मौर्यकाल में नगर नियोजन और भी विकसित हुआ। कौटिल्य के अर्थशास्त्र, जिसका 300 ई.पू. के बाद के लगभग सभी शासकों ने अनुसरण किया, में पर्यावरण संरक्षा को नगर योजना में महत्व दिया गया है। वनस्पति, जैविक विविधता तथा जंगली जानवरों की संरक्षा से लेकर आवासीय व्यवस्था, कचरा प्रबंधन, जल संरक्षण, स्वच्छता तथा प्राकृतिक आपदाओं से निपटने तक के प्रावधान मिलते हैं। इतना ही नहीं उन प्रावधानों के उल्लंघन पर पर्याप्त दण्ड के भी विधान किए गए थे। आज हमारे नीति निर्माताओं को प्रचीन नगर नियोजनों को बारीकी से अध्ययन कर नगर नियोजन की नीतियां बनानी चाहिए और पहले से बसे नगरों में उसी के अनुरूप सुधार के उपाय करने चाहिए न कि स्मार्ट सिटी के नाम पर केवल धन व्यय कर आश्वस्त हो जाना चाहिए।

टिप्पणी एवं संदर्भ

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सर्वोदय दर्शन में महिला सशक्तिकरण : क्या वर्तमान परिस्थितियों में यह प्रासंगिक है?

संजय कुमार सिंह*

सार संक्षेप

महात्मा गाँधी, आचार्य विनोबा भावे तथा जयप्रकाश नारायण के बौधिक गर्भ से उदित सर्वोदय दर्शन एक अनूठा दर्शन भले ही लोकतांत्रिक राजनीति के विकल्प के रूप में तथा लागू करने में सर्वथा अनुपयुक्त लगता हो फिर भी न्यायपूर्ण समाज की स्थापना में तथा महिला सशक्तिकरण की दिशा में यह प्रासंगिक एवं समीचीन लगता है। इसी उपकल्पना के आधार पर प्रस्तुत आलेख सर्वोदय दर्शन में महिला सशक्तिकरण के वर्तमान अवधारणाओं के तत्व ढूंढ़ने का एक छोटा प्रयास किया गया है। बदली हुई परिस्थितियों में कुछ बदलावों के साथ अपनाने में ही इसकी सार्थकता निहित है। पंचायतीराज संस्थाएं महिला सशक्तिकरण के लक्ष्यों को प्राप्त कराने में सहायक हो सकती है। इसके लिए पंचायतीराज संस्थाओं को वृहद स्तरीय राजनीति की विकृतियों से दूर रहकर स्वावलंबी होकर लोगों की व्यापक भागीदारी सुनिश्चित करनी होगी।

विषयसूचक पदावली – सर्वोदय, महिला सशक्तिकरण, ब्रह्म विद्या मंदिर, समानता, सहभागिता

लोकतंत्र की विकृतियों एवं व्यवहारिक दोषों के आलोक में भारतीय दर्शन की कड़ी में सर्वोदय दर्शन का प्रतिपादन हुआ। सर्वोदय दर्शन के प्रमुख प्रणेताओं में गाँधी, विनोबा एवं जयप्रकाश का नाम आता है। इस दर्शन में राजनीति एवं समाज के सभी पक्षों पर आदर्शों का विवेचन किया गया है जिसमें महिला सशक्तिकरण के तत्वों का भी परिलक्षण होता है। दूसरी ओर विश्व की परिस्थितियां बदल रही हैं जिसमें महिलाओं की प्रस्थिति में बदलाव तो आया परन्तु स्वत:स्फूर्त सार्वजनिक भूमिकाओं में उनकी प्रस्थिति में वांछित परिवर्तन नहीं आया। इन्हीं विन्दुओं के आलोक में एक महत्वपूर्ण प्रश्न उठता है कि क्या सर्वोदय में प्रतिपादित महिला सशक्तिकरण संबंधी विचार वर्तमान परिस्थितियों में प्रासंगिक है? इसी प्रश्न के आलोक में प्रस्तुत आलेख महिला सशक्तिकरण के सर्वोदयी दर्शन का वर्तमान परिस्थितियों में प्रासंगिकता की समीक्षा करता है। इस प्रकार प्रस्तुत आलेख तीन खण्डों में विभाजित है – पहला, सर्वोदय एवं महिला सशक्तिकरण की अवधारणाओं की समीक्षा, दूसरा सर्वोदय दर्शन में महिला सशक्तिकरण के तत्वों

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का परीक्षण तथा तीसरा सर्वोदयी महिला सशक्तिकरण की वर्तमान परिस्थितियों में प्रासंगिकता के विवेचन पर आधारित है।

अवधारणात्मक समीक्षा

सर्वोदयः सर्वोदय एक ऐसी विचारधारा है जो मार्क्सवाद, समाजवाद तथा प्रतिनिधित्वात्मक लोकतांत्रिक राजनीतिक व्यवस्थाओं के विकल्प के रूप में प्रस्तुत किया गया। यद्यपि सर्वोदय दर्शन की व्यवहारिकता पर प्रश्न खड़ किए गए। अर्थात् आलोचना की गई कि सर्वोदय के आधार पर राजनीतिक व्यवस्था की स्थापना लगभग असंभव सा प्रतीत होती है।[1] परन्तु इस दर्शन से प्रभावित होकर लोकनीति की अवधारणा का प्रादुर्भाव हुआ जिस पर कई शोध सी.एस. डी.एस. (Centre for Study of Developing Societies) द्वारा किए गए हैं। यहां हम लोकनीति का विवेचन अप्रासांगिक होगा, परन्तु सर्वोदय के मूल विन्दुओं का विवेचन आवश्यक प्रतीत होता है। सर्वोदय शब्द का जन्म गाँधी जी के मस्तिष्क में जॉन रस्किन की पुस्तक *अन्टु दिस लास्ट* (Unto this Last) की प्रेरणा से आया जिसे उन्होंने अपने राजनीतिक आदर्श के आधार के रूप में अपनाया। गाँधी जी ने खुद इसे स्वीकारा है।[2] परन्तु सत्य अहिंसा के वरिष्ट कार्यकर्ता विनोबा भावे ने इस शब्द को अपने सामाजिक आन्दोलन का आधार बनाया और सभी के लिए समानता की वकालत की।

सर्वोदय एक ऐसे वर्गविहीन, जातिविहीन और शोषणमुक्त समाज की स्थापना करना चाहता है जिसमें प्रत्येक व्यक्ति एवं समूह को अपने सर्वांगीण विकास का साधन एवं समान अवसर मिलता हो। सर्वोदय के मुख्य विन्दुओं में सत्ता का विकेन्द्रीकरण, राजनीति सत्ता का उपकरण न होकर सेवा का अभिकर्ता होगा। प्रेम, भ्रातृत्व, सत्य, अहिंसा और त्याग जैसे मूल्य पर आधारित सामाजिक जीवन, दलविहीन राजनीति, समानता और स्वतंत्रता, सभी का विकास, निजी संपत्ति की समाप्ति आदि प्रमुख हैं। इसे कार्यरूप में उपयोग के लिए पारिश्रमिक की समानता, संघर्ष की जगह सहकारिता, साधनों की शुद्धता, ट्रस्टीशिप अर्थात् व्यक्तिगत शक्ति और संपत्ति का सार्वजनिक उपयोग तथा सत्ता का पूर्ण विकेन्द्रीकरण जो ग्राम स्वराज से प्राप्त होगा।[3]

जहां तक महिलाओं पर सर्वोदयी विचार का प्रश्न है, हमें महात्मा गाँधी, जयप्रकाश एवं बिनोवा भावे के विचारों पर दृष्टि डालनी होगी। गाँधी ने कहा कि महिलाओं का राजनीतिक, आर्थिक, और सामाजिक क्षेत्रों में योगदान से ही राष्ट्र का उद्धार हो सकता है। महिलाओं की अपार शक्ति पर गाँधी का पूर्ण विश्वास था। इसीलिए उन्होंने कहा कि महिलाएं अहिंसक राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन का बीड़ा उठा सकती हैं। उनके विचार में महिलाएं भी आर्थिक गतिविधियों में भाग ले सकती हैं और अपने परिवार को आर्थिक सहायता पहुंचा सकती हैं। तत्कालीन सामाजिक परिदृश्य में महिलायें कताई-बुनाई का काम कर सकती हैं साथ ही वे सम्प्रदायवाद, जातिवाद और छुआछूत मिटाने में कारगर हो सकती हैं। उनमें नेतृत्व की अद्भुत क्षमता होती है तथा उनपर राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन का भार दिया जा सकता है। सर्वोदय दर्शन मशीनों कम उपयोग पर बल देता है। इसलिए महिलाओं सहित सभी को उत्पादन हेतु शारीरिक श्रम करना चाहिए तथा उन्हें अपनी रोटी अर्जित करनी चाहिए।[4]

इस प्रकार हमने देखा कि सर्वोदय दर्शन में महिलाओं सहित सभी के लिए भी समानता, स्वतंत्रता, राजनीतिक, सामाजिक-आर्थिक क्षेत्रों में योगदान, वर्गविहीन, शोषणमुक्त तथा सार्वजनिक क्षेत्रों में व्यापक भागीदारी की वकालत की गई है।

महिला शक्तिकरण: अब एक नजर हमें इस बात पर भी डालनी होगी कि आधुनिक काल में महिला सशक्तिकरण का क्या अर्थ लिया गया है। महिलाओं को पारिवारिक, सामाजिक तथा राजनैतिक स्तरों पर अपनी भूमिका निभाने की क्षमता और निर्णय निर्माण प्रक्रिया में उनकी वस्तुनिष्ठ भागीदारी का सुनिश्चित होना ही महिला सशक्तिकरण है।[5] महिला सशक्तिकरण की अवधारणा जितनी सरल है उतना ही जटिल भी। कुछ विद्वानों ने महिलाओं की संसाधनों तक पहुंच को, तो कुछ ने स्वायतता को, तो कुछ ने भौतिक बेहतरी को तथा कुछ ने निर्णय निर्माण में उनकी वास्तविक भागीदारी को, तो कुछ ने विकास को सशक्तिकरण माना है।[6] कई बार देश, काल, संदर्भ एवं परिस्थितियों के अनुरूप महिला सशक्तिकरण की परिभाषा भी बदल जाती है।

भारतीय संदर्भ में देखा जाए तो महिलाएं सदियों से अभिवंचना, प्रताड़ना तथा असमानता की शिकार रही हैं। भारतीय समाज ने उनकी इस स्थिति को संस्थागत परम्पराओं से बरकरार रखा है। फलस्वरूप महिलाओं में असमानता सहन करने, सामाजिक एवं सार्वजनिक डोमेन में भूमिकाएं निभाने में अक्षमता तथा विचारधारा एवं सामाजिक सोच पर नियंत्रण का अभाव जैसे लक्षणों से ग्रसित रही हैं। वे लिंग भेद इस प्रकार महिलाओं को अभिवंचना के संस्थागत तरीकों से मुक्त होना यानि स्वतंत्रता प्राप्त हो, उनमें सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में भूमिकाएं निभाने की क्षमताओं का विकास हो तथा समाज की विचारधारा एवं सोच पर नियंत्रण[7] हो, तो महिलाएं स्वत: सशक्त होगी। हमने देखा कि कानूनी और राजनीतिक-प्रशासनिक प्रावधान पर्याप्त हो गए हैं। अब महिलाओं को सामाजिक एवं सांस्कृतिक तौर पर इन प्रावधानों एवं अधिकारों का उपयोग करने की क्षमता एवं तत्परता हो साथ ही सार्वजनिक भूमिकाओं में अनुचित सामाजिक निषेधों (social taboos) का प्रतिकार करने की प्रवृति विकसित हो। सर्वाधिक महत्वपूर्ण बात यह है कि महिलाओं को राजनीतिक सहभागिता में तथा शक्ति संरचना में पर्याप्त हिस्सेदारी होगी तो उनकी सामाजिक प्रस्थिति में निश्चित सुधार होगा। सर्वोदय दर्शन में इन्हीं क्षमताओं और परिस्थितियों की वकालत की गई है।

सर्वोदय में महिला सशक्तिकरण

सर्वोदय विचारधारा के तीनों पुरोधा (गाँधी, बिनोवा एवं जयप्रकाश) महिलाओं को सशक्त करने के लिए प्रतिबद्ध रहे हैं। आचार्य विनोवा भावे ने 1959 में ब्रह्मा विद्या मंदिर की स्थापना की जिसमें महिलाओं के स्वावलंबित जीवन के लिए खेती योग्य भूमि की व्यवस्था की गई ताकि वे स्वयं खाद्य का उत्पादन कर सकें। कालान्तर में ब्रह्मा विद्या मंदिर महिलाओं का एक अंतर्राष्ट्रीय संगठन में तब्दील हो गया और महाराष्ट्र के पौनार के आश्रम में मुख्यालय बना। इस संस्था के तीन महत्वपूर्ण मूल्य निश्चित किए गए, यथा - स्वावलंबन, अहिंसा तथा लोकसेवा और खाद्य उत्पादन तथा उपभोग के प्रयोग किए गए। चूंकि विनोवा जी भूदान यज्ञ से व्यापक रूप से जुड़े

थे इसलिए उन्होंने खेती-बाड़ी को महत्वपूर्ण स्थान दिया। उनका कहना था कि सर्वसेवा से समस्त प्राणियों की उन्नति हो सकती है। उसका व्यवहारिक रूप बहुत हद तक भूमि से संबंधित है। सैन्फोर्ड ने यह बताया है कि 1960 के दशक में महिलायें महाराष्ट्र में खेती से व्यापक रूप से जुड़ीं थीं। 8 दिसम्बर 1971 में पवनार में महिलाओं का एक अपूर्व अंतर्राष्ट्रीय सम्मेलन आयोजित हुआ जिसमें देश-विदेश से 1,500 महिलाओं ने भाग लिया। इस सम्मेलन में ब्रह्मा विद्या मंदिर द्वारा स्त्री शक्ति जागरण पर अलग से सामूहिक चर्चा की गई। जिसमें तय पाया गया कि राष्ट्र निर्माण के लिए महिलाओं में जागृति और उनका पूरा सहयोग अनिवार्य है इसके लिए उनमें शिक्षा, साफ-सफाई तथा अच्छे रहन-सहन की आवश्यकता होगी।[9] आज भी, भले ही संख्या में नगण्य हों, सर्वोदय महिला संगठन सर्वसेवा के आधार पर कार्य कर रही हैं। उदाहरणार्थ - 1 मई 2013 को गोरखपुर की सर्वोदय महिला संगठन ने मजदूरों के हित में स्थानीय प्रशासन को सम्मिलित करते हुए कार्यक्रम किए।[10] वैदिक बुक्स की विनोवा भावे द्वारा संपादित पुस्तक में यह स्पष्ट है कि विनोवा जी महिला शक्ति पर पूरा भरोसा करते थे और लिंग भेद के घोर विरोधी थे। उन्होंने बल दिया कि महिला संन्यासी आगे आए तो भारत का उत्थान निश्चित है।[11] सर्वोदय कार्यकर्ता दयामन्ती पंढारीपान्डे ने मराठी में *बा-बापुन्चे सहजीवन सनी स्त्री शक्तिचे दर्शन* पुस्तक लिखीं जिसमें महिला शक्ति और सहजीवन पर बल दिया गया है। प्रत्येक महिला को अपने पैर पर खड़ा होना चाहिए तथा उन्हें स्वयं पर विश्वास करना चाहिए तभी महिलाओं का सशक्तिकरण होगा।

दूसरे सर्वोदयी पुरोधा जयप्रकाश नारायण ने महिलाओं की स्वतंत्रता पर अधिक बल दिया। जे.पी. ने स्वतंत्रता और महिलाओं का कॉमनवेल्थ बनाना चाहते थे जिसमें राष्ट्रीय सीमाएं नहीं हों तथा सहकारिता की भावना का विकास हो। महिलाओं और पुरुषों में एकता और समानता के लिए मानवीय प्रयासों, सांस्कृतिक समरूपता एवं राज्य की सहमति का होना आवश्यक है।[12] नागेश्वर प्रसाद ने लिखा है कि जे.पी. अपने आंदोलन में पुरुषों एवं महिलाओं में समानता बरतते थे। यही कारण है कि उन्होंने 1974 के बिहार आंदोलन में छात्राओं एवं महिलाओं को संघर्ष में अवसर दिए तथा विश्वबंधुत्व और मानवता जैसे मूल्यों का प्रतिपादन किया।[13] जे.पी. किसी भी वाद से ज्यादा जनता की शक्ति में विश्वास करते थे इसलिए उन्होंने स्त्री-पुरुष समानता और जनसत्ता के मूल्य की प्राप्ति हेतु मार्क्सवाद, समाजवाद के रास्ते सर्वोदय तक की वैचारिक यात्रा की।[14]

सर्वोदय विचारधारा के जनक महात्मा गाँधी ने कहा कि महिलाओं को परम्पराओं और सामाजिक नियमों के तहत दबाया गया है तथा उन्हें दास बनाकर रखा गया। इसलिए इनके बीच समानता के सामाजिक नियम बनने चाहिएं। महिलाओं को अपनी प्रस्थिति को प्राप्त करना चाहिए तथा पुरुष के बराबर भूमिकाएं निभानी चाहिए। परिवार में गृहणियों को गुड़िया नहीं अपितु उन्हें सम्मान का वातावरण मिलना चाहिए। केवल लैंगिक समानता से व्यावसायिक समानता नहीं आती, अतः बदलाव लाना चाहिए। 2 दिसम्बर 1939 के *हरिजन* अंक में लिखा कि महिलाओं को वे कर्तव्य करने चाहिए जो केवल पुरुषों का समझा जाता है क्योंकि दोनों एक-दूसरे के पूरक हैं प्रतिस्पर्द्धी नहीं। यद्यपि गाँधी जी ने माता-पिता के द्वारा तय किए गए विवाह (arranged

marriage) में विश्वास जताया, परन्तु ऐसा केवल उन युवाओं की सहमति से होने पर ही करना चाहिए।[15] इसके अतिरिक्त गाँधी जी ने पर्दा प्रथा की निंदा करते हुए कहा कि महिलाओं की पवित्रता पर इतना अविश्वास नहीं किया जाना चाहिए।[16] गाँधी जी दहेज प्रथा को समाप्त कर विधवा विवाह की अनुसंशा की। जनसंख्या नियंत्रण के लिए नसबन्दी का वे विरोध करते थे क्योंकि इसे वे अमानवीय मानते थे, तथा इसके लिए उन्होंने ब्रह्मचर्य पालन की सलाह दी।

समीक्षात्मक टिप्पणी

उपरोक्त विवेचन से ज्ञात होता है कि वर्तमान वैज्ञानिक युग में गठित महिला सशक्तिकरण के मानक सर्वोदयी दर्शन में दृष्टिगोचर हैं। परन्तु सर्वोदय के मानक आज के युग में कार्यान्वित करना असंभव सा भले ही लगता हो परन्तु महिलाओं के संदर्भ में इस विचार के मूल्य आज भी स्पृहणीय है। परन्तु बदली हुई परिस्थितियों में कुछ बदलावों के साथ अपनाने में ही इसकी सार्थकता निहित है। पंचायतीराज संस्थाएं महिला सशक्तिकरण के लक्ष्यों को प्राप्त कराने में सहायक हो सकती हैं। इसके लिए पंचायतीराज संस्थाओं को वृहद स्तरीय राजनीति की विकृतियों से दूर रखकर स्वावलंबन के आधार पर लोगों की व्यापक भागीदारी सुनिश्चित करनी होगी।

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बिहार में चुनावी राजनीतिः 21वीं सदी में सामाजिक समीकरण एवं विकास के संदर्भ में एक विश्लेषण

विकास कुमार*

सार संक्षेप

सामाजिक संरचना एवं विकास प्रक्रिया के बीच गहरा संबंध होता है जो लोकतांत्रिक राजनीति को उन्हीं के अनुरूप प्रभावित करता है। बिहार सहित समस्त हिन्दी पट्टी के राज्य जाति-राजनीति का केन्द्र रहे हैं। जातीय समीकरणों के रूझान समय-समय पर बदलते रहे हैं। परन्तु 21वीं सदी के प्रारंभ से ही बिहार की सामाजिक संरचना में जाति वर्गों के राजनीतिक रूझान में एक स्पष्ट बदलाव आया, जिसे कुछ विद्वानों ने 'सोशल इंजीनियरिंग'[1] का नाम दिया है। 2005 एवं 2015 के विधान सभा चुनावों के जाति वर्गों में विभाजन एवं समेकन दोनो ही दिखे। इसके अलावा बिहार के विकास का राजनीतिक मुद्दा भी इस काल में मुखर होकर सतह पर आया। इन बदलावों को चिह्नित करना यहां समीचीन प्रतीत होता है। इसी पृष्ठभूमि में प्रस्तुत आलेख बिहार की सामाजिक संरचना, विकास एवं चुनावी राजनीति के अंतः संबंधों को चिह्नित करने का प्रयास करता है।

विषयसूचक पदावली – जाति-राजनीति, परिवर्तनशील-समीकरण, विकास, आम चुनाव, बिहार

विषय प्रवेश

रूडॉल्फ एवं रूडॉल्फ ने भारतीय राजनीति के पचास वर्षों के अध्ययन में पाया है कि भारतीय लोकतंत्र के कार्यकरण में जाति की भूमिका महत्वपूर्ण रही है। पश्चिमी देशों के मानकों के अनुरूप नहीं होते हुए भी भारतीय लोकतंत्र आधुनिक रहा है। अर्थात् आधुनिक राजनीति के बावजूद परम्परागत सामाजिक व्यवस्था बनी रही और जाति लोकतांत्रिक राजनीति के एक नए अवतार के सदृश प्रभावकारी रहा। जातियों ने अपने अनौपचारिक संगठन के माध्यम से अपने राजनीतिक और सामाजिक लक्ष्य को प्राप्त करने में सफलता पाई। जाति आधारित गत्यात्मकता के तीन प्रकार हैं – भर्टिकल, हॉरिजेन्टल तथा डिफरेन्सियल। भर्टिकल के माध्यम से निम्न जातियों ने ऊँची जातियों के नेतृत्व में लाभ अर्जित किया। हॉरिजेन्टल के माध्यम से निम्न जातियों ने अपने में नेतृत्व विकसित किया तथा उत्क्रमित हुए। तीसरे के माध्यम से कई निम्न जातियों ने मिलकर

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एक बड़ा राजनीतिक धड़ा विकसित कर लिया। उत्तर प्रदेश, बिहार तथा कुछ दक्षिण भारतीय राज्य इसके उदाहरण हैं। जाति आधारित एसोशियसनल सामाजिक जीवन ने यहां के लोकतंत्र को मजबूती प्रदान किया है। यहां पश्चिमी देशों की तरह स्वैच्छिक संगठनों और दबाव समूहों की राजनीतिक भूमिका महत्वपूर्ण नहीं है।[2] साथ ही पारिवेशिकताओं को समेटते हुए भारतीय लोकतंत्र समता, स्वाधीनता और गरिमा से संबंधित उनकी सार्वभौम दावेदारियाँ पूरा करने का प्रयास भी करता है। लोकतंत्र के कामकाज और विकास को सुगम बनाने वाले पहलू किस्म-किस्म के होते हैं। इसी में से एक आवश्यक पहलू है - जाति वर्गों की राजनीतिक सहभागिता।

राजनीति और वैकासिक संस्थाएं कहीं शून्य में सक्रिय नहीं रहती। उन्हें भी समाज में अपना आधार तलाशना पड़ता है। इसके लिए वे या तो मौजूदा सांगठनिक रूपों का इस्तेमाल करते हैं, या इन रूपों को मिला-जुलाकर किसी नयी संरचना का आह्वान करती है और इस प्रकार सामाजिक आधार ग्रहण कर लेती है। स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के प्रारंभिक चरण में सवर्णों ने सत्ता के लिए जातीय गठबंधन बनाकर समाजवादियों के विचारधारात्मक व्यूह रचना को ध्वस्त कर दिया और कांग्रेस पार्टी के बैनर तले राजनीतिक सत्ता का उपयोग करने में सफल रहे।

बिहार में जातियों के राजनीतिक रूझान (2000 के पूर्व)

बिहार में जाति के माध्यम से राजनीतिक दल विशेषकर कांग्रेस पार्टी राजनीतिक गोलबंदी करने लगी जो कि स्वाभाविक था। चुनावी राजनीति में जाति और राजनीति एक-दूसरे के करीब आई। इस प्रक्रिया में जाति और राजनीति दोनों में बदलाव आया। अतः बिहार में जातियों ने चुनावी राजनीति और दलगत राजनीति से अपने को जोड़ लिया। **सवर्ण जातियाँ कांग्रेस** से और **पिछड़ी जातियाँ समाजवादी पार्टियों** से जुड़ गए। यद्यपि उसका अपवाद भी रहा। लोकतांत्रिक राजनीति में विभिन्न जातियों के बीच गठबंधन की प्रवृत्ति बढ़ी। जैसे ब्राह्मण, दलित और मुस्लिम गठजोड़ कांग्रेस के साथ प्रारंभिक चरण से जुड़ा रहा। लेकिन बिहार में राजनीति सहभागिता का विकास दलीय प्रणाली के विस्तार के साथ-साथ हुआ जिससे पिछड़ी जातियाँ भी राजनीति में सशक्त होने लगी और उनका राजनीतिकरण होने लगा।[3] इस प्रकार, चुनावी राजनीति ने जाति-अस्मिताओं को नवजीवन प्रदान कर दिया। इससे पद सोपान पर आधारित जातीय वर्चस्व बिहार में ध्वस्त हो गया। जातियों के लौकीकीकरण की प्रक्रिया तीव्र होती गई।

1990 के पश्चात् बिहार के मध्य वर्ग में पिछड़ी जातियों की हिस्सेदारी बढ़ी। बिहार में जातियों के राजनीतिकरण के कारण अब वे प्रतियोगी समूहों में परिवर्तित हो गई है। जाति आधारित अस्मिता को मजबूती मिली है तथा नवीन मध्य वर्ग के सदस्य अपनी जातियों के अस्मिता के प्रतीक बन गए हैं। प्रत्येक जाति के समृद्ध वर्ग ने जाति अस्मिता का प्रयोग अपनी स्थिति को मजबूत बनाने के लिए किया है। ग्रामीण बिहार में भूमि-संबंधों में बदलाव आया है। फलस्वरूप जमीन पर सवर्ण जातियों का एकाधिकार ध्वस्त होता जा रहा है। अब पिछड़ी जातियों में भी बड़े भूपति वर्ग का उभार हुआ है।[4] प्रारंभिक चरण में बिहार में समाज की अर्द्ध सामंती स्वरूप के कारण गाँवों में भूपति गरीबों और पिछड़ों को मतदान नहीं करने देते थे। उन दिनों प्रक्रियात्मक लोकतंत्र ठीक ढंग से संचालित नहीं हो रहा था। लेकिन आगे के वर्षों में लोकतंत्र

की समावेशी प्रकृति के कारण पिछड़ी जातियों में जागरूकता आई और उसने सवर्ण जातियों का खुलकर विरोध करना शुरू किया। अब समाज के निचले स्तर पर पड़ी जातियां राजनीति की मुख्य धारा में शामिल हो गई।

भारतीय शासन तंत्र में सामाजिक परिवर्तन के लिए जो आधारभूत तत्व निर्धारित किए गए हैं सामाजिक न्याय की धारणा उनमें सर्वाधिक महत्वपूर्ण है। सामाजिक न्याय सेवाओं और संसाधनों के न्यायोचित विभाजन, समतामूलक वितरण तथा नियमों की सामूहिक उपयोगिता पर अधिक ध्यान देता है। रामकृष्णन वेंकिटेश लिखते हैं कि सामाजिक न्याय की धारणा के अंदर समानता और स्वतंत्रता के तत्व सापेक्ष हो जाते हैं। यह सुविधा विहीन और कमजोर वर्गों को विशेष संरक्षण देने से संबंधित सिद्धांत है।[5] बिहार की राजनीति में सामाजिक न्याय के उभार के दौर में पिछड़ी जातियों के राजनीतिक सहभागिता तथा प्रतिनिधित्व में वृद्धि होने लगी। परन्तु विडम्बना यह रही कि लालू की सामाजिक न्याय की राजनीति का मुख्य लाभ यादव समुदाय के समृद्ध और कुछ ऊँची पिछड़ी जातियों को मिला। वे निम्न पिछड़ों, दलितों, महिलाओं और अल्पसंख्यकों के बेहतरी के लिए कुछ उल्लेखनीय कार्य करने में विफल रहे।

बिहार की वर्तमान राजनीति में विकास की मुखरता

सन् 2000 का विधान सभा चुनाव 21वीं सदी का पहला राज्य स्तरीय चुनाव था जिसमें राजग ने लालू परिवार के शासन को यादव जाति के वर्चस्व प्राप्त गुट का ऐसा शासन घोषित किया जो दलितों और अन्य पिछड़ी जातियों के हितों की लगातार उपेक्षा कर रहा था। लालू-राबड़ी के जंगल राज को खत्म करने और सुशासन और विकास के लिए राजग ने जनादेश मांगा क्योंकि विकास के मामले में बिहार में ठहराव आ गया था। विधि व्यवस्था की स्थिति अत्यन्त दयनीय हो गई थी। इस चुनाव में लालू प्रसाद और भाजपा-समता गठबंधन को क्रमशः 124 और 101 स्थानों पर जीत हुई।[6] चुनाव परिणामों से राजग को बहुत भारी झटका लगा। नीतीश कुमार ने सरकार बनाई परन्तु एक सप्ताह बाद उन्होंने त्यागपत्र दे दिया क्योंकि उन्हें भय था कि निर्दलीय सदस्यों और कांग्रेस को तोड़कर बहुमत जुटाकर भी स्थिर सरकार नहीं बन सकेगी। पुनः राबड़ी देवी ने सरकार बनाई। इस प्रकार राजद अपनी सत्ता बचाने में सफल रहा। परन्तु यह स्पष्ट हो गया कि आनेवाले वर्षों में सामाजिक न्याय के लालू प्रसाद के मॉडल के समक्ष चुनौतियाँ उत्पन्न होंगी और बिहार में अब विकास की अनदेखी नहीं की जा सकेगी।

सन् 2000 ई. में बिहार का विभाजन हो गया। इसके पश्चात् बिहार में समता पार्टी और जद(यू) का विलय हो गया जिससे राज्य की राजनीति में बड़ा बदलाव आया। अब भाजपा जद(यू) की छोटी सहयोगी पार्टी की भूमिका में आ गई। उधर राम विलास पासवान जद(यू) से अलग होकर लोक जनशक्ति पार्टी का गठन कर लिया। परिणामस्वरूप वोट समीकरण में उल्लेखनीय बदलाव हुए। इसी पृष्ठभूमि में 2004 का लोक सभा चुनाव सम्पन्न हुआ। इस चुनाव में बुनियादी सुविधाओं और औद्योगिक विकास के अभाव के लिए लालू राज के कुशासन को जिम्मेदार बताया गया फिर भी जद(यू) गठबंधन को 11 स्थान ही मिल पाए और राजद गठबंधन को कुल 29 स्थान मिले।

फरवरी 2005 के बिहार विधान सभा चुनाव में विकास और कानून व्यवस्था के मुद्दे को भी तरजीह मिली। चुनाव प्रचार के दौरान विकास के मुद्दे को विपक्षी दलों ने जोर-शोर से उठाया। उन्होंने लालू-राबड़ी शासन को भ्रष्टाचार, अविकास और निकम्मेपन का पर्याय माना।[7] जद(यू) नेताओं ने इस बात पर जोर दिया कि पिछड़ी जातियों की सत्ता की आड़ में लालू ने सिर्फ एक जाति के अमीर तबके को फायदा पहुंचाया है और शेष पिछड़ी जातियां हाशिए पर ही रही हैं। इसने राज्य की कानून व्यवस्था की दयनीय हालत को मीडिया में चर्चा का विषय बना दिया।[8]

लेकिन चुनाव नतीजों ने यह दिखाया कि जिन मतदाताओं ने 2004 के चुनावों में लालू यादव के दल को शानदार जीत दी थी, इस बार उन्होंने लालू के दल पर पूरा विश्वास नहीं जताया। राजद को इन चुनावों में 25.07 फीसद वोटों के साथ 75 सीटों पर जीत मिली।[9] किसी भी रूप में विचार करें तो यह स्पष्ट होता है कि राजद को इस बार नुकसान हुआ। यह वोट और सीट-दोनों ही लिहाज से राज्य के सबसे बड़े दल के रूप में उभरा, लेकिन इसे जनादेश हासिल नहीं हुआ।

जाति एवं विकास के मुद्दों की प्रबलता

पुनः अक्टूबर-नवम्बर 2005 में विधान सभा के चुनाव हुए जिसमें नीतीश कुमार के नेतृत्व में इन चुनावों में पिछड़ी जातियों में से अत्यंत पिछड़ी जातियों को अलग कर नई सोशल इंजीनियरिंग के तकनीक का सहारा लिया। चुनाव आयोजन के पूर्व ही नीतीश कुमार ने अपनी न्याय यात्राओं में बिहार के विकास का विस्तृत कार्यक्रम प्रस्तुत किया जिसे जनता का व्यापक समर्थन मिला। नये रणनीति में विकास एवं मजबूत सामाजिक आधार तैयार किया गया। नीतीश कुमार ने चुनाव अभियान में सामाजिक आधार की मजबूती के साथ ही साथ विकास कार्यक्रमों को भी प्राथमिकता के साथ चलाने पर जोर देने के लिए **विकास के साथ सामाजिक न्याय** पर जोर दिया था। चुनाव परिणामों से यह पता चला कि राजनीति में जाति की क्रियाशीलता और विकास का मुद्दा एक-दूसरे का सहचर है। सत्ता की आकांक्षा और अस्मिता के प्रति जागरूकता के साथ-साथ विकास की चाह भी महत्वपूर्ण है। क्योंकि प्रत्येक मतदाता अपने आस-पास एक ऐसा वातावरण चाहता है जिसमें उनको और उनके संतानों को बेहतर भविष्य मिले। नीतीश कुमार के एक सशक्त नेता के रूप में उभरने और विकास पुरुष की उनकी छवि ने जद(यू) गठबंधन को लाभान्वित किया।[10] विकास के साथ न्याय के नारे ने लालू-राबड़ी राज से उब चुके अलग-अलग समुदायों को एक धारा में लाने में सहायता दी। वास्तव में चुनावों में जद(यू) की जीत लालू के जड़ और विकासहीन शासन के प्रति मतदाताओं का विद्रोह था। इन्हीं परिस्थितियों में नीतीश के नेतृत्व वाले गठबंधन को सभी जातियों और समुदायों ने समर्थन दिया जिससे नवम्बर 2005 के बिहार विधान सभा चुनावों में वे शानदार जीत हासिल कर पाए। मतदाताओं पर नीतीश के व्यक्तित्व और उनके विकास के एजेंडा का आकर्षण अन्य सभी चीजों पर हावी रहा।[11]

नई सरकार ने शिक्षा और स्वास्थ्य के क्षेत्र में व्यापक सुधार के लिए पहलकदमी की जिसका सकारात्मक परिणाम आया। नीतीश कुमार के प्रथम कार्यकाल में पूंजी निवेश के लिए वातावरण बना यद्यपि अपेक्षा के अनुरूप पूंजी निवेश नहीं हो पाया। बिहार में बैंकों का जमा-ऋण की अनुपात कम ही रहा। उधर बिहार को केन्द्र का अपेक्षित सहयोग नहीं मिला। सरकार ने अपनी इच्छाशक्ति और प्रदेश के संसाधनों के आधार पर समस्याओं का निदान किया जिससे अर्थव्यवस्था तथा वित्तीय प्रबंधन को पटरी पर लाने में सफलता मिली।[12] नीतीश के नेतृत्व में बिहार में समावेशी समाज के निर्माण के लिए जो पहलकदमी हुई, उससे लोगों में बेहतर भविष्य के सरकार होने की आशा बंधी।[13] और इसी पृष्ठभूमि में 2010 का विधान सभा चुनाव सम्पन्न हुआ।

2010 का बिहार विधान सभा चुनाव

2010 का विधान सभा चुनाव बिहार के इतिहास में युगान्तकारी था। इसमें कुल 243 स्थानों के लिए चुनाव हुए जिसमें मतदाताओं की संख्या 5,50,46,093 थी। कुल 2,90,17,537 मतदाताओं ने अपने मताधिकार का प्रयोग किया। प्रत्याशियों की पूरी संख्या थी 3,523 जिसमें 1,342 निर्दलीय प्रत्याशी थे। मतदान का प्रतिशत 52.71 रहा।

सत्ताधारी जद(यू)-भाजपा गठबंधन ने बिहार विधान सभा चुनाव में दो-तिहाई से अधिक बहुमत हासिल कर एक इतिहास बना दिया। 2010 के विधान सभा चुनाव ने सामाजिक और राजनीतिक गठबंधनों को विकास का नया एजेंडा दिया। नीतीश कुमार ने कहा कि चुनाव परिणाम साबित करता है कि चुनावी जीत सिर्फ सामाजिक जोड़-तोड़ से ही नहीं, विकास के दम पर भी हो सकती है।[14] विकास कार्यों के दम पर नीतीश कमोवेश सभी प्रमुख जातियों के वोट पाने में सफल रहे। साईकिल योजना और महिला आरक्षण के कारण महिलाओं में बढ़-चढ़ कर भागीदारी की जिसका लाभ नीतीश कुमार को मिला। सैवाल गुप्ता के अनुसार आजादी के बाद यह पहला चुनाव रहा जहाँ पुरुषों की तुलना में महिला मतदाताओं की सहभागिता पाँच प्रतिशत अधिक रही। महिलाओं का बढ़ा हुआ सहभागिता धर्म के बंधनों से मुक्त रहा। मुस्लिम बहुल इलाकों में महिलाओं का मत प्रतिशत काफी अधिक रहा।[15]

यह सत्य है कि 2010 के विधान सभा चुनावों में विकास का मुद्दा कारगर रहा। लेकिन यह कहना गलत होगा कि ऐसी जीत सिर्फ विकास के दम पर मिली है और बिहार की राजनीति से जाति का मुद्दा खत्म हो गया है। नीतीश ने अति पिछड़े दलितों को महादलित का नाम दिया और उनके कल्याण के लिए कई योजनाएँ शुरू की जिससे उस वर्ग का मत लेने में वे सफल रहे। पिछड़े मुस्लिमों को उन्होंने पसमांदा मुसलमानों का नाम दिया जिसका अच्छा असर रहा। सी.एस.डी.एस. दिल्ली के सर्वेक्षणों के परिणाम बताते हैं कि दुसाध जाति का रूझान भले ही राजद-लोजपा के पक्ष में रहा हो, दूसरी सभी दलित जातियों का झुकाव जद(यू) की ओर रहा। इसी तरह मुस्लिम वोट का भी राजद-लोजपा, जद(यू) भाजपा गठबंधन और कांग्रेस के बीच विभाजन हुआ। राजद उन्हीं क्षेत्रों में मुस्लिम वोट प्राप्त कर सका जहाँ उसका मुकाबला भाजपा

से था। जिन क्षेत्रों में उसका मुकाबला जद(यू) से था वहाँ राजद को मुस्लिम वोट नहीं मिला। जिन क्षेत्रों में मुसलमानों को भाजपा या लोजपा में से किसी एक को चुनने का विकल्प था, वहाँ उन्होंने कांग्रेस या निर्दलीय का साथ किया। मुस्लिम मतों के खिसकने से ही नीतीश को बड़ी जीत मिल सकी।[16]

यद्यपि नीतीश कुमार के मॉडल को **अतियों का गठबंधन** कहा गया है, परन्तु इसमें शहरी मध्यम वर्ग भी वैसे ही शामिल हैं जैसे कि समाज में दूर-दराज के लोग। उन्होंने भाजपा के साथ गठजोड़ होने के बावजूद अपना राजनीतिक समीकरण मुसलमानों के लिए भी स्वीकार्य बना दिया है यह देश में नवीन राजनीतिक समीकरण का संकेत है। यह भविष्य में देश की राजनीति का ढांचा भी तय करेगा।[17]

2015 का विधान सभा चुनाव : सत्ता राजनीति के चरित्र में बदलाव

भाजपा की कठोर हिन्दुत्व की नीति में राजनीतिक हानि की आशंका से 2015 के विधान सभा चुनावों के बाद एक बार फिर नीतीश कुमार के नेतृत्व में सरकार का गठन हुआ। इस चुनाव की एक मुख्य विशेषता यह रही कि इसमें जद(यू), राजद और कांग्रेस ने एक महागठबंधन के बैनर के तले इस चुनाव में भाग लिया और यह प्रयोग सफल रहा। इस चुनाव में जद(यू) को 16.8 फीसद वोटों के साथ 71 सीटों पर जीत मिली। राजद को 80 सीटों पर जीत मिली और 18.4 फीसद वोट मिला। भाजपा के पिछले विधान सभा में 91 सदस्य थे। इस बार इसके सदस्यों की संख्या घटकर 53 हो गई। लेकिन 2010 के विधान सभा चुनावों की तुलना में इस चुनाव में भाजपा के वोटों में 7.94 फीसद की बढ़ोत्तरी हुई। इस चुनाव में कांग्रेस को 6.7 फीसद वोट के साथ 27 सीटों पर जीत मिली।[18]

2015 का विधान सभा चुनाव बिहार में सत्ता राजनीति के चरित्र में बदलाव को रेखांकित कर रहा है। 2015 के विधान सभा के चुनाव में राजद और कांग्रेस की मदद से सत्ता में लौटने वाले नीतीश कुमार भ्रष्टाचार, क्षेत्रीयता तथा जातीयता के परफेक्ट ब्लेंड से मिली चुनावी जीत को अजेय होने का फार्मूला मान रहे हैं। महागठबंधन की सरकार उल्लास और आकांक्षाओं के ज्वार पर सवार होकर आई, लेकिन जैसे-जैसे सरकार ने कामकाज शुरू किया, इसके फैसलों पर विवादों-विरोधों और आशंकाओं की धूल जमने लगी। पूर्ण की जगह आंशिक शराबबंदी, कपड़ा-साड़ी समेत कई वस्तुओं पर कर वृद्धि, राज्य में निवेश-विरोधी माहौल का बनना इसके उदाहरण हैं।

20 महीने तक गठबंधन और सरकार चलाने के बाद आखिरकार नीतीश कुमार ने जुलाई 2017 में महागठबंधन तोड़कर पुनः भाजपा के साथ एनडीए में शामिल होकर मुख्यमंत्री बने। इससे पहले देश में अन्य कोई राजनीतिक घटनाचक्र इतने तेजी से घटा हो, ऐसा दूसरा उदाहरण नहीं है। ऐसा इसलिए सम्भव हुआ क्योंकि प्रधानमंत्री से लेकर राज्यपाल तक एक ही दल और विचारधारा के थे। एक बार फिर जद(यू)-भाजपा की सरकार नीतीश कुमार के नेतृत्व में बनी।

नीतीश कुमार ने इस्तीफे का ठीकरा लालू प्रसाद पर फोड़ते हुए कहा कि जितना सम्भव हुआ हमने गठबंधन बनाए रखने की कोशिश की। उप-मुख्यमंत्री तेजस्वी यादव से भ्रष्टाचार के आरोपों पर जनता के बीच सफाई देने को कहा। लेकिन प्रश्न यह उठता है कि चारा घोटाला में दोषी पाए गए लालू यादव के साथ गठबंधन बनाते वक्त नीतीश का भ्रष्टाचार विरोधी छवि का ख्याल कहाँ चला गया था? दरअसल 2015 के बाद बिहार में घटी हर छोटी-बड़ी घटना को लेकर लालू-नीतीश की इस सियासी दोस्ती पर सवाल उठे।

निष्कर्ष

उपरोक्त विश्लेषण से स्पष्ट है कि अगर राजनीतिक सिद्धांत में लोकतंत्र को मापने की कसौटियों पर ध्यान दें, तो यह स्पष्ट होता है कि बिहार के लोकतंत्र में बहुत अधिक खामियां होने के बावजूद बिहार व्यावहारिक रूप में इन कसौटियों को कमोबेश पूरा करता है। बिहार के समाज और लोकतंत्र के साथ विडम्बनाएँ भी जुड़ी हुई हैं। बिहार में (वास्तव में, पूरे भारत में) एक ऐसे समाज में लोकतांत्रिक शासन लागू कर दिया गया, जो सामाजिक और आर्थिक असमानता से बुरी तरह ग्रस्त था। इस समाज के कर्मकांड के आधार पर ऊँचा स्थान पाने वाली जातियों के पास तकरीबन अधिकांश जमीन थी। शिक्षा के मामले में भी ये जातियाँ पिछड़ी और दलित जातियों से बहुत आगे थीं। राजनीतिक लोकतंत्र ने पिछड़ों और हाशिए पर पड़े समूहों को वोट का अधिकार दिया। वोट के अधिकार एवं राजनीतिक सहभागिता के सहारे ही पिछड़ी जातियां सत्ता की दहलीज को छूने में कामयाब रही। यह सफलता उन्होंने सामाजिक, आर्थिक और शैक्षिक रूप से मजबूत तबकों के हिंसक विरोध के बावजूद हासिल की। लेकिन इस प्रक्रिया की अपनी कमियाँ भी हैं, जैसे - भ्रष्टाचार, परिवारवाद, अविकास और बुनियादी बदलावों का अभाव आदि। इसके लिए पिछड़ों के राजनीतिक नेतृत्व की अदूरदर्शिता या यथास्थिति का समर्थक बन जाने की प्रवृत्ति को जिम्मेवार माना जा सकता है। लेकिन इस प्रक्रिया की मजबूती का अंदाजा इसी से लगाया जा सकता है कि पिछड़ों की चेतना को केवल अपनी सत्ता का स्रोत बनाने वाले नेतृत्व को मुँह की खानी पड़ी।

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18. उपरोक्त

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अनुसूचित जातियों की स्थिति में सुधार हेतु राज्य के हस्तक्षेप : बिहार के विशेष संदर्भ में एक अध्ययन

राजेन्द्र कुमार*

सार संक्षेप

आजादी के दशकों बाद हमारे देश की संवैधानिक प्रावधानों एवं शासनिक नीतियों के बावजूद आज भी अनुसूचित जातियों की सामाजिक-आर्थिक स्थिति में वांछित सुधार नहीं हुआ। देश के स्तर पर कुछ जनांकीशास्त्रीय आंकड़े प्रगति की ओर इशारा करते हैं परन्तु गरीबी, अशिक्षा आदि मानकों में वे शेष समाज से ज्यादा हैं तथा शिक्षा एवं स्वास्थ्य सेवाओं के उपभोग में उनकी भागीदारी पर्याप्त नहीं है। इतना ही नहीं विगत वर्षों में आए दिन उनके ऊपर अत्याचार के मामले प्रकाश में आते रहे हैं। यह इस बात का द्योतक है कि अनुसूचित जातियां समाज की मुख्य धारा से पूरी तरह नहीं जुड़ पायी हैं। अनुसूचित जातियों की सघनता वाले राज्यों में बिहार राज्य प्रमुख है। यहां भी उनकी स्थिति कमोबेश वही है परन्तु विगत दस वर्षों में बिहार सरकार ने उनके उत्थान की दिशा में पुरजोर हस्तक्षेप किया है। अनुसूचित जातियों में भी परस्पर असमानताएं हैं इसलिए बिहार सरकार ने उन्हें दो भागों में बांटा है - दलित एवं महादलित। महादलित वो जातियां हैं जो अपने ही जाति वर्ग के अन्यों से पिछड़ी हुई हैं। बिहार सरकार ने विशेष व्यवस्था के तहत अभियान या मिशन के स्तर पर सांस्थिक, वित्तीय तथा विधि व्यवस्था के माध्यम से उनकी स्थिति में सुधार लाने के लिए हस्तक्षेप किया है। प्रस्तुत आलेख उन्हीं हस्तक्षेपों एवं उसके प्रभावों को चिह्नित करने का एक लघु प्रयास है।

विषयसूचक पदावली - महादलित, महादलित-मिशन, साक्षरता, छात्रवृति, रसोई-ईंधन, परिसंपत्ति, भूमि दखल अभियान, अत्याचार, निवारण, बिहार

पृष्ठभूमि

बिहार में अनुसूचित जातियों की रूपरेखा: भारत में सदियों से संस्थागत तरीकों से अधीनता, अभिवंचना एवं प्रताड़ना के शिकार उस सामाजिक वर्ग को अंग्रेजी सरकार द्वारा एक दर्जा निर्धारित कर दिया गया। एक सूचि बनाई गई जिसमें उन सभी जातियों को शामिल किया गया जो अश्पृष्यता, सामाजिक-आर्थिक विपन्न, परिसम्पतिविहीन, सामाजिक रूप से परित्यक्त

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थे जिन्हें हम अनुसूचित जाति के नाम से जानते हैं। अनुसूचित जाति इस वर्ग का वैधानिक नामाकरण है। इसके पूर्व इन्हें कई हेय नामों से पुकारा जाता रहा है, जैसे पौराणिक ग्रंथों में 'चाण्डाल', 'मलेच्छ', सामाजिक आचरणों में 'अछूत', 'कंक' आदि। हमारे राष्ट्र निर्माताओं ने इनकी स्थिति में सुधार और समाज में प्रतिष्ठा दिलाने के लिए गाँधी जी द्वारा 'हरिजन' (ईश्वर पुत्र) तथा अम्बेदकर द्वारा 'दलित' आदि नामों का प्रयोग किया गया। जो भी हो इनकी तादाद भारत और बिहार में उतरोत्तर बढ़ती रही। 1935 में अनुसूचित जातियों की कुल संख्या 277 थी और जनसंख्या 5.01 करोड़ थी। 1981 में उनकी जनसंख्या 10.475 करोड़ हो गई, जो कि 1991 में बढ़कर 10.623 करोड़ हो गई (HT: 1991)। 1981 में अनुसूचित जातियों की जनसंख्या समूचे देश की 15.7 प्रतिशत थी जो कि 1991 में बढ़कर 16-73 प्रतिशत हो गई (Census Report: 1992)। अनुसूचित जातियों की जनसंख्या उत्तर प्रदेश में 22-3 प्रतिशत (समूचे देश की अनुसूचित जाति की जनसंख्या का), पूर्वी बंगाल में 11-4 प्रतिशत, बिहार में 9-6 प्रतिशत, तमिलनाडु में 8-5 प्रतिशत, आन्ध्र प्रदेश में 7-6 प्रतिशत, मध्य प्रदेश में 7-0 प्रतिशत, राजस्थान में 5-6 प्रतिशत, कर्नाटक में 5-3 प्रतिशत, पंजाब में 4-3 प्रतिशत, और महाराष्ट्र में 4-3 प्रतिशत थीं। इस प्रकार अनुसूचित जाति का दो तिहाई (66-4%) हिस्सा केवल इन 8 राज्यों में रहता है। समूचे देश में अन्य जातियों की अपेक्षा 1981–91 की अवधि में अनुसूचित जातियों की संख्या में बड़ी तेजी से वृद्धि हुई है। इस दशाब्दी में समस्त जनसंख्या में 23-79 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई थी, किन्तु अनुसूचित जातियों में यह वृद्धि 30 प्रतिशत थी।

भारत सरकार के आंकड़ों के अनुसार वर्तमान समय में बिहार की कुल जनसंख्या 10,40,99,422 है जिसमें अनुसूचित जातियों की जनसंख्या 1,65,67,325 है जो कुल जनसंख्या का 15.9 प्रतिशत है। यदि ग्रामीण एवं शहरी क्षेत्रों में इनका घनत्व देखा जाए तो 88.71 प्रतिशत ग्रामीण तथा शेष 11.29 प्रतिशत शहरी क्षेत्रों में निवास करते हैं। इस जाति वर्ग में 24 जातियां एवं उनकी उपजातियां हैं जिनमें बहुसंख्यक जातियां चमार/मोची (46.61 लाख), दुसाध (45.60 लाख), मुसहर (26.3 लाख), पासी (7.13 लाख), धोबी/रजक (6.5 लाख), रजवार (2.63 लाख), डोम/मेहतर/भंगी (2.82 लाख), बन्तर (1.34 लाख) आदि हैं। शेष जातियों की संख्या एक लाख प्रति जाति से भी कम है। अनुसूचित जातियां बिहार के सभी जिलों में पायी जाती हैं परन्तु उनका घनत्व कुछ ही जिलों में है (GoI: 2018)। हम जानते हैं कि लोकतंत्र में संख्या का महत्व होता है इसलिए राजनीतिक दल इन जातियों का समर्थन लेने हेतु उनका संरक्षण करते हैं। इसलिए राजनीतिक दृष्टि से इनमें चार जातियां – चमार, दुसाध, पासी तथा धोबी ही प्रमुख रही हैं (Verma:1991a)। 1990 के बाद बिहार में मुसहर एवं डोम आदि जातियों को भी राजनीति में तरजीह मिली (Verma and Yadav: 1991b)।

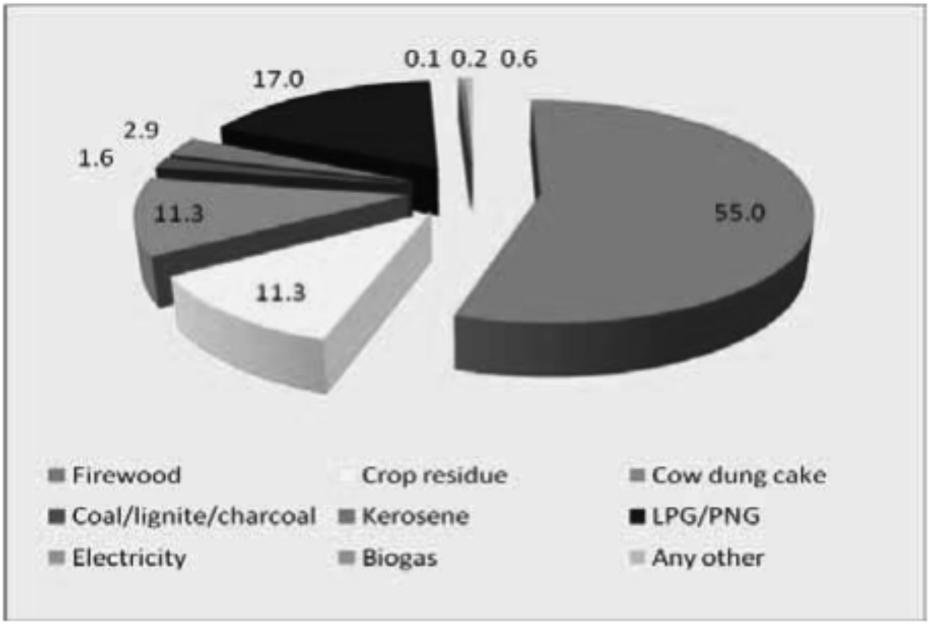
अनुसूचित जातियों की सामाजिक-आर्थिक स्थिति

जहां तक शिक्षा का प्रश्न है अनुसूचित जातियों की साक्षरता दर में शनैः-शनैः वृद्धि हुई है। 2018 के आंकड़ों के अनुसार (GoI: 2018) अनुसूचित जातियों में साक्षरता दर अन्य की तुलना में बहुत कम है। अनुसूचित जातियों में कुल साक्षरता दर 48.6 प्रतिशत, पुरुषों में 58.1 प्रतिशत

तथा महिलाओं में 38.5 प्रतिशत है। अगर शहरी एवं ग्रमीण के दृष्टिकोण से देखें तो ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में अनुसूचित जातियों की साक्षरता दर 47.7 प्रतिशत है जबकि शहरी क्षेत्र में 60.6 प्रतिशत है। जबकि बिहार में कुल साक्षरता दर 61.8 प्रतिशत है जिसमें पुरुषों में 71.2 प्रतिशत तथा महिलाओं में 51.5 प्रतिशत है। वहीं साक्षरता दर 59.8 प्रतिशत ग्रामीण एवं 76.9 प्रतिशत शहरी क्षेत्रों में है। अनुसूचित जातियों की विभिन्न जातियों में साक्षरता दर भिन्न हैं। उदाहरणार्थ, चमार/रयदास/मोची में 53.5 प्रतिशत साक्षरता दर है वहीं धोबी में 63.2 प्रतिशत, दुसाध में 53.1 प्रतिशत तथा मुसहर जाति में मात्र 29.3 प्रतिशत साक्षरता दर है। इस प्रकार महिला–पुरुष, ग्रामीण–शहरी तथा विभिन्न जातियों की साक्षरता दर में काफी विषमता है।

दलितों में शिक्षा का अभाव है जिसके निवारण के लिए प्राथमिक शिक्षा के स्तर पर नामांकन प्रोत्साहन कार्यक्रम चलाये गए। राज्य के प्राथमिक स्कूलों में अनुसूचित जाति की लड़कियों का नामांकन केवल 19.9 फीसदी दर्ज की गई है। इस मामले में ईएजी राज्यों में बिहार, पांचवें स्थान पर है। हालांकि यह आंकड़ा बिहार की जनसंख्या की तुलना में अनुसूचित जाति के दर के हिसाब से बेहतर है लेकिन बिहार में कुल लड़कियों की नामांकन की तुलना में अनुसूचित जाति की लड़कियों की नामांकन दर आधी है। ईएजी के अन्य राज्यों से तुलना की जाए तो प्राथमिक स्कूलों में लड़कियों के नमांकन मामले में बिहार तीसरे स्थान पर है। 49.3 फीसदी के साथ छत्तीसगढ़ पहले एवं 48.9 फीसदी के साथ झारखंड दूसरे स्थान पर है। ईएजी के अन्य राज्यों से तुलना की जाए तो प्राथमिक स्कूलों में लड़कियों के नामांकन के मामले में बिहार तीसरे स्थान पर है। 49.3 फीसदी के साथ छत्तीसगढ़ पहले एवं 48.9 फीसदी के साथ झारखंड दूसरे स्थान पर है। (https://archive.indiaspendhindi.com/cover)

बिहार में 50 प्रतिशत से अधिक अनुसूचित जातियों की आवादी वाले गाँव 2,579 हैं वहीं 40 प्रतिशत तक की अनुसूचित जातियों की आबादी वाले गाँव 4,429 हैं। गंदी बस्तियों में रहने वालों में अनुसूचित जाति 21 प्रतिशत हैं (GoI: 2018)। गाँवों एवं गंदी बस्तियों में रहने वाले अनुसूचित जाति का दैनिक जीवन का स्तर भोजन बनाने की व्यवस्था से भी लगाया जा सकता है। सरकारी आंकड़ों के अनुसार (Ibid.) भारत में कुल 91,56,009 परिवारों में पृथक रसोईघर हैं और 1,01,45,856 परिवार बिना रसोईघर के हैं। घर से बाहर परन्तु छत के नीचे रसोई बनाने वालों की संख्या 17,88,146 है तथा घर के बाहर बिना छत के रसोई बनाने वाले परिवारों की संख्या 31,86,482 है। इनमें से लगभग 77.6 प्रतिशत परिवार लकड़ी, गोयठा तथा फसलों के डंठल से खाना बनाते हैं और एल.पी.जी. गैस से मात्र 17 प्रतिशत अनुसूचित जाति परिवार खाना बनाते हैं। इस संदर्भ में बिहार के आंकड़े उपलब्ध नहीं हैं फिर भी यही अनुपात बिहार में भी मान लिया जाना चाहिए। निम्नलिखित पाई डायग्राम से रसोई के ईंधन के उपयोग का व्योरा मिलता है।



दलितोत्थान हेतु बिहार सरकार के हस्तक्षेप

यद्यपि अनुसूचित जातियों की स्थिति में सुधार के अनेक कार्यक्रम चलाए जाते हैं, परन्तु नीतीश सरकार के कदम सघन और व्यापक रहे हैं। 2015-2016 के दौरान दलितोत्थान के लिए मिशन मोड पर कार्यक्रम लागू किए गए जिनसे आर्थिक, शैक्षणिक तथा सामाजिक उन्नयन की उम्मीदें की गईं। इन कार्यक्रमों में पोस्ट मैट्रिक स्कॉलरशिप स्कीम, मुख्यमंत्री एस.सी. एस.टी. स्कॉलरशिप स्कीम, अनुसूचित जाति आवासीय विद्यालय, अनुसूचित जाति होस्टल निर्माण, प्राक् परीक्षा प्रशिक्षण केन्द्र आदि प्रमुख हैं। मान्यता प्राप्त कॉलेज एवं विश्वविद्यालय में पढ़ने वाले छात्रों को छात्रवृति देने के प्रावधान किए गए हैं। 2008-09 में मुख्यमंत्री एस.सी. एस.टी. स्कॉलरशिप लागू किया गया जिसके तहत प्रत्येक अनुसूचित जाति वर्ग के छात्रों को 10,000 रुपए का प्रावधान किया गया। वर्ष 2017-2018 में इस मद में 1.65 लाख विद्यार्थियों के लिए 820 रुपयों का प्रावधान किया गया। उसी प्रकार आवासीय विद्यालय तथा अनुसूचित जाति छात्रावास जिसके लिए 200 लाख का आवंटन किया गया। छात्रों को अच्छी नौकरियों के लिए तैयारी करने हेतु अवसर नहीं मिल पाता था इसलिए प्राक् परीक्षा प्रशिक्षण केन्द्रों के माध्यम से उन्हें संघ एवं राज्य लोक सेवा आयोगों एवं अन्य सेवा आयोगों की प्रतियोगिता परीक्षाओं में सम्मिलित होने की तैयारी की योजना है जिसमें वर्ष 2017-18 में 261.81 लाख रुपयों का बजटीय प्रावधान किया गया। बिहर के थारू जनजातियों के लिए समेकित थारूहाट विकास एजेन्सी की स्थापना की गई जिसके लिए सन् 2017 में 4,577 लाख रुपयों का अनुदान दिया गया जिसमें उनके लिए आवासीय विद्यालय की व्यवस्था की गई।

बिहार महादलित विकास मिशन की ओर से भी अनुसूचित जाति के लिए कार्यक्रम चलाये गए। महादलित टोलों में विभिन्न आयोजनों के लिए 'कॉमुनिटि बिल्डिंग कम वर्कशेड' निर्माण की योजना को लागू किया गया है। अनुसूचित जाति के युवाओं की आजीविका के लिए उनमें कौशल विकास हेतु दशरथ मांझी कौशल विकास स्कीम और सेड्यूल्ड कास्ट सब स्कीम चलाया गया जिसमें दो लाख से अधिक युवाओं को रोजगारोन्मुख किया जा सके। इनके अलावा मिशन के तहत अनुसूचित जातियों एवं जन जातियों के कल्याणार्थ तीन कार्यक्रम, जैसे – सिविल सर्विस प्रोत्साहन स्कीम, होस्टल ग्रांट स्कीम एवं फुड सप्लाई स्कीम इन होस्टल। (BMVM: 2018) इन कार्यक्रमों में अक्टूबर 2018 तक प्राप्त उपलब्धियां निम्न प्रकार हैं:

कार्यक्रम का नाम	*शासी विभाग – एस.सी. एस.टी. कल्याण विभाग*
सिविल सर्विस प्रोत्साहन स्कीम	• UPSC के लिए आवेदन प्राप्त – 54 • भुगतान प्राप्त करने वाले आवेदक – 0.46 • रदद् आवेदन – 0.8
	• BPSC के लिए प्राप्त आवेदन – 484 • भुगतान प्राप्त करने वाले आवेदक – 190 • शेष आवेदन प्रक्रिया में लंबित
होस्टल ग्रांट स्कीम	3,231 उम्मीदवारों को अक्टूबर 2018 तक भुगतान दे दिया गया
फूड सप्लाई स्कीम इन होस्टल	• 3609 छात्रों को अक्टूबर 2018 को आपूर्ति की गई

स्रोत: <https://bvm.bihar.gov.in/content/3752/humandevelopmentsubmission>

सरकारी हस्तक्षेप के प्रभाव

उनकी परिसम्पत्ति संबंधी आकलन के स्पष्ट आंकड़े उपलब्ध नहीं हैं फिर भी सन् 2000 के बाद के दो अध्ययनों से उनकी स्थिति का भान होता है। नीति आयोग के एक अध्ययन के अनुसार अनुसूचित जाति के पास वृहद् स्तर पर परिसंपत्ति नहीं है जैसे भूमि पर स्वामित्व, अन्य परिसंपत्ति, स्वास्थ्य सेवा, आवासन आदि का अभाव है। अर्थात् बहुत कम अनुसूचित जाति समुदाय के लोगों के पास परिसंपत्ति है तथा उनमें असमानता व्याप्त है।

2012 में मानव विकास संस्थान, नई दिल्ली (IHD: 2012) के अध्ययन से विदित होता है कि बिहार में विगत तीस वर्षों में लोगों के बीच परिसम्पत्तियों का विकास हुआ है जिसमें सबसे अधिक हिस्सेदारी अनुसूचित जाति समुदाय का है। उच्च जातियों में भूमि एवं खेती से अलगाव की प्रवृति बढ़ी है और वे दूसरे वृतियों में जाने लगे हैं परन्तु इसका लाभ मध्यवर्गी जातियों जैसे यादव, कुर्मी तथा अन्य पिछड़ी जातियों को मिला। अनुसूचित जाति समुदाय परिसंपत्ति नहीं पर्याप्त मात्रा में नहीं बढ़ सके। 2012 तक अनुसूचित जाति समुदाय में 81 प्रंतिशत भूमिहीन थे जबकि अत्यंत पिछड़ा वर्ग 65 प्रतिशत भूमिहीन थे।

लन्दन स्कूल ऑफ इकॉनोमिक्स के इन्टरनेशनल ग्रोथ सेंटर के एक अध्ययन (Kumar and Somnathan: 2016) में यह पाया गया कि बिहार के अनुसूचित जाति को भूमि हस्तांतरण

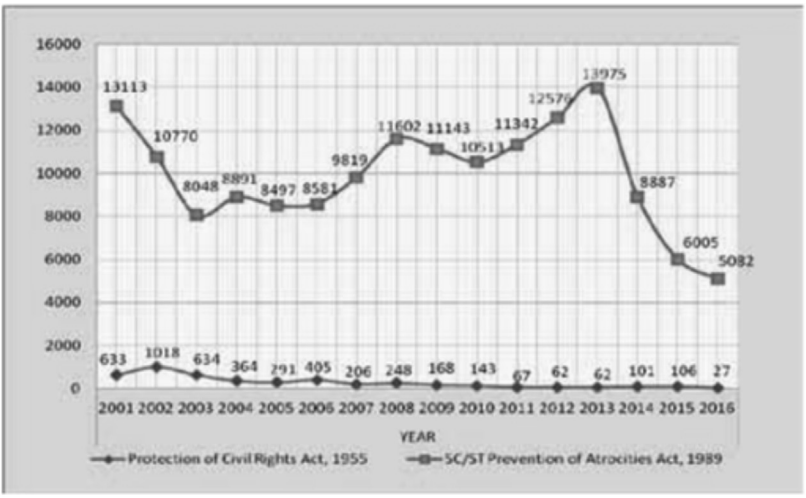
कार्यक्रम महादलित आवास भूमि योजना में मिश्रित सफलता नहीं मिली। 2010 से जो भूमि आवंटन किया गया उसमें मुख्यतः महिलाओं, अनुसूचित जातियों खासकर मुसहर जाति को लाभ मिला। परन्तु बाद में चमार के महादलित श्रेणी में जुड़ने के बाद आंकड़ों में विषमता आ गई। अध्ययन में यह भी पाया गया कि भूमि हस्तांतरण की गति धीमी रही यद्यपि सरकारी आंकड़े ज्यादा बताते हैं। यह शायद इसलिए हुआ कि कागज पर हस्तांतरण हो गया, परन्तु वास्तविक आवंटन में विलम्ब हुआ। दूसरी बार जब राजस्व विभाग बिहार द्वारा सेंसस 2013–14 में कराया गया उसमें विसंगति आ गई क्योंकि तब तक कुछ परिवार अलग हो गए थे। अध्ययन का मानना है कि भूमि का वास्तविक हस्तांतरण आज भी एक चुनौती है। परन्तु संतोष की बात है कि 2014 में बिहार सरकार ने इस दिशा में 'ऑपरेशन भूमि दखल' कार्यक्रम चलाया जो एक महत्वपूर्ण पहल कहा जा सकता है।

खुद मुख्यमंत्री ने इस दिशा गहन अनुश्रवण किया। समीक्षा के क्रम में ऑपरेशन भूमि दखल–देहानी व अभियान बसेरा की समीक्षा के बाद मुख्यमंत्री ने निर्देश दिया कि महादलित वर्ग के अंदर अब सभी अनुसूचित जाति एवं अनुसूचित जनजाति को शामिल किया गया है। ऐसे लोगों के सर्वे कराने की जरूरत है, जिन्हें बास भूमि उपलब्ध नहीं है। यह कार्य राजस्व एवं भूमि सुधार विभाग के माध्यम से किया जाएगा। मुख्यमंत्री ने क्रम नीति की भी विस्तृत समीक्षा करने का निर्देश दिया (प्रभात खबरः 2018)।

अनुसूचित जातियों पर अत्याचार एवं सरकारी हस्तक्षेप

भारत सरकार (GoI: 2018) के आंकड़े के अनुसार बिहार में अनुसूचित जाति के विरुद्ध अपराधों का विस्तार 5,701 है जो भारतीय औसत का 14 प्रतिशत है। निम्न ट्रैजेक्टरी के अनुसार 2001 से 2016 तक की अवधि में प्रोटेक्शन ऑफ सिविल राइट्स एक्ट 1955 के तहत अनुसूचित जाति के विरुद्ध अपराधों में पर्याप्त गिरावट आई है। परन्तु एस.सी. एस.टी. प्रीभेन्सन ऑफ एट्रोसिटीज एक्ट 1989 के तहत अनुसूचित जाति के विरुद्ध अपराधों में गिरावट देखा गया परन्तु उसका परिमाण कम था।

अनुसूचित जातियों एवं अनुसूचित जनजातियों के विरुद्ध प्रोटेक्सन ऑफ सिविल राइट्स एक्ट 1955 के तहत अपराधों तथा एस.एसी./एस.टी. प्रीभेंसन ऑफ एट्रोसिटीज एक्ट 1989 के तहत अपराधों का विस्तार



साभार – Government of India (2018)

मुख्यमंत्री ने अनुसूचित जाति के विरुद्ध अपराधों को रोकने की दिशा में अनुश्रवण के दौरान कई निदेश जारी किए। मुख्यमंत्री ने निर्देश दिया कि अनुसूचित जाति–जनजाति अत्याचार अधिनियम के तहत दर्ज मामलों को विभिन्न कैटेगरी वाइज विश्लेषण करें। मामलों में क्या कार्रवाई हुई है इसे भी देखें। अगर मामले में चार्जशीट दाखिल की गई है, तो कोर्ट से अग्रतर कार्रवाई जल्द हो इसका ध्यान रखें। उन्होंने यह भी निर्देश दिया कि अनुसूचित जाति–जनजाति अत्याचार अधिनियम के तहत दर्ज मामलों में जांच लंबित नहीं रहनी चाहिए। इसके लिए एक समय अवधि निर्धारित की गई। पुलिस महानिदेशक इसकी समीक्ष करेंगे। मुख्यमंत्री ने निर्देश दिया कि अनुसूचित जाति और अनुसूचित जनजाति एक्ट से जुड़े मामलों का निष्पादन समय सीमा के अंदर होनी चाहिए (प्रभात खबर 2018)। उन निदेशों के आलोक में न्यायालीय कार्रवाई तेजी से हुई परन्तु जिस प्रकार इन मामलों का निष्पादन हुआ वह शंकाएं पैदा करती है। एक समाचार पत्र के अनुसार अनुसूचित जाति एवं अनुसूचित जनजाति अत्याचार निवारण अधिनियम के तहत दर्ज होनेवाले मामलों में सजा नहीं के बराबर हो रही है। इसकी बड़ी वजह पीड़ित और अभियुक्त पक्ष के बीच समझौता होना या बयान से पलटना है। एससी–एसटी एक्ट से जुड़े दो–तिहई से ज्यादा कांडों का यही हाल है। ट्रायल पूरा होने के पहले ही अधिकतर मामलों में समझौता हो जाता है या फिर केस करने वाला शख्स ही पलट जाता है। पुलिस मुख्यालय के आंकड़ों के मुताबिक बिहार में वर्ष 2019 में एससी–एसटी एक्ट से जुड़े 2,187 मामलों का ट्रायल पूरा हुआ। इनमें 2,046 मामलों में एक में भी सजा नहीं हुई। सबसे ज्यादा 1,012 मामलों में पीड़ित और अभियुक्त पक्ष के बीच सुहलनामा हो गया है। इसके चलते मामले को खत्म कर दिया गया। यानी करीब

आधे मामले में दोनों पक्षों ने आपस में समझौता कर लिया। सजा नहीं होने की दूसरी सबसे बड़ी वजह रही पक्षद्रोही होना। यानी केस करने वाला शख्स अपने बयान से पलट गया। ऐसे 814 मामले सामने आए, जिसमें पीड़ित पक्ष अपने बयान पर कायम नहीं रहा। वहीं 220 कांडों में साक्ष्य नहीं होने के चलते अभियुक्तों को लाभ मिला और आरोपों से बरी कर दिया गया। (हिन्दुस्तानः 2020)। केवल 141 मामलों में दोषियों पर कार्रवाई हुई।

निष्कर्ष

उपरोक्त विवेचन में हमने पाया कि बिहार में राज्य के हस्तक्षेप एवं चलाए गए कार्यक्रमों से अनुसूचित जातियों की सामाजिक-आर्थिक स्थिति में सुधार हुआ है। उनके विरुद्ध अत्याचारों के मामलों के निपटारे की प्रकृति तथा परिसम्पत्ति के आवंटन की प्रगति के आधर पर यह निष्कर्ष निकाला जा सकता है कि यद्यपि विगत कुछ वर्षों में ही बिहार की अनुसूचित जातियों एवं उनके युवाओं तक सरकार लाभ पहुंचाने में सफल हुई परन्तु सामाजिक व्यवस्था में उनके उन्नयन एवं शेष समाज के साथ जुड़ाव में कोई खास प्रगति नहीं दृष्टिगोचर होती है।

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बिहार में मद्यनिषेध नीति एवं महिला सशक्तिकरण: एक समीक्षा

अर्चना सौशिल्या*

सार संक्षेप

सामाजिक संरचना, पितृप्रधान परिवेश ने महिलाओं को अपनी दु:स्थिति को अपना भाग्य मानने पर बाध्य भी कर दिया। सामाजिक जंजीं मापदंडों द्वारा अधीनस्थता, अभिवंचना एवं प्रताड़ना से लदी महिलाएं, हर प्रकार के शोषण (शारीरिक, घरेलू एवं कार्यक्षेत्र), मानसिक, लैंगिक-भेदभाव, अशिक्षा, बाल विवाह, तथा अपने प्रति होने वाले सभी अपराधों (दहेज, ऑनर किलिंग, तस्करी, बलात्कार आदि) के प्रति खुलकर आवाज उठाने में हिचकिचाती रही हैं। महिला सशक्तिकरण तभी संभव है जब महिलाओं को घर के अंदर तथा समाज में उनकी सुरक्षा को सुनिश्चित की जाए तथा पुरुषों के प्रभुताई से मुक्ति मिले। 2006 की बिहार की शराब नीति ने शराब निर्माण, व्यापार तथा संग्रहण को ब्लॉक स्तर तक विस्तारित कर दिया गया था जिससे शराब सेवन जनित सभी बुराइयों का कुप्रभाव महिलाओं पर पड़ने लगा था। बिहार के ग्रामीण परिवेश में तथा निम्न तबकों की महिलाओं के लिए शराब सेवन द्वारा पुरुषत्व-प्रदर्शन बहुत कष्टकारी हो गया था। परिवार के पुरुषों द्वारा मद्य-सेवन के अनेक दुष्परिणाम सामने आए जिसमें घरेलु हिंसा, आमदनी की बर्बादी, सामाजिक स्तर पर महिलाओं का अपमान एवं उनके विरुद्ध अपराध प्रमुख हैं। अब प्रश्न उठता है कि क्या बिहार की नई शराब नीति महिलाओं की स्थिति में सुधार लाने एवं महिलाओं के सशक्तिकरण में सहायक रही है? इसी प्रश्न के आलोक में प्रस्तुत आलेख मद्यनिषेध नीति का बिहार की महिला सशक्तिकरण पर प्रभाव एक लघु आकलन करता है।

विषयसूचक पदावली - मद्यनिषेध नीति, मोना, महिला रिसोर्स सेंटर, महिला-सशक्तिकरण, बिहार

भूमिका

मद्य में लत से मात्र एक व्यक्ति ही नहीं अपितु उसका पूरा परिवार उसके सम्बन्धी तथा समाज प्रभावित होता है - क्योंकि उसके अनेक भयावह रूप दृष्टिगोचर होते हैं - जैसे : मानसिक हिंसा (तनाव, चिंता, अशांति), मौखिक दुर्व्यव्हार (गाली देना, शर्मिन्दा करना, अपमानित करना) शारीरिक हिंसा (पीटना, गला दबाना, जलाना हथियार से हमला करना) यौन हिंसा (बालात्कार,

* डॉ. सौशिल्य राजनीति विज्ञान विभाग, अदिति महाविद्यालय (दिल्ली विश्वविद्यालय), दिल्ली में ऐसोसिएट प्रोफेसर हैं। मो. न. 9958177849

जबरन यौन संर्पक करना, वेश्यावृत्ति में ढकेलना) आर्थिक शोषण (वित्तीय मदद नहीं करना) तथा सामाजिक हिंसा (लोगों पर प्रहार, चोरी), आदि जो घिनौने रूप हैं – जिसने नारी अस्तित्व पर प्रश्न सूचक चिह्न लगा कर रखे थे ऐसे में पूर्णमद्य निषेधाज्ञा द्वारा नारियों को इन तमाम हिंसाओं से आजादी मिल गई है। निःसंदेह शराब मुक्त समाज, धार्मिक एवं सामाजिक दृष्टिकोण से आज सबकी जरूरत बन चुकी है। शराब पीना एवं बेचना कोई मौलिक अधिकार नहीं है – अपितु मदहोश होकर नारी की मौखिक, शारीरिक, मानसिक प्रताड़ना से निजात दिलाना मौलिक जिम्मेदारी है। सन् 2018 में W.H.O. (वर्ल्ड हेल्थ आरगेनाइजेशन) ने अपनी रिपोर्ट में शराब से होने वाली समाजिक विसंगतियों की चर्चा के दौरान कहा – शराब से मरने वालों का प्रतिशत पूरी मृत्यदर का 5.3 है और यह संख्या वृद्ध लोगों की तुलना में जवानों की ज्यादा है। युवा वर्गों में 20 से 29 साल में 13.5 प्रतिशत लोगों की मृत्यु मद्यपान करने से होती है।

बिहार में मद्यनिषेध : नीति निर्माण

सन् 1938 के बिहार मद्यनिषेध अधिनियम को हटाकर, 1 अप्रैल 2016, को देशी शराब पर रोक लगा दी गई और बाद में विदेशी शराब की भी बंदी कर दी गई। पुनः 1 अगस्त 2016 को बिहार विधान सभा ने बिहार मद्यनिषेध एवं उत्पाद विधेयक 2016 को पारित कर दिया, परंतु 30 सितम्बर 2016 को पटना उच्च न्यायालय ने इस सरकारी अधिसूचना (शराब के सेवन, भंडारण तथा बिक्री) को 'अकारण' व 'कठोर' कह कर खारिज कर दिया।[1] इसके पहले 2015 में विधान सभा चुनाव के दौरान, बिहार की महिलाओं ने माननीय मुख्यमंत्री से मद्यनिषेध लागू करने के लिए प्रतिज्ञा की माँग की और मुख्यमंत्री ने घोषणा कर दी कि पूर्ण शराबबंदी का फैसला महिलाओं के कारण संभव हो गया। अतः यह कदम महिलाओं को समर्पित होगा।"[2]

अंततः 2 अक्टूबर 2016 को बिहार सरकार ने शराब और अन्य मादक पदार्थों पर पूर्ण प्रतिबंध लगाने हेतु बिहार मद्यनिषेध एवं उत्पाद अधिनियम 2016 को अधिसूचित कर दिया। जिसके अन्तर्गत बिहार में शराब की बिक्री व सेवन पर निषेधाज्ञा लागू है। शराब के निर्माण, भंडारण अथवा सेवन करने पर कम से कम दस साल की जेल एवं एक लाख रुपए तक का जुर्माना शामिल है। इसके लागू होने के बाद कई विसंगतियां प्रकाश में आयीं जिसके चलते उसमें समय-समय पर संशोधन किए गए। यहां हमारा उददे्श्य इस कानून की समीक्षा करना नहीं है अपितु मेरे आकलन संदर्भ महिला सशक्तिकरण से है।

बिहार राज्य, भारत देश का चौथा राज्य रहा जहाँ पूर्णनिषेध की घोषण की गई। इसके पहले गुजरात, नागालैंड तथा लक्षद्वीप में इसका शुभारंभ हो चुका था। आज बिहार की महिलायें माननीय मुख्यमंत्री श्री नीतीश कुमार जी का आभार प्रकट करती हैं, जिन्होंने उन्हें सम्मान व शांति से जीने का रास्ता दिखलाया। देश में उभरती महिलाओं की यह आवाज, राज्यों के राजस्व पर भी भारी पड़ी है, क्योंकि महिला संबंधित अहिंसक नीतियों ने राज्यों का सामाजिक नीतियों का भी रूख मोड़ दिया है। शराब की बिक्री से होने वाले राजस्व का हरजाना, बिहार सरकार को भी झेलना पड़ा, जो दिल्ली जैसे विकसित राज्य के सामने कुछ भी नहीं है परंतु इस कदम

को विकसित राज्यों ने कभी सोचा भी नहीं है। परंतु महिला सशक्तिकरण की इच्छाशक्ति रखने वाले राजनीतिक प्रतिबद्ध नेताओं व राज्यों ने इस कदम को उठा ही लिया। राज्य का समूचा तंत्र, पुलिस, राजस्व विभाग, नशा विमुक्ति केन्द्र, अस्पताल, न्यायालय नागरिक व महिला संगठनों ने सरकार के इस कानून को लागू करने में कमर कस ली।

दिल्ली में MONA (मिलित ओडिशा निशा निवारण अभियान) द्वारा आयोजित सम्मेलन में माननीय मुख्यमंत्री ने पूरे भारत में शराब बंदी लागू करने की अपील की। बिहार में इस कार्यक्रम की सफलता देखते हुए हरेक राज्यों की स्टडी टीम (कर्नाटक से 2017 में), (छत्तीसगढ़ से 2018, राजस्थान से 2019) बिहार गई और कार्यक्रम की सफलता का मापदंड भी बनाया। इस मद्यनिषेध के साकारात्मक परिणामों ने नि:संदेह शराब के व्यापार में लगे व्यापारियों तथा माफिया लोगों में अफरातफरी मचा दी, महानगरों में तथा अन्य राज्यों में एक असुरक्षित वातावरण बनने लगा और बिहार में शराबबंदी की तीखी आलोचना भी होने लगी।

नकारात्मक प्रतिक्रियाएं

सरकारी नीतियों, खासकर विकास की नीतियाँ एक प्रक्रिया है – जहाँ वाद है तो प्रतिवाद होना भी संभव है। नीतियाँ, समाजीकरण, रीति-रिवाज सामुदायिक संरचना और पितृ सत्तात्मक समाज सभी ने महिलाओं के उन्मुक्ति, अभिव्यक्ति का रास्ता बंद करके रखा है। क्योंकि घर की महिलाओं से यह अपेक्षा की जाती है कि वह पति व पिता के शराब पीने के बाद हुए हिंसा को बर्दाश्त करें और परिवार का हर सदस्य इसका अभ्यस्त होता है। इतना ही नहीं कुछ परिवार तो हिंसक दिनचर्या को शराब के बहाने भी इस्तेमाल करते हैं। अनैतिक आचरण, कारखानों, स्कूलों में अनुपस्थिति, जेल में कैदियों की संख्या इन सबके पीछे शराब का सेवन एक बहुत बड़ा कारण है।

जोकीहाट की हार तथा शराबबंदी की तीखी आलोचना ने इस बंदी कानून में संशोधन की चर्चा प्रारंभ कर दी। प्राय: यह देखा गया कि कानून का सबसे ज्यादा असर गरीब मजदूरों, आदिवासियों तथा दलितों पर पड़ा। प्रतिदिन मजदूरी करने वाले गरीब मजदूर को शराब पीने पर लाखों की सजा दे दी जाती थी और यह शराबबंदी 'गरीबबंदी' में तब्दील हो गया। रातोंरात एक 'दिहाड़ी मजदूर', मजदूर से अपराधी बन गया, जेल में लाखों लोगों को कैद करने से जेल भरने लगे। मुकदमे बढ़ने से अदालतों पर भार बढ़ गए एवं जरूरी मुकदमों की सुनवाई में देर होने का डर बैठता गया। जेल और अदालतों को भी इतने अपराधियों को झेलने की हिम्मत नहीं थी, क्योंकि ये अपराधी नहीं अपितु नशाखोर थे जो मात्र वकीलों की कमाई बढ़ा सकते थे और पत्नियाँ जहाँ पतियों को सुधारना चाहती थी, मुकदमे में पैसे बर्बाद करने लगी, महिलाओं ने शराबबंदी की माँगें की थी परंतु पतियों का जेल में रहना उन्हें भी गँवारा नहीं था। 16 महीने में 3 लाख 88 हजार से ज्यादा छापे पड़े एवं लाखों लोग गिरफ्तार हुए।[3] छापेमारी, गिरफ्तारी के आंकड़े बिहार में सबसे ज्यादा मिले।

पैसे वाले, शराब पीने वालों को बहुत ज्यादा-नुकसान नहीं हुआ, क्योंकि उन्हें चीजें घर पर मिल जाती थी और प्रशासन भी सम्मिलित था। वे लोग बिहार के बार्डर पार 'देवघर' या दिल्ली

जाकर पी सकते थे, पर गरीब दारू पीने के लिए दिल्ली तो नहीं जाएगा। कुछ समस्याओं तब भी विद्यमान रहीं, जैसे : तंवाकू गुटखे का सेवन (बाद में पान मसाला को भी एक साल के लिए बंद किया गया) पुलिसकर्मियों द्वारा शराब का सेवन, जब्त किए शराब को पुनः पैसे वालों को बेच देना, नशे के शिकार लोगों द्वारा काम पर नहीं जाना, नशामुक्ति केंद्रों पर दाखिला नहीं कराना आदि ... इन सारी आलोचनाओं एवं प्रशासनिक अधिकारियों द्वारा कानून के प्रावधानों का लाभ लेने की जानकारी माननीय मुख्यमंत्री से छिपी नहीं रही। अतः शराबबंदी कानून में संशोधन की भी चर्चा प्रारंभ हो गई है – जिससे नारियों का शोषण नहीं हो (दो बार पकड़े जाने पर छूट, तीसरी बार में जेल), आर्थिक जुर्माना भरने आदि का प्रावधान शामिल किया गया, ताकि शराबबंदी के नाम पर कमाने वालों पर अंकुश लगाया जा सके।

महिला सशक्तिकरण पर प्रभाव

जेंडर रिसोर्स सेंटर, महिला विकास निगम, बिहार, समाज कल्याण विभाग, बिहार सरकार के अनुसंधान के अनुसार मद्यनिषेध के कारण बिहार में महिलाओं तथा बालिकाओं के प्रति हिंसा में काफी कमी आई है।[4] ग्रामीण परिवारों के क्रय क्षमता में वृद्धि होने तथा घरेलू सामग्रियों में इस राशि के प्रयोग से, आज हर परिवार अपने परिवार को दूध, सब्जियाँ पोष्टिक आहार तथा शिक्षा पर विशेष ध्यान दे रहा है। इसे आप मजबूरी मानिए या इच्छाशक्ति, पर सरकारी मानदंडों के विकास में बढ़ोत्तरी तो जरूर हुई है। सबसे सुखद अनुभव तो यह रहा है कि शराब पीने वालों ने भी इस मद्यनिषेध का खुलकर स्वागत किया है।

16 फरवरी 2020 को आयोजित हुए 'शराबमुक्त भारत : राष्ट्रीय अभियान (इस्कान ऑडीटोरियम, दिल्ली) में बिहार के मुख्यमंत्री श्री नीतीश कुमार ने शराबबंदी में बिहार को अग्रणी का नाम देकर राष्ट्रीय अभियान का आह्वान किया।[5] शायद विश्व के इतिहास में यह पहला दिन था, जब बिहार में, 21 जनवरी 2017 में 3 करोड़ से ज्यादा लोगों ने 11,000 किलोमीटर लंबा मानव शृंखला (मानव चेन) बनाकर नशामुक्त मद्यनिषेध बिहार बनाने का अभियान प्रारंभ किया। बिहार की महिलाओं ने यह सराहनीय कदम उठाकर अपने महिला सशक्तिकरण का परिचय दिया, जब सरकार को इन महिलाओं के आह्वान पर 6,000 के लगभग शराब की दुकाने बंद करनी पड़ी। निःसंदेह इस प्रयास में महिला विकास निगम, समाज कल्याण विभाग, तकनीकि सहयोगी डेवलपमेंट मैनेजमेंट इंस्टीच्यूट, पटना सभी का योगदान रहा।

दिल्ली में रह रही बिहारी महिलाओं की प्रतिक्रिया

उपरोक्त परिस्थितियों के आलोक में लेखका द्वारा दिल्ली की बस्तियों में रह रही महिलाओं के इस विषय पर विचार जानने हेतु एक त्वरित सर्वेक्षण किया गया। बस्ती में रहने वाली महिलाएँ बिहार, उत्तर प्रदेश तथा कुछ पहाड़ी इलाकों की मिली, जब उनसे पूछा गया कि अगर शराब बंदी हो जाए तो क्या अत्याचार रूक जाएगा, लगभग 99 प्रतिशत महिलाओं ने ऐसा माना। कहने का तात्पर्य है – मद्यनिषेध महिला सशक्तिकरण के मार्ग में एक महत्त्वपूर्ण अस्त्र है – जिससे

महिलाओं पर होने वाले अत्याचारों में कमी पाई जा सकती है और रोका भी जा सकता है। इसी क्रम में आज बिहार पूरे भारत देश के लिए एक मिशाल बनता जा रहा है। यद्यपि मद्यनिषेध कानून मिजोरम, गुजरात (मृत्युदंड का प्रावधान), नागालैंड तथा लक्षद्वीप, केरल में भी लागू है। परन्तु बिहार ऐसा राज्य है जिसने महिलाओं की गुहार पर यह कदम उठाया और इस कानून को महिलाओं को ही समर्पित भी किया। साक्षात्कार के द्वारा लेखिका ने पाया कि निम्न वर्ग की सभी महिलाओं ने स्वीकार किया कि उन्हें उनके पति प्रताड़ित तभी ज्यादा करते हैं जब उन्होंने दारू पी रखी हो तथा घर की महिलाएं लड़कियाँ अनेकानेक प्रकार के प्रताड़नों को झेलती है। पढ़ी लिखी, संभ्रांत महिलाओं ने भी स्वीकारा, स्थिति बिगड़ जाती है जब शराब का सेवन होता है खासकर 'बलात्कार' तो वही लोग ज्यादा करते हैं – जिन्होंने पी रखी हो या फिर कोई 'गिरफ्त' में आ जाय तो पीने के बाद ही बलात्कार की तैयारी करते हैं। इस बात की पुष्टि करने हेतु जब अनेक कालोनी का सर्वेक्षण किया तो 98 प्रतिशत महिलाओं ने हामी भर दी कि पीने के बाद पुरुषों को होश नहीं रहता और अनेक प्रकार की प्रताड़नाएँ उन्हें झेलनी पड़ती है जिनमें मार पिटाई, जबरन संबंध बनाना, गालियाँ देना, घर से निकाल देना, कमाई के पैसे छीन लेना, प्रतिदिन की दिनचर्या थी।

अपने साक्षात्कार के दौरान बिहार के परिवेश में रहने वाली लगभग सभी महिलाओं ने इस कदम को उचित ठहराया और अपने साथ घटित हुए दुखद हादसों को भी बताया। यद्यपि महिलायें बोलने से पहले डरती सहमी दिखी, पर मेरे आश्वासन पर कि उनके पुरुषों तक यह बात नहीं पहुचेगी, मेरे विश्वास का साथ निभाती गई एवं खुलकर अपने पर हुई हिंसा, यौन शोषण, एक दो पत्नियाँ रखना आदि की खुल कर चर्चा करने लगी।

महिलाओं पर सकारात्मक प्रभाव

मद्यनिषेध का परिणाम मात्र महिलाओं पर हो रहे हिंसा को ही रोकना या कम करना नहीं रहा है अपितु इसने पारिवारिक आर्थिक स्थिति में भी सुधार ला दिए हैं, जिस का प्रभाव पूरे ग्रामीण अर्थव्यवस्था पर भी दृष्टिगोचर हुआ है। गाँव की महिलायें, बालिकायें पहले से कहीं ज्यादा सुरक्षित हुई हैं, खुल कर विचरण करने, बोलने की स्वतंत्रता आदि हुई है। मद्य पर खर्च होने वाली आय अब शिक्षा पर होने से सोचने-समझने की क्षमता का विकास हुआ है, सही गलत के निर्णय लेने में सहूलियत से 'निर्णय लेने की क्षमता' का विकास हुआ है।

वस्तुतः देखा जाए तो प्रतिबंध की नीतियाँ, पुरुषों द्वारा शराब के कम सेवन करने की आदत, और महिला पर हो रहे घरेलू हिंसा, सार्वजनिक शोषण, लैंगिक हिंसा (बालात्कार) से सीधे तौर से जुड़ी है। दिल्ली, उत्तर प्रदेश, तमिलनाडु हर जगह शराब के कारण महिलाओं का ज्यादा शोषण हुआ है। एक उत्प्रेरक के रूप में शराब ने गरीब परिवारों को द्ररिद्रता, बर्बरता तथा लाचारी के दलदल में फेंक रखा है और यह कहानी, दिल्ली के झुग्गी-झोंपड़ियों की ही नहीं अपितु कालोनियों में रह रहे सभी परिवारों की है – जहाँ पूर्वांचलों की बहुतायत है।

बिहार, उत्तर प्रदेश से काम की तलाश में आए लोगों ने बातचीत के दौरान हामी भी भरी की देशी/विदेशी शराब खरीदने के लिए, पत्नियों का पैसा छीनना, बच्चों से मार पिटाई करना, या बेटी पैदा होने पर उग्र व हिंसक व्यवहार भी शामिल है। दुर्भाग्यवश ऐसी घटनाएं पढ़े-लिखे तथा अत्यंत धनी परिवारों में भी देखने को मिली और यह त्रासदी वहाँ की महिलायें भी झेल रही हैं। महानगरों में ग्लैमर की चकाचौंध, एवं 'कारपोरेट कल्चर' में मद्यनिषेध को 'गँवारापन' तथा 'ग्रामीण परिवेशी सभ्यता' का नाम देकर मजाक बनाया जाता है, तिरस्कार भी किया जाता है, जो परिवार के बिखरने का मुख्य कारण भी बनता जा रहा है। आज जरूरत है जेंडर के आधार पर हस्तक्षेप करने की, ताकि महिलाओं के साथ दुर्व्यवहार करने की, मर्दों की प्रवृत्ति पर अंकुश लगाया जा सके। शराब की लत का प्रभाव मात्र नारी के अपमान तक ही सीमित नहीं रहा है अपितु इसका दुष्प्रभाव, बीमारी अत्यधिक सेवन से मौत, नकली शराब से होने वाली अनेकों समस्याएं भी शामिल हैं। शहरों में नशे की हालत में गाड़ी चलाने से होने की दुर्घटना, बिमारियों में बढ़ता कर्ज तथा दुर्घटनाओं के कारण बीमा योजना में बढ़ोत्तरी आदि अनेक समस्याएं भी शामिल हैं।

पूर्ण मद्यनिषेध से घरों में शांति, सामंजस्य तथा समृद्धि की वृद्धि होने लगी, महिलाओं के साथ साथ पुरुषों ने भी अपने गलत व्यवहार (दुर्व्यवहार) पर नियंत्रण की चर्चा की जिसका सीधा असर पर्व-त्योहारों में देखने को भी मिला।[6] महिलाओं बालिकाओं ने भी स्वीकारा कि अब उन्हें प्रतिदिन मानसिक, शारीरिक, मौखिक, यौन यातनाओं से नहीं गुजरना पड़ता, अपितु उनके पति एवं पिता घर की सुख-समृद्धि की चर्चा करते हैं। आस-पड़ोस चौक-चौराहे पर दंगे नहीं होते, लड़कियों के साथ छोड़खानी नहीं होती, घरों का माहौल बदल गया है, महिलायें, पतियों के आने पर डरी सहमी नहीं रहती, घर में पढ़ाई का माहौल रहता है। आगे आने वाली पीढ़ी का भविष्य सुधर जाएगा, शराब पीकर शदियों में होने वाले विवाद नहीं होने से बारात वापस नहीं लौटती न ही पत्नी, माँ द्वारा प्रेम से बनाए, खानों को उनपर फेंका जाता है। जो लोग चोरी छिपे शराब पी भी लेते हैं वो घर आकर शांति से सो जाते हैं ताकि मोहल्ले वाले या घर वाले उनकी शिकायत दर्ज न करा दें।

कहने की आवश्यकता नहीं अब इस बदले हुए माहौल में घर की औरतें ज्यादा सुरक्षित एवं खुश रहती हैं, घर से जुड़े फैसलों में निर्णायक भूमिका अदा करती हैं। अब वे गालियाँ नहीं सुनती बल्कि फैसले सुनाती हैं।

समीक्षा एवं निष्कर्ष

तथापि यह कहना अतिश्योक्ति नहीं होगा कि अब थाने में महिलाओं द्वारा की गई शिकायतों में काफी कमी आ गई है - साथ ही अस्पतालों में महिलाओं पर हुए, हिंसक प्रहारों के इलाज में भी कमी आई है। राजस्व विभाग का लक्ष्य भी राजस्व को बढ़ाने के बजाए (राजस्व वसूली) मद्यनिषेध को लागू करवाने का हो गया है और अपने इस प्रयास में उन्हें पुलिस एवं प्रशासन दोनों का भरपूर सहयोग मिला है। 5000 करोड़ के राजस्व के घाटे को भरने के लिए लोगों के

अन्य सुविधाएं मुहैया करवाई गई है – बिहार भ्रमण करने वाले देशी–विदेशी लोगों की संख्या में भी वृद्धि हुई है।[7] बिहार जैसे गरीब राज्य में राजस्व संग्रह शून्य पर पहुँच गया था परंतु मानव संसाधन के कार्यक्षमता पर बिहार राज्य ने एक बड़ी जीत हासिल की है। शराब पर प्रतिबंध लगाकर, व्यक्तिगत व पारिवारिक जीवन में परिवर्तन लाकर एक सशक्त समाज की रचना में बिहार अग्रणी रहा है। और जिस समाज में महिला मानसिक, मौखिक शारीरिक, यौन व आर्थिक रूप में पीड़ित नहीं हो, सही मायने में महिला–सशक्तिकरण यही है और गाँधी जी का सपना भी।

महिलाओं के उत्थान के लिए एक स्वस्थ परिवार की जरूरत होती है जहाँ न घरेलू हिंसा हो, न वेश्यावृत्ति, न ही मानसिक हिंसा ताकि महिलाएँ शारीरिक, मानसिक और सामाजिक रूप से मजबूत हो और इस शिक्षा की शुरूआत हर एक घर से करनी होगी, महिलाओं के खिलाफ बुरी आदतों को रोकना होगा और इसमें मद्यनिषेध अग्रणी है। जो समाज की पितृसत्तात्मक और पुरुष प्रधान युक्त अवधारणाओं से ग्रसित है। यह भी कितने दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि जिस बिहार राज्य में मद्यनिषेध किया गया वही परिवार रोजगार की खोज में आकर बस्तियों में रह रहे हैं और यहाँ आकर उसी अपमान उसी हिंसा के शिकार हैं क्योंकि भारत की राजधानी दिल्ली में मद्यनिषेध की व्याख्या नहीं है और हजारों परिवार इनकी चपेट में है।

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विचारोत्तेजक टिप्पणी

प्रशासक, राजनीतिज्ञ एवं भ्रष्टाचार: कुछ आनुभविक विचार

अशोक कुमार*

वर्ष 1982 में बिहार प्रशासनिक सेवा में प्रवेश समय प्रशासकीय प्रशिक्षण संस्थान, रांची में भारतीय प्रशासनिक सेवा के एक वरिष्ठ, कर्मठ एवं अनुभवी पदाधिकारी ने प्रशिक्षण सत्र को सम्बोधित करते हुए बड़ी कटुता से कहा था कि "*एक बात गांठ बाँध लेना*", अगर राजनेताओं की कृपा सिन्धु में अवगाहन करोगे तो भौतिक भंवर में विचरण लाभ तो अवश्य मिलेगा लेकिन प्रशासनिक पहचान और दायित्व की धारा तुमसे रूठ जाएगी एवं कानून का संकट सदा सामने तुम्हें भयभीत करता रहेगा। 32 वर्षों की प्रशासनिक यात्रा में कई उतार-चढाव आए, खट्टे-मीठे स्वाद चखना पड़ा, किन्तु दायित्व पालन में जो परिस्थितियों की चुनौती आई, अपने नियंत्रण पदाधिकारी के सहयोग, मार्गदर्शन एवं नियमों की नियति से यथासंभव मूर्त्तरूप देने में सफलता हाथ लगी, चाहे विकास योजनाओं का संचालन हो, विधि व्यवस्था की समस्या हो, निर्वाचन कार्य सम्पादन की घड़ी हो या सचिवालय सेवा के दौरान विभिन्न विभागों की संचिकाओं का अध्ययन काल हो।

देश के विभिन्न राज्यों में प्रशासनिक सेवा के कर्मठ एवं ईमानदार पदाधिकारियों की कमी नहीं है लेकिन जिस प्रकार एक मृत मछली पूरे तालाब को अशुद्ध कर देती है, उसी प्रकार की घटना आए दिन समाचार पत्रों की सुर्खियाँ बनती हैं। यह स्थिति समस्त सेवाओं में विद्यमान है परन्तु जब लोक कल्याणकारी राज्य की बात हम करते हैं तो शीर्ष पर भारतीय प्रशासनिक सेवा एवं राज्य स्तर पर प्रादेशिक प्रशासनिक सेवा की भूमिका अति महत्वपूर्ण मानी जाती है। इस सेवा के पदाधिकारी विधि द्वारा निर्मित विभिन्न योजनाओं को धरती पर उतारने की कला में दक्ष माने गए हैं जिनके पदसोपानीय व्यवस्था में एक बड़ा तंत्र-समूह कार्यरत हुआ करता है। फलत: प्रशासनिक शीर्ष संदेश उपादेयता और इसकी भूमिका प्रभावकारी मानी जाती है। कभी-कभी

* डॉ. अशोक कुमार भारतीय प्रशासनिक सेवा से अवकाशप्राप्ति के बाद सम्प्रति सदस्य, बिहार राज्य विश्वविद्यालय सेवा आयोग, पटना; ई-मेल : ashok17@rediffmail.com; मो. 7070290397.

नोट - इस लेख में व्यक्त विचार लेखक के अपने व्यक्तिगत अनुभव हैं - सम्पादक

पदाधिकारी के अवसाद की मनोदशा और अतिरेक उत्साह के बीच प्रशासनिक समन्वय की कड़ी अत्यन्त मुश्किल घड़ी होती है तब अधिकारी द्वन्द्व दरिया के शिकार हो जाया करते हैं। विधायिका के प्रभाव एवं दवाबवश कानूनी कड़ी को कमजोर कर नियमों की गलत व्याख्या से गंभीर संकट का प्रादुर्भाव भी हुआ करता है। इन्ही परिस्थितियों के गर्भ-गृह में विभिन्न श्रेणी के घोटालों का भी जन्म हुआ करता है। कुछ माह पूर्व एक राज्य में एक मंत्री का चुनाव उच्च न्यायालय ने इसलिए रद्द कर दिया क्योंकि निर्वाची पदाधिकारी द्वारा मतगणना में अनियमितता बरती गई थी। चुनाव रद्द होने का प्रमुख कारण माना गया कि पोस्टल बैलट पेपर की गिनती जो मतगणना के प्रारंभ में नियमानुसार होना चाहिए था उसे अंत में किया गया और कुछ ही मतों के हेराफेरी से माननीय को विजय श्री की घोषणा कर दी गई। उल्लेखित राज्य के विधान सभा सीट के रिक्ति होने से वहां की सरकार को स्थिरता पर कोई असर नहीं पड़ने को है। जिस मंत्री का निर्वाचन रद्द हुआ है, सम्भव है कि उच्चतम न्यायालय उस पर स्थगन आदेश भी जारी कर दे और कालातंर में इस फैसले को पलट भी दे या चुनाव रद्द निर्णय पर मुहर भी लग जाय। इस परिस्थिति में मानवीय सदस्य पुनः चुनाव जीतकर मंत्री पद के आसन ग्रहण करने की योग्यता धारण कर सकेंगे। दरअसल पूरे प्रकरण में मंत्री कहीं कोई मुदद्ा नहीं है क्योंकि वे शुद्ध राजनेता हैं जो साम, दाम, दंड, भेद कोई भी तरीका अपनाकर चुनाव जीतना चाहते हैं। यहां बात तो एक ऐसी संस्था की है, जिसकी स्वतंत्र, निष्पक्ष और भयमुक्त होने की अपेक्षा की जाती है। सवाल उसकी साख और विश्वसनीयता की है। पोस्टल बैलट पेपर की गिनती में 429 वोटों को अवैध करार दिया गया और उसके बाद मात्र 327 वोटों से वहाँ जीत-हार घोषित किया गया। पराजित प्रत्याशी ने इसी आधार पर चुनाव परिणाम को उच्च न्यायालय में चुनौती दी, जिसे कोर्ट ने तथ्यपरक पाया। इस प्रकार की अनियमितता जब शासन के शीर्ष स्तर पर होती है तो यह माना जाना चाहिए कि किसी न किसी रूप में समझौते या उपकृत भाव से चुनाव जितानेवाले या जीतनेवाले महिमामंडित होते हैं। न्यायालय में ऐसे मामले तो बानगी के रूप में ही आ पाते हैं जबकि न जाने आपसी सहमति और समझौते के सागर में कितने मोती चुने जाते रहे हैं। प्रशासनिक प्रक्रिया में ट्रांस्फर/पोस्टिंग के महाजाल के कुछ ऐसे पट हैं जहां उपकृत होना और उपकृत करने के बीच सहमति के भव्य द्वार सदा खुले रहते हैं। केन्द्रीय सत्ता के नजदीक नौकरशाही का एक समूह और उससे विलग रेगिस्तानी राग में दूसरे समूह के बीच कशमकश का दौर 1970 के दशक से ज्यादा चिह्नित हुआ है। कभी खीरे के चोरी में किसी नौकरशाह को तो वृहद् दंड का शिकार होना पड़ता है जबकि हीरे के चोरी वाले बिल्कुल साफ-सुथरे बने रहते हैं। कुछ दृष्टांत व्यथित करते हैं कि तीव्र एवं कुशाग्र मेधावी पदाधिकारी शासन-साम्राज्य की मुख्यधारा से विलग रहा करते हैं क्योंकि वे न तो समझौतावादी हैं न राग दरबारी। अस्तु, जी हुजूर, हाँ हुजूर, कहिए हुजूर के अमृतवाणी में वे कुशल एवं निपुणता के विशेषण से विभूषित हुआ करते हैं। स्वतंत्रता के पश्चात् देश की प्रशासनिक धरातल के सौजन्य से विकास की कल्पना की जो पटकथायें रची गई थी वह आज पूर्णत इसलिए फलित नहीं हो सकी हैं क्योंकि नौकरशाही दो धड़ों में विभक्त हो गया है। जन-जन के द्वार बुनियादी शिक्षा, स्वास्थ्य, पेयजल, सुरक्षा समग्र रूप से नहीं पहुचने की पृष्ठभूमि में पावन प्रतिबद्धता की कमी हम मान सकते

हैं। कई राज्यों के मुख्यमंत्री जो अविचल और अकिंचन विकास की गति हेतु समर्पित हैं, ने अपेक्षा की थी कि जिले के क्लेक्टर माह में न्यूनतम एक दिन किसी गाँव में जाएं एवं दिन भर जनप्रतिनिधियों एवं जनसमूह से वहाँ की मूलभूत समस्या को समझें और उसके निराकरण का निर्भीक निर्णय वहीं लें लेकिन नगरीय सुविधाओं और तामझाम की लिप्सा ने उसे ऐसा करने से रोक दिया। प्रशासनिक सुधार हेतु राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर एवं अनेक राज्यों ने कई आयोग/समिति का गठन किया गया उसके प्रतिवेदन भी सकारात्मक प्राप्त हुए लेकिन यह क्रियान्वित नहीं हो सका क्योंकि जिनके कंधों पर यह जिम्मेवारी है उनकी सम्प्रभुता चुनौती के दायरे से मुक्त है। अतः वे अपनी अलौकिकता की व्यापकता में अपने तरह से जो व्यूह रचना रचते हैं – वही लोकतंत्र का भविष्य मापकर सभी समझौतावादी हो जाते हैं।

प्रशासकीय जीवन में मैंने महसूस किया है कि इस कड़ी के कुछ पदाधिकारी जब कृपा–पात्र बनकर अनियमितता बरतते हैं तो किसी न किसी रूप में कतिपय महानुभवों के मेहरबानी का बोझ उन पर रहा करता है जिसे हल्का करने के क्रम में यह ख्याल नहीं रह जाता है कि निर्दिष्ट नियमों की वे धज्जियाँ उड़ा रहे हैं। यह तो उदाहरण का एक ज्वलंत नमूना है, असली मुदद्ा तो नौकरशाही के कर्तव्य आचरण की फिसलन और चौतरफा पसरी खामोशी का है। किसी भी संस्था के प्रति आमजन के नजरिये में अविश्वास का भाव आना ऐसे ही तो प्रारम्भ होता है। शक की गुंजाईश भी बनती है कि जो अधिकारी ऐसा कर सकता है, वह बहुत कुछ और भी कर सकता होगा और हो सकता है किया भी होगा। अगर एक जगह ऐसी अनियमितता हो सकती है तो न जाने कितनी जगह ऐसा हुआ होगा। सबसे हैरान करने वाली बात यह देखी जाती है कि ऐसे मौकों पर प्रशासनिक अधिकारी का एसोशिएशन चुप्पी साध लेता है। वह यह समझने की कोशिश नहीं करता कि जब कोई अधिकारी नैतिक और कानूनी रूप से भ्रष्ट पाया जाता है तो सिर्फ उसका ही दामन दागदार नहीं होता है, बल्कि पूरे संवर्ग के चेहरे पर कालिख पुतती है जबकि यही एसोशिएशन अपने अधिकार की मांग और रक्षा में एकजुट हो सरकार के विरुद्ध अपनी आवाज बुलंद करने में कोताही नहीं करते। उपाय यही है कि अधिकार के आंगन में कर्त्तव्य की अखण्ड ज्योति जलाने में सामूहिक चेतना तंरग से कानून एवं नैतिकता की लक्ष्मण रेखा को लांघा न जाए।

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भारत में नागरिक घोषणा पत्र : विकास, चुनौतियाँ एवं सुझाव

अमरनाथ पासवान* एवं मनीष चन्द्रा**

सार संक्षेप

1980 और 90 के दशक में दुनिया भर की सरकारों के सम्मुख उपस्थित चुनौतियों के मद्देनजर प्रशासन की कार्यप्रणाली में व्यापक स्तर पर बदलाव की मांगें बलवती हुईं। इस दौरान प्रशासन को अधिक त्वरित, मितव्ययी, दक्ष, जिम्मेदार तथा लोक केंद्रित बनाने हेतु एक तरफ जहाँ नव लोक प्रबंधन की सोच को बढ़ावा मिला वहीं इसे साकार रूप देने हेतु ई. अभिशासन, सुशासन, नागरिक घोषणा पत्र आदि प्रशासनिक नवाचारों का भी उदय हुआ। नागरिक घोषणा पत्र की बात करें तो यह मूल रूप से सेवा उपभोक्ता के प्रति प्रशासन को जवाबदेह बनाने के उद्देश्य से लागू की गई व्यवस्था है, जिसकी शुरूआत ब्रिटेन से हुई। यहाँ से इसे दुनिया के शेष देशों ने अपनी प्रशासनिक प्रणाली में शामिल किया। 1990 के दशक में ही भारत में भी उदारीकरण, निजीकरण तथा भूमंडलीकरण की लहर ने भारतीय प्रशासनिक व्यवस्था को प्रभावित किया और हमने भी नागरिक घोषणा पत्र समेत तमाम प्रशासनिक नवाचारों को लागू करने की दिशा में कदम बढ़ाए। आज देश भर में केंद्र व राज्य सरकारों द्वारा नागरिक घोषणा पत्र जारी किए जा चुके हैं जिन्होंने प्रशासन के कामकाज के तौर-तरीकों में आमूल-चूल बदलाव लाने का काम किया है। तथापि डिजाइन व विषय-वस्तु संबंधी त्रुटि, जागरूकता की कमी तथा सही क्रियान्वयन का अभाव आदि कुछ कारक अभी भी नागरिक घोषणा पत्र के पूर्ण अभिष्ट की प्राप्ति के मार्ग में अवरोध बने हुए हैं जिन पर ध्यान दिए जाने की जरूरत है। यह शोध आलेख उपरोक्त तमाम पहलुओं पर प्रकाश डालते हुए भारत में नागरिक घोषणा पत्र के विकास, इसके सम्मुख उपस्थित चुनौतियों तथा उन चुनौतियों से निपटने हेतु सुझावों को प्रस्तुत करता है।

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परिचय

नागरिक घोषणा पत्र भारत में प्रशासन समेत तमाम सरकारी संस्थाओं को आम लोगों विशेषकर सेवा उपभोक्ता के प्रति जवाबदेह बनाने की पहल है जिसके अनेक सकारात्मक परिणाम देखने

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को मिले हैं। यह शोध अध्ययन भारत में नागरिक घोषणा पत्र के अस्तित्व में आने, उसके विकास, उसके सम्मुख उपस्थित चुनौतियों तथा उनसे निपटने हेतु अमल में लाये जा सकने वाले सुझावों का अध्ययन, मूल्यांकन व परीक्षण प्रस्तुत करता है। इस अध्ययन में मुख्य रूप से द्वितीयक स्त्रोतों यथा विभिन्न पुस्तकों, विभिन्न शोध पत्र–पत्रिकाओं में प्रकाशित आलेखों तथा वेब आधारित प्रमाणिक सामग्रियों आदि का प्रयोग किया गया है।

उपकल्पना

भारत में नागरिक घोषणा पत्र सरकार के द्वारा स्वयं पहल करके लाए गए हैं जिनमें लोगों की पर्याप्त राय नहीं ली गई है। साथ ही लोगों के मध्य भी इनके बारे में जागरूकता नहीं है, लिहाजा इन घोषणा पत्रों के सही तरीके से क्रियान्वयन के मार्ग में बाधाएँ होंगी।

विषय विस्तार

नागरिक घोषणा पत्र सुशासन की दिशा में एक प्रशासनिक नवाचार और जनता के प्रति विशेष तौर पर सेवा उपभोक्ता के प्रति प्रशासन के उत्तरदायित्व का एक नवीन रूप है। यह मानक, गुणवत्ता और सेवा प्रदायगी हेतु समय सीमा के साथ ही शिकायत निवारण तंत्र, पारदर्शिता और जवाबदेही के प्रति संगठन की प्रतिबद्धता को प्रस्तुत करता है।[1] नागरिक घोषणा पत्र की अवधारणा का वर्तमान स्वरूप ब्रिटेन की देन है जहाँ 1991 ई. में प्रधानमंत्री जॉन मेजर ने लोक सेवाओं को नागरिक केंद्रित बनाने के उद्देश्य से गुणवत्ता, विकल्प, मानकता, मूल्य, उत्तरदायित्व और पारदर्शिता को आधार बनाते हुए नागरिक घोषणा पत्र की अवधारणा प्रस्तुत की। कालांतर में 1998 में प्रधानमंत्री टोनी ब्लेयर की सरकार ने इस योजना को सर्विस फर्स्ट के नाम से पुनः प्रस्तुत किया और इसमें सेवा प्रदायगी के नौ सिद्धांतों को जगह दी गई जो निम्नवत हैं –

1. सेवा मानकों का निर्धारण
2. खुलापन और पूरी सूचना देना
3. सलाह और भागीदारी
4. सुलभता को प्रोत्साहन और चयन को बढ़ावा
5. सभी के साथ उचित व्यवहार
6. जब चीजें गलत दिशा में जाए तब उन्हें सही दिशा में मोड़ना
7. संसाधनों का प्रभावी ढ़ंग से उपयोग
8. नवाचार और सुधार
9. अन्य प्रदाताओं के साथ काम करना[2]

भारत सरकार के केंद्रीय सचिवालय कार्यालय पद्धति नियम पुस्तिका में दी गई परिभाषा के अनुसार "नागरिक घोषणा पत्र एक ऐसा दस्तावेज है जो सेवा के मानक, सूचना, चयन एवं निष्पक्षता, शिकायत निवारण, सौम्यता एवं धन के मूल्य के संबंध में अपने नागरिकों या

ग्राहकों के प्रति संगठन की प्रतिबद्धता पर ध्यान केंद्रित करने के लिए एक सुव्यवस्थित प्रयास का निरूपण करता है। इसमें संगठन की प्रतिबद्धता पूर्ण करने के लिए नागरिकों या ग्राहकों से अपेक्षाएं भी सम्मिलित हैं।"[3] नागरिक घोषणा पत्र अन्य बातों के साथ-साथ इस विशिष्ट बिंदु पर भी ध्यान केंद्रित करता है कि सेवा प्रदाता संस्थाएं अपनी कमियों या गलतियों के परिमार्जन हेतु उपायों को किस तरह अमल में ला सकती हैं।[4]

नागरिक घोषणा पत्र के सिद्धांत

नागरिक घोषणा पत्र नागरिकों को सेवा के वचनबद्ध मानकों की मांग करने के लिए सशक्त बनाने का एक उपकरण है जिसके माध्यम से यह सुनिश्चित किया जाता है कि सेवाएं आपूर्ति प्रेरित न होकर मांग प्रेरित हों और उसके केंद्र में वह जनता हो जिसे सेवा प्रदान की जानी है। इस उद्देश्य की प्राप्ति हेतु नागरिक घोषणा पत्र निम्नांकित छः सिद्धांतों हो अपना आधार बनाता है[5] -

1. **मानकों का निर्धारण** - आम लोगों की अपेक्षाओं को ध्यान में रखते हुए दी जाने वाली सेवाओं को लेकर स्पष्ट मानदंडों का निर्धारण, उनकी निगरानी और लोगों के मध्य उनका प्रचार-प्रसार नागरिक घोषणा पत्र का बुनियादी सिद्धांत है। इसमें यह बात समाहित है कि मानकों का निर्धारण करने के बाद उनके आधार कार्यों का सही तरीके से क्रियान्वयन, उन कार्यों का प्रकाशन तथा उनकी स्वतंत्र परीक्षा हो।
2. **सूचना एवं खुलापन** - नागरिक घोषणा पत्र सूचना के निर्बाध प्रवाह और पारदर्शिता का पक्षधर है, जिसके अंतर्गत लोगों को कार्य हेतु जिम्मेदार प्राधिकारी तथा कार्य की प्रक्रिया आदि से संबंधित संपूर्ण व सटीक सूचना सरल भाषा में उपलब्ध कराने पर बल देना अपेक्षित है।
3. **परामर्श एवं विकल्प** - उपभोक्ताओं अर्थात वे लोग जिन्हें सेवा उपलब्ध करानी है, के साथ परामर्श के आधार पर उनकी आवश्यकताओं और प्राथमिकताओं के अनुरूप लोक क्षेत्र द्वारा व्यावहारिक विकल्प की प्रस्तुति नागरिक घोषणा पत्र का तीसरा महत्वपूर्ण सिद्धांत है।
4. **शिष्ट एवं सहयोगी व्यवहार** - नागरिक घोषणा पत्र लोक सेवाओं से यह अपेक्षा करता है कि वे अपने कार्य के दौरान आम लोगों के साथ शिष्ट एवं सहयोगपूर्ण व्यवहार करेंगे और सबके प्रति समभाव रखेंगे।
5. **उचित तरीके से कार्य** - नागरिक घोषणा पत्र इस बात की व्यवस्था करता है कि प्रत्येक कार्य सही तरीके से हो और किसी तरह की त्रुटि होने पर न सिर्फ कारण बताते हुए इसके लिए क्षमा मांगी जाए बल्कि उसे अविलंब सुधारा भी जाए। शिकायत निवारण की प्रक्रिया ऐसी हो जो आसानी से समझ में आ सके और जिसका व्यापक प्रचार-प्रसार हुआ हो।
6. **पैसे की वाजिब कीमत** - लोक सेवकों को लोक सेवाओं का संचालन इस तरीके से करना चाहिए जिससे न्यूनतम समय, न्यूनतम लागत और न्यूनतम प्रयास के द्वारा मानक एवं गुणात्मक प्रदर्शन को सुनिश्चित किया जा सके ताकि जनता को उसके पैसे की वाजिब कीमत मिल सके।

भारत में नागरिक घोषणा पत्र का विकास

1990 के दशक में उदारीकरण, निजीकरण तथा विश्वव्यापीकरण की लहर ने भारतीय प्रशासनिक व्यवस्था को भी प्रभावित किया और नवीन लोक प्रबंधन की विचारधारा के साथ-साथ भारत में संवेदनशील तथा पेशेवर प्रशासनिक व्यवस्था को अमल में लाने के उद्देश्य से 1996 में उत्तरदायी प्रशासन के संबंध में एक राष्ट्रीय संवाद की शुरूआत हुई। इस संवाद प्रक्रिया में जो सबसे महत्वपूर्ण सुझाव उभरकर सामने आए उनमें से एक नागरिक घोषणा पत्र भी था। भारत में नागरिक घोषणा पत्र के विकास की प्रक्रिया में तीन मील के पत्थर रहे हैं –

1. मुख्य सचिवों के सम्मेलन (1996 ई.) की अनुशंसाएं – कारगर एवं जिम्मेदार प्रशासन के एजेंडे पर परिचर्चा हेतु 1996 में आयोजित मुख्य सचिवों के सम्मेलन में सर्वप्रथम लोक सेवाओं को उत्तरदायी, पारदर्शी, लोक मित्र तथा अधिक प्रभावी बनाने हेतु नागरिक घोषणा पत्रों के विकास हेतु सिफारिश की गई थी। इसमें लोक भागीदारी, लेखांकन एवं कार्य प्रदर्शन मूल्यांकन तथा निगरानी तंत्र के विकास के माध्यम से लोक नीतियों व लोक संस्थाओं को बदलते समय की जरूरतों के प्रति अनुक्रियाशील बनाने की पहल की गई जिससे कि यह आम जनता की उम्मीदों पर खरा उतर सकें।[6]
2. मुख्यमंत्रियों के सम्मेलन (1997 ई.) में उभरी कार्य योजना – मुख्य सचिवों के सम्मेलन के एक वर्ष पश्चात 1997 में जिम्मेदार, पारदर्शी और स्वच्छ प्रशासन हेतु सरकारी तंत्र को तैयार करने के लिए तत्कालीन प्रधानमंत्री इन्द्र कुमार गुजराल की अध्यक्षता में मुख्यमंत्रियों का सम्मेलन आयोजित किया गया जिसमें निम्नलिखित तीन महत्वपूर्ण विषयों युक्त कार्य योजना को स्वीकार किया गया –
   - प्रशासन को जवाबदेह और लोक मित्र बनाना
   - पारदर्शिता तथा सूचना के अधिकार को सुनिश्चित करना
   - लोक सेवाओं को प्रेरित और स्वच्छ बनाना[7]
3. प्रशासनिक सुधार और लोक शिकायत विभाग की भूमिका – भारत में नागरिक घोषणा पत्रों के विकास में प्रशासनिक सुधार और लोक शिकायत विभाग की अहम भूमिका रही है। विभाग ने उपभोक्ता मामलों के विभाग के साथ मंत्रणा करके इस दिशा में अनेक महत्वपूर्ण अनुशंसाएं की। प्रशासनिक सुधार और लोक शिकायत विभाग ने ही देश में पहली बार मॉडल घोषणा पत्र की रूपरेखा हेतु मार्गनिर्देश और क्या किया जाए तथा क्या नहीं किया जाए की एक सूची भी तैयार की ताकि विभिन्न सरकारी विभाग एक संकेंद्रित और प्रभावी घोषणा पत्र का निर्माण कर सके। घोषणा पत्र के निर्माण हेतु केंद्र तथा राज्य स्तर पर सरकारी एजेंसियों को यह सलाह दी गई कि वे उपयोगकर्ताओं, वरिष्ठ प्रबंधकों तथा अग्रणी कर्मचारियों को मिलाकर एक कार्य बल का गठन करें। इस घोषणा पत्र में निम्नलिखित विषयों को शामिल करने की अपेक्षा की गई थी –
   - दृष्टि और कार्य वक्तव्य
   - संगठन द्वारा संपादित कार्यों का विवरण

- ग्राहकों का विवरण
- प्रत्येक ग्राहक समूह को प्रदान की जाने वाली सेवाओं का विवरण
- शिकायत निवारण तंत्र और उसके उपयोग का विवरण
- ग्राहकों से अपेक्षाएं

भारत में नागरिक घोषणा पत्र का प्रारूप वैसे तो मुख्य रूप से ब्रिटिश प्रारूप पर आधारित है लेकिन इसमें "ग्राहकों से अपेक्षाओं" का एक अतिरिक्त घटक भी शामिल है।[8] उपरोक्त दिशानिर्देशों को आधार बनाकर केंद्र तथा राज्य सरकारों द्वारा अब तक 416 से अधिक नागरिक घोषणा पत्र जारी किए जा चुके हैं जिसमें अकेले दिल्ली सरकार द्वारा जारी नागरिक घोषणा पत्रों की संख्या 75 है।[9]

भारत में नागरिक घोषणा पत्र की प्रमुख कमियां

भारत में नागरिक घोषणा पत्रों को प्रारम्भ करने के तकरीबन एक दशक पश्चात 2007 में पब्लिक अफेयर्स सेंटर, बंगलोर ने इसकी प्रभाविता की समीक्षा की और इंडियाज सिटीजन्स चार्टर: ए डिकेड ऑफ एक्सपीरियंस के नाम से अपनी रिपोर्ट में इसकी कुछ त्रुटियों को उजागर किया, जो निम्नांकित है[10] –

1. **घटिया डिजाइन और विषय-वस्तु** – नागरिक घोषणा पत्रों के प्रारूप को देखने पर स्पष्ट होता है कि उनमें डिजाइनिंग और विषय-वस्तु के सम्बन्ध में अनेक त्रुटियां हैं जिसके पीछे एक बड़ी वजह संगठनों के पास इनके निर्माण की अपेक्षित योग्यता का न होना है। नागरिक घोषणा पत्रों में उत्तरदायित्व के तत्व को लेकर प्राय: अस्पष्टता देखने को मिलती है।
2. **सार्वजनिक जागरूकता का अभाव** – नागरिक घोषणा पत्र के संबंध में संस्थाओं ने नागरिक सचेतनता को विकसित किए बिना ही नागरिक घोषणा पत्र निर्मित करने का प्रयास किया। जन केंद्रित नागरिक घोषणा पत्र से जनता ही दूर रह गई। फलत: इन घोषणा पत्रों से अपेक्षित परिणाम प्राप्त नहीं हुए।
3. **अपर्याप्त आधार कार्य** – नागरिक घोषणा पत्र में जो वायदे किए जा रहे हैं उन्हें कैसे पूरा किया जाएगा और इसके लिए संगठन की संरचना, व्यवहार तथा कार्यविधि में क्या परिवर्तन लाने होंगे, इसका आकलन किए बिना ही ज्यादातर सरकारी संस्थाओं ने अपने-अपने नागरिक अधिकार पत्र जारी कर दिए, जिससे नागरिक घोषणा पत्र प्रभावी नहीं हो सके।
4. **नागरिक घोषणा पत्रों को शायद ही अद्यतन बनाया जाता है** – समय के साथ अपेक्षित परिवर्तनों का समायोजन न होना नागरिक घोषणा पत्रों की एक बहुत बड़ी समस्या है। लोक लेखा समिति ने अपनी रिपोर्ट में इस बात को उजागर किया है कि न सिर्फ घोषणा पत्र से संबंधित दस्तावेज अद्यतन नहीं थे बल्कि सिर्फ छह प्रतिशत घोषणा पत्रों में ही यह आश्वासन दिया गया था कि उनकी समय-समय पर समीक्षा की जाएगी।

5. **घोषणा पत्रों के निर्माण के दौरान अन्य उपयोगकर्ताओं और गैर सरकारी संगठनों से परामर्श नहीं लिया जाता** – सरकारी संगठन नागरिक घोषणा पत्र तैयार करते समय नागरिक समाज संगठनों से प्रायः परामर्श नहीं लेते, जबकि बेहतर घोषणा पत्र के निर्माण हेतु इसकी महती आवश्यकता होती है। वास्तव में नागरिक समाज संगठनों को जनता की जरूरतों की बेहतर जानकारी होने के कारण उन्हें इस प्रक्रिया में शामिल करने से घोषणा पत्रों को अधिक लोकोन्मुख बनाना संभव होता है।
6. **घोषणा पत्रों के निर्माण में वरिष्ठ नागरिकों एवं विकलांगों की आवश्यकताओं की अपेक्षा की जाती है** – वरिष्ठ नागरिकों तथा विकलांग ग्राहकों के हितों की उपेक्षा प्रायः सभी नागरिक घोषणा पत्रों में देखने को मिलती है जबकि इन उपभोक्ताओं पर अपेक्षाकृत अधिक ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता होती है।

नागरिक घोषणा पत्रों को अधिक प्रभावी बनाने हेतु सुझाव

नागरिक घोषणा पत्र मुख्यतः एक ग्राहक केंद्रित अवधारणा है जिसका उद्देश्य लोगों को उपलब्ध करायी जाने वाली सेवाओं की गुणवत्ता को बनाये रखने के साथ ही शासन के लोकतांत्रिक स्वरूप की भी रक्षा करना है। भारत जैसे देश में जहाँ सरकार और लोक सेवाएं आज भी लोगों के जीवन के प्रत्येक पक्ष का निर्धारण करने में सर्वाधिक प्रभावी भूमिका निभाती हैं, इन घोषणा पत्रों के क्रियान्वयन को अधिक से अधिक प्रभावी बनाने की आवश्यकता है। इस दिशा में निम्नलिखित सुझाव महत्वपूर्ण हो सकते हैं[11] –

नागरिक घोषणा पत्रों के प्रभावी क्रियान्वयन को सुनिश्चित करने हेतु संगठन में उचित समन्वय तथा घोषणा पत्र के मूल सिद्धांतों के साथ वचनबद्धता व तालमेल होना बेहद जरूरी है। शिकायत निवारण एवं निगरानी प्रणाली पर विशेष ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है।

1. नागरिक घोषणा पत्र का लक्ष्य न्यूनतम संभव समय, लागत एवं असुविधाओं के बगैर जनता को वांछनीय व गुणवत्तापूर्ण सेवा के जरिए अधिकतम संतुष्टि प्रदान करना होता है। इसके लिए आवश्यक है कि सेवा क्षेत्र में लगी विभिन्न एजेंसियों के मध्य समन्वयात्मक भावना को मजबूत किया जाए और ऐसी कार्यप्रणाली की स्थापना की जाए, जिसके द्वारा सभी के प्रयासों को समान लक्ष्यों के लिए एक साथ जोड़ा जा सके।
2. भारत में शासकीय दस्तावेजों की भाषा प्रायः दुरूह और अस्पष्ट होती है जिसे समझना आम लोगों के लिए अत्यंत कठिन होता है, साथ ही उन दस्तावेजों तक पहुँच भी आसानी से सुलभ नहीं होती, अतः नागरिक घोषणा पत्रों का न सिर्फ निर्माण सरल और स्पष्ट भाषा में होना चाहिए, बल्कि विभिन्न संचार माध्यमों से इनका व्यापक प्रचार-प्रसार भी होना चाहिए, ताकि लोगों को इनके बारे में जानकारी मिल सके।
3. नागरिक घोषणा पत्रों का निर्माण संगठन के अंदर व्यापक विचार-विमर्श के बाद किया जाना चाहिए, जिसके बाद नागरिक समाज के साथ सार्थक संवाद आयोजित किया जाना

चाहिए। इस स्तर पर विशेषज्ञों से प्राप्त सुझावों पर भी विचार किया जाना चाहिए।

4. अच्छे कार्यों हेतु प्रोत्साहन तथा लापरवाही से कार्य हेतु दंड की व्यवस्था नागरिक घोषणा पत्रों के प्रभावी क्रियान्वयन में महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभा सकती है अतः भारत में भी ब्रिटेन की तर्ज पर इस व्यवस्था को लागू किया जाना चाहिए।
5. लोक सेवाओं की संपूर्ण व्यवस्था को राजनीति और नौकरशाही की संकुचित विचारधारा पंगु बनाती है, अतः नागरिक घोषणा पत्र के प्रभावी क्रियान्वयन के लिए यह आवश्यक है कि इन्हें बिना किसी पक्षपात (राजनीतिक, आर्थिक, सामाजिक आदि आधार पर) के लागू किया जाए।
6. नागरिक घोषणा पत्र को समय के साथ-साथ अद्यतन किया जाना चाहिए, ताकि उसमें सामयिक जरूरतों का समावेश किया जा सके, जिससे ग्राहकों को अधिक बेहतर सेवा प्राप्त हो।
7. नागरिक घोषणा पत्र के प्रभावी क्रियान्वयन के लिए आवश्यक है कि घोषणा पत्रों का निर्माण व्यावहारिक लक्ष्यों और जनहित के आधार पर किया जाए, न कि लंबे-चौड़े अव्यावहारिक वायदों के आधार पर। इससे घोषणा पत्र की विश्वसनीयता कायम रहेगी। इसके साथ ही उनके क्रियान्वयन से जुड़े आर्थिक पक्ष पर भी ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है।

उपसंहार

भारत में नागरिक घोषणा पत्र को अस्तित्व में आए दो दशक से अधिक का समय बीत चुका है। इस दौरान इन्होंने प्रशासन के कामकाज के तौर-तरीकों में बड़ा बदलाव लाया है। हालांकि शुरूआती दौर में इन घोषणा पत्रों में अनेक त्रुटियाँ होने के कारण इनके नतीजे बहुत अधिक सकारात्मक नहीं दिख रहे थे लेकिन कालांतर में जैसे-जैसे लोग अपने अधिकारों को लेकर जागरूक हुए और प्रशासन में भी सेवा उपभोक्ताओं के प्रति जवाबदेही की भावना का विकास हुआ नागरिक घोषणा पत्रों के सार्थक नतीजे दिखने लगे हैं। आज नागरिक घोषणा पत्रों के प्रति प्रशासन व अन्य सरकारी संस्थाओं का रवैया अधिक सकारात्मक व समर्थक है, इसके बावजूद कुछ क्षेत्रों में सुधार की गुंजाईश बनी हुई है जिस पर ध्यान देने की जरूरत है। कुल मिलाकर अब तक के अनुभवों को देखें तो आशा ही नहीं अपितु पूर्ण विश्वास है कि आने वाले समय में भारत में नागरिक घोषणा पत्रों का न सिर्फ अधिक से अधिक विस्तार होगा बल्कि इसकी प्रभाविता में भी वृद्धि होगी।

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Glimpses of Activities of the IIPA Bihar Regional Branch

सतत विकास का लक्ष्य बिहार के लिए बेहद आवश्यक : श्याम रजक

विजेता हुए पुरस्कृत

बिहार सतत विकास की ओर अग्रसर