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Globalization is purely multi-dimensional, hybrid, localized in its effects and multi-causal which unfolds a continuous process. Since its appearance in the 1960s, the term globalization has been used in both popular and academic literature to describe a process, a condition, a system, a force, and an age (Steger 2006). Contemporary globalization involves disembedding, acceleration, standardization, interconnectedness, movement, mixing, vulnerability and of course re-embedding. Thus ‘globalization is not a unidirectional process. It has no end and no intrinsic purpose, and it is neither uncontested, unambiguous nor ubiquitous. If we want to see the whole picture, it must include both benefactors and victims, both the globalizers and those who are merely globalized, both those who are caught up in the whirlwind of global processes and those who are excluded’ (Eriksen 2007). Hence its far reaching fallouts have a bearing on global governance and sustainable development as well.

Though the roots of contemporary globalization lies in the modern period, yet the institutional mechanism which has brought its massive expansion today owes much to the information technology and communication revolution, Internet and the operation of Transnational Corporations (TNCs) worldwide. Perhaps ‘philosopher Hegel (1770-1831) was the first theorist of globalization, as he did not merely talk of connections between disparate areas and places but about such connections. Through his famous concept of the world-spirit (Weltgeist) an abstract entity immanent in all peoples but unevenly developed, Hegel saw the possibility of imagining all of humanity as a kind of community’ (Eriksen 2007). The process of interconnectedness that globalization has unleashed has been in the thinking of many great philosophers over the years. Immanuel Kant in an essay on eternal peace in 1791 advocated an idea of cosmopolitanism that entailed equitable and respectful dialogue between the peoples of the world regardless of their differences.

The 19th century was characterized by colonization, scientific discovery and industrialization in the North accompanying new forms of thought with new models of the world. As a result the growth in international trade in this century was formidable which helped humanity ushering into a new age. In the 1920s the Marxist theorist Leon Trotsky opined that socialism in one country is not possible as the world is too closely connected, so he put forward the idea of a world revolution. In the post-war era, the growth of the TNCs, international NGOs and the birth of the UN heralded a new era of global connectivity in all spheres of life. In the 1960s McLuhan coined the term ‘the global village’ to refer the new mass media situation, where especially television, in his view, would create shared frames of reference and mutual knowledge between people across the globe. Scholars like Rostow (1960) argued that in this process of development, poor countries would eventually come up with the rich ones.

By 1980s, thinkers like Samir Amin and A. G. Frank advocated that the rich countries were actively exploiting the poor ones and preventing them from developing. Around the same
time, Immanuel Wallerstein (1974-79) came up with his famous world system theory which traced the development of the contemporary world system to the international trade beginning in the 15th century. But he is not much hopeful about the current globalization. Eriksen notes that three factors roughly coinciding in time i.e. the end of the Cold War, birth of the Internet and emergence of identity politics have fast contributed to the intensification of global trade and transnational activity across the world. But this does not mean ‘that the world has been transformed fundamentally after 1980s, that the driving forces of both economic, political and cultural dynamics are transnational and that this is now widely acknowledged’ (Eriksen 2007:4).

This perspective is further expanded by sociologists like Anthony Giddens (1990) who correctly states: “Globalization can….be defined as the intensification of world- wide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice-versa.” Thus worldwide relations are referred as becoming more intense with an emphasis on the importance of interactions between the local and the global. In this process, local is not just shaped by the global but also the latter is strongly influenced by the former. Held et al. argues that globalization is a complex process which includes numerous processes rather than one activity or end, and involves both agency and structure, the input of actors into making it and external constraints on them. The three waves of globalization that Held and his colleagues’ term as hyperglobalist, skeptical and transformationalist. They all provide their views which are mostly interconnected but not entirely different from each other. Both the skeptics and hyperglobalists stress on the economic dimensions of globalization and the tranformationalists recognizes the existence of multiple dimensions embedded in it.

We can broadly say that ‘globalization does not entail the production of global uniformity or homogeneity. Rather, it can be seen as a way of organizing heterogeneity’ (Eriksen 2007: 10). The thematic landscape traversed by scholars of globalization is vast and they all offer their own dimensions but mostly they converge somewhere or other. The dominant perspectives on globalization have been challenged by the critics who claim globalization simply as a juggernaut of untrammeled capitalism or nothing else. Thomas Macaulay correctly notes: “Free trade, one of the greatest blessings which a government can confer on a people, is in almost every country unpopular” (1824). Thus, globalizations major benefits are openly questioned both at theoretical and practical levels.

There is deep skepticism of the idea that one single theory or perspective could explain globalization. With this we open the door to exploration of multiple dimensions to emphasize on many possible paradigms for developing a reasoned explanation of globalization. The opponents veer around many contesting paradigms like peoples globalization vs. corporate globalization, globalization from above vs. globalization from below etc. The anti-globalization movements are principally against neoliberal globalization which is seen to transfer power to MNCs and the developed nations so that they can gain access to markets of the developing nations, exploit cheap labour and loosen environmental standards etc. Thus ‘with the prefixes neo-liberal or corporate, globalization is condemned as a malign force that impoverishes the masses, destroys cultures, undermines democracy, imposes Americanization, lays waste the welfare state, ruins the environment and enthrones greed’ (Wolf 2004). They see economic interdependence as purely a new form of imperialism to plunder the resources of the developing nations. George Soros notes: “By allowing market values to become all important, we actually narrow the space for moral judgment and undermine public morality….Globalization has increased this aberration, because it has
actually reduced the power of individual states to determine their destiny” (New York Times December 6, 1998).

The anti-globalizers aim to rescue democratic space for ordinary people. To them, democracy has been taken from the common people and put in the clutches of states, unaccountable MNCs and international institutions dictated by global capitalist forces. The globalization process is regarded as lopsided as it imposes the political and cultural values of the West on the rest of the world. It is nothing but Westernization but only by another name. The American sociologist William Robinson (2012) offers nine theses on the fundamental dynamics of our epoch: capitalist globalization in which he describes it as anti-democratic, leads to the rise of poverty amidst plenty, and contributes to growing racial, ethnic, and gender inequality. Benjamin Barber strongly questions the positive impacts of economic globalization and he espies a fast moving homogenous McWorld which imposes American popular culture over the rest of the world.

Huntington (2012) laments that the globe is now divided into several civilizations with conflicting worldviews and they strongly resist incorporating into one world society. But Gills (2006) argues that ‘the mis-labelled anti-globalization movements are more often than not in fact advocates of an alternative globalization or alter-globalization inspired by the belief that another world is possible, the global slogan of the World Social Forum and its supporters. Thus even so-called resistance to globalization is not external to the process of globalization, not merely reactive, but very much an integral and internal part of the historical processes of change that we call globalizations.’ However, Prof. Sen (2012) recognizes the benefits of globalization and strongly refutes the idea that it is a new Western curse. But he agrees with the critics of globalization that it is profoundly unjust in its consequences. For him the main question is not whether to use the global market economy, but how to create institutions that can lead to a more equitable distribution of its benefits.

This author agrees to slice and dice both the critics and proponents of globalization because both of them are extremely biased. It is in the interest of teeming millions of common people, a deeply reasoned and cogently explained analysis of globalization is argued for in future. As globalization by now is an inevitable part of our life, therefore a civilized, wise and optimistic view of our economic and political future particularly is highly desirable. The continued debate in and around globalization and its impact reflects a common global consciousness about the new ‘great transformation’ (Polanyi 1957) of our time, but it does not lead to any global consensus at all. When it comes to the future of globalization, I would definitely go ahead with the Chinese proverb which aptly matches the unfolding and inevitable bearings of it: “To prophesy is extremely difficult----especially with respect to the future.”

References
Elementary Education and Economic Reforms: Impact on Marginalized Communities

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Abstract
In India children from the lower socio-economic and marginalized classes have to fight myriad battles to access and exercise their basic fundamental rights; one such being the right to education. Such classes largely depend upon the government school system as they lack the wherewithal to access private schools. However, the government schools have debilitated on various parameters over the last two decades. The economic policies implemented in India beginning 1991-92 created an atmosphere where catch phrases like ‘fiscal prudence’ and ‘increased private participation’ greatly reduced financial resources available to the social sector-education in particular. A gendered analysis of the process of debilitation reveals that young girls are doubly disadvantaged owing to socio-cultural factors that keep them from pursuing education and the State’s reluctance to intervene and ensure quality education for them.

Keywords: Globalization, Elementary Education, Gender, Budgets

Introduction
Globalization in the 21st century is a very widely debated topic. Many have glorified it and heralded its arrival as the answer to the world’s problems. Others have critiqued it on several grounds and held it responsible for not only exacerbating the already existing problems of poverty, unemployment, gender inequality etc. but also of creating new ones. Before we proceed to the crux of this paper, we need to briefly understand globalization. Today we talk about the spread of globalization across various themes. In its simplest form, it was intended to be a process of unification of the world’s economic order through reduction of such barriers to international trade as tariffs, export fees, and import quotas. However it not just an economic concept but something that has affected the socio-political-cultural fabric of every country across the world.

In India, we saw this process unfolding in the form of the 1991-92 economic ‘reforms’, where the buzz word was LPG- Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization. India opened up its markets as dictated by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank and World Trade Organization (WTO). The justification for the massive deregulation, privatization and dismantling of tariffs and quotas was the severe fiscal crunch and balance of payments (BOP) deficit faced by the country around the late 1980’s.

These reforms changed the policy climate of India by according more importance to certain sectors at the behest of others. High budgetary allocations to some sectors and low allocations to others is a clear indicator of the bias that has guided policy-making in this
The social sector in India has been accorded the status of being a ‘soft sector’, meaning that it is treated as the residual sector within policy-making.

The objective of this paper is to look at how these reforms have dictated financial allocations to the education sector, more specifically elementary education. We then study how certain marginalized classes and girls are largely dependent on the public education system that is falling apart due to poor funding and lack of political will. We begin by understanding some of the key turning points in policy-making on education and then look at the current financial scenario in elementary education and its consequent impact on the marginalized classes that access public education.

**Some Policy Landmarks in Elementary Education**

In India the right to education for the masses has historically met with stiff resistance. The British did not conceive of the idea that education should be the right for all and not just a privileged few. Preliminary attempts to alter this prejudiced scenario faced obstacles laid down by the ruling classes at that time who did not prioritise education for the lower socio-economic classes. Various educators and activists have also opined that the main reason behind them not prioritising education for the masses has been the need to maintain social stratification in the society. Education is an important means for these classes to break the social order and move up from their current status. The ruling elite needed to maintain that order for social, economic and political benefits. In Myron Weiner’s words, “…..the political tendency in India has been to pull up the drawbridge once one has made it across, rather than to lend a helping hand to those who have been left behind.” (Weiner, 1996)

i. Kothari Commission (1964-66)

There have been several important milestones in the journey of educational policy in this country, but due to certain limitation of this paper, we will be focusing on a few of them. The Kothari Commission (1964-66) was seen as the first voice to emphasize the importance of liberally allocating finances for education and giving concrete recommendations as well. The Commission pushed for allocation of 6% of the country’s GNP towards educational development. A commitment towards this allocation was made by the National Policy on Education (NPE) in 196, NPE (1986) and yet again in the NPE Revised (1992). At that time education was still on the State list, but despite that the Commission called for a larger role of the Central government in funding elementary education. This commitment is yet to see the light of day despite repeated reiteration in several government policies and documents.


The Jomtien Framework acknowledged colossal gaps in attainment of primary education for children as well as adult and vocational education. It made mention of how “cutbacks in government expenditure over the 1980’s have led to the deterioration of education.”

Quite refreshingly, the framework gave importance to local systems of knowledge and how these cannot be ignored or overlooked by the more ‘mainstream’ forms of knowledge. Article IV (Focussing on Learning) highlighted the need to look beyond enrolments in assessing the achievements in education. It specifically stated that inter-sectoral transfer of funds is essential if education is to get its due. For e.g. military spending should be curtailed to divert funds to education.
iii. Dakar Framework for Action- Dakar, Senegal, 2000

The Dakar Framework, while reinforcing the objectives of the Jomtien Declaration, called for governments and international organizations to enhance quantum of funds for education. Education needs to be such that it breaks social and economic barriers instead of strengthening them and creating new ones. However it does give considerable importance to the World Bank, regional development banks and the private sector to provide funds for the education sector in those nations perceived to be too poor to gather funds themselves. The Framework at some level also contradicts itself by pointedly mentioning the indispensable role of the government in ensuring education for all while at the same time calling for a greater role of international and private aid. But it is interesting to note the inclusionary tone of the framework. It says that “there is a powerful correlation between low enrolment, poor retention and unsatisfactory learning outcomes and the incidence of poverty.” It took specific note of the fact that education is not given adequate priority in government budgets.

iv. Millenium Development Goals (MDGs)

All 189 UN member states pledged to achieve all 8 MDGs by 2015. The latest update on the status of completion of the MDGs by UNDP states that between 2000-11, there has been a more than 50% decline in the number of out-of-school children globally. However weakening efforts in the last few years has made it unlikely for the world to achieve universal primary education (one of the goals) by 2015. Despite progressive national and international policies on education, the ground-level realities in India are far from ideal. The consequent sections will highlight this claim.

Budgetary Allocations and Elementary Education

In 1976, the 42nd amendment to the Constitution converted education from a State to a Concurrent subject, giving the primary responsibility for policy-making and financing education to both the Centre and the State.

Studies conducted on the status of financing of education post reforms have indicated that the share of expenditure on education by the Centre has been in the range of 2-4 %, whereas, that for the states has been between 13-21%. This means that the burden of financing education has fallen squarely on the states' shoulders. The bulk of the expenditure on education is undertaken by the Education Departments. From the 9th five-year Plan onwards, the Education departments were spending 25% of the total funds on elementary education. With the coming of the SSA, this figure went up to 30-50+% 2000-01 onwards. However in absolute terms, the figures still look quite dismal. The Tapas Majumdar Committee set up in 1999, provided an estimate of the total public expenditure required in order to universalise elementary education. This figure was distributed over ten years from 1998-99 to 2007-08. Needless to say that each year the number provided by the committee was higher than that actually spent leading to a large deficit. Table 1 (Annexure I) shows this difference over a period from 1998-99 to 2005-06. The deficit as of 2005-06 stood at Rs.217.66 billion.

In the 11th five year Plan, the allocation for SSA increased from Rs.21,360 crores in 2007-08 to Rs.61, 734 crores in 2011-12. For the year 2013-14 Rs.79, 451 crores have been allotted to education, out of which almost 52% is for elementary education. This is progress in terms
of budgetary allotments, but most of the progress is offset by inadequate expenditures. Figure 2 (Annexure II) shows the gap between allocations and actual expenditure within elementary education. Between 2007-08 to 2011-12, the allocation to elementary education has more than doubled, but not expenditure which essentially defeats the purpose of increasing allocations to a particular sector. Due to lower overall expenditure, the per-child expenditure by the government works out to be less than the out-of-pocket expenses incurred by households on education of a child.

The change in macro-economic policies and the structural adjustment programme wrecked havoc on some states while benefiting others. Those states that had sound infrastructure to begin with saw rapid increases in economic growth due to the growth in the services and IT sector, whereas, the poor states just got poorer. The era of economic reforms also saw high rates of interest on borrowings by the states. As a result, the fiscal deficit of the states (the total borrowing to be incurred by the government in a given year for bridging the difference between expenditure and receipt) rose rapidly. Successive governments at the Centre have chosen to curtail spending as opposed to reducing interest rates on public debt to rein in fiscal deficit. Unlike other countries the Centre has not considered expanding its tax revenue base by increasing taxation of the super-rich category and also reducing expenditure in sectors like Defence which get high budgetary allocations at the expense of the social and rural development sectors. Curtailing fiscal deficits as mentioned above reduces the amounts available for sectors like education, as these are considered ‘soft sectors’ and are the first to be axed when expenditures need to be slashed.

Insufficient funds and/or under-utilization of funds, both contribute to the debilitation in the quality of education being imparted in government schools. Infrastructure (schools building, playgrounds, libraries, blackboard, furniture etc.), quantity and quality of teachers, quality of mid-day meals etc. are to a large extent dependent on the flow of funds coming to schools.

Marginalized Communities, Gender and Elementary Education

Caste and gender-based inequalities are rather deeply entrenched in Indian society. There are big gaps between the socio-economic status of the so-called upper and lower castes. It is imperative that we talk about the educational status of these communities, because the actual assessment of the education system is to see whether it is benefits those living at the margins. Gender-based discrimination is a phenomenon cross-cutting different castes, classes and religions. Empowering education is extremely important for everybody, but within this sphere we find disparities between the educational experiences of boys and girls. In this section we will look at the current educational status of SCs and STs as well as girls in general within elementary education and its relation with the quality of public education being imparted in the country.

The SC’s and ST’s have diverse histories and cultures as well as reasons behind their low socio-economic status in the country. Historically the SCs lived separately from the other caste Hindus. They have been banned from common resources like land and water and their link to menial jobs (including manual scavenging) is an impediment to their social and economic mobility. The ST’s, on the other hand, suffer from a ‘double disadvantage’ (term used by K. Sujatha) due to large-scale displacement from their habitat due to rapid
industrialization as well as their socio-cultural marginalization from mainstream society. It is interesting to note that the liberation movements of SC’s in South and South-Western India have been centred on education as it is seen as an enabler (Sedwal & Kamat, 2011).

Table 2 (Annexure I), gives the enrolment rates of SC and ST students in primary and upper-primary classes distributed between government and private management schools. As of 2006-07, 82.34% of SC children in class I-V and 87.36% in class VI-VII were enrolled in government schools. At the same time, 67.35% of ST children in class I-V and 74.49% in class VI-VIII were enrolled in government schools. These figures point to an obvious fact that majority of the children belonging to the SC and ST communities study in government schools.

From Table 4 (Annexure I), we can see that girls enrolment has been consistently lesser as compared to the boys in elementary education. Further, percentage of girls’ enrolment in primary classes in government managed schools was found to be higher at 49.09 than in private managed schools, where it was 44.86. In upper primary classes the respective enrolments were 47.38 percent and 45.19 percent and for overall elementary education 48.71 percent and 44.98 percent as of 2006-07. Girl’s access to education is marred by socio-cultural barriers where they are expected to do household work, take care of their siblings and more often get married quite early. Another obstacle is the question of their safety. Parents are fearful of sexual assaults on their daughters and since female sexuality is linked to family ‘honour’, it becomes all the more imperative for the families to limit their daughters’ movements. As a result, female enrolment starts declining around the age of puberty for girls. Apart from anxiety over their daughters’ sexuality, parents are unconvinced of the investment in educating them. This is evident in the fact that a higher percentage of boys are sent to private schools by their parents and in several cases the same parents send their daughters to nearby government schools. Even slightly well-off households are willing to spend money on their sons’ tuitions, but no such efforts are made for the daughters.

Having noted that certain marginalized communities and girls in general are dependent on the public education system, it is important to briefly look at the current scenario of the government schools and assess the extent of their compliance to quality norms. The RTE is almost completing three of implementation and therefore we need to assess its performance along some parameters and understand the consequent impact on children from marginalized communities attending these schools.

A study conducted in 2012 revealed that 95.2% of the schools did not comply with the standards laid down under RTE. “Only 4.8 per cent of government schools have all nine facilities stipulated under the Act; eight of the nine facilities are present in 11.41 per cent schools; approximately one-third of the schools have up to seven facilities and about 30 per cent schools do not have even five facilities.”

The annual RTE Forum Study stated that almost 4% of habitations (including hilly terrains in Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakhand, tribal belts of Chhattisgarh, Odisha etc.) do not have primary schools within walking distance. Tribal children living in these regions have to travel long distances to attend school in such situations and more often than not, they’re unable
to do so. In 2009-10, only 4.8% of government schools have all nine facilities stipulated under the RTE Act. 11.41% have eight of the nine facilities. Approximately 1/3rd of the schools have up to seven facilities and about 30% schools do not even have five. In 2010-11, 1 in 10 schools lacked drinking water facilities, 2 schools in 5 lacked a functional common toilet where 2 in 5 lacked a separate toilet for girls, 3 schools in 5 were not electrified, 1 school in 5 had a computer and 40% primary schools have a pupil-teacher ratio higher than 30:1 (RTE Forum Study). Electricity, clean drinking water and functional toilets are the most basic requirements in schools, yet we see how our public schools are struggling to provide the most basic of facilities.

The RTE Forum Report states that 6, 89, 268 sanctioned teacher posts remained vacant in 2011. ASER 2012 says that 12.4% schools remained single-teacher schools. In addition, according to DISE 2011, 1 in 10 teachers appointed are on a contract. In the period 2009-10 and 2010-11, para-teachers were recruited in a number of states. The 12th JRM says that the government admitted that the number of teachers requiring training exceeds current capacity of recognized teacher training institutes. States like UP, Bihar, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal and Odisha suffer from the largest backlog in terms of recruitment of teachers qualified as per RTE norms. Unfortunately only 7% of the 7.85 lakh applicants for the national Teacher Eligibility Test (TET) conducted by CBSE actually cleared the exam! It is extremely important that the government reduce the involvement of teachers in non-teaching activities like polio drops campaign or census data collection. This reduces the time teachers have for teaching and to deal with other student and school-related issues. With fewer teachers and untrained teachers, we are gambling with the future of these children. They are not given individual attention and are being taught by teachers who are not able to relate with their lived realities.

**Conclusion**

Clearly the current scenario in government schools warrants a closer look. Higher investment of resources and time to improve the situation has to begin with more funds being allocated for this sector. Teacher training institutes, functional toilets in schools, desks and chairs in classrooms, playgrounds for every school, good quality of mid-day meals etc., all these interventions will be successful only with proper utilisation of existing funds as well as increased allocation and timely disbursal of funds for the same. In the case of girls, special schemes like KGBVs need to be expanded to all States and allocated more funds.

The poor quality of government schools will ‘push-out’ children belonging to lower socio-economic classes, as they are the ones accessing such schools. Over time with low enrolment rates, the government has an excuse to shut down its schools and pave greater way for private unaided schools. Increased privatization has rendered education as any other commodity bought and sold in the market, and only those with the financial capability can ‘buy’ it (Sadgopal, 2010).

In the current scenario the message we’re giving out is that children studying in government schools are not meant to access quality education, worthy of respect from teachers and peers and an opportunity for holistic development. We need to change that message.
Endnotes


5 Retrieved from: http://www.dise.in/Downloads/Publications/Publication%20200607/AR0607/Enrolment%20Based%20Indicators.pdf. Website last accessed on November 6, 2013.

6 Based on the author’s field-work in rural areas.


8 Status of Implementation of the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act 2009: Year two (2011-12), RTE Forum

9 The KGBV scheme has been functioning since 2004 in 27 states. They provide residential schooling facilities to those girls who have dropped out in primary school and help them complete the elementary-level of education via bridge courses and tutorials. It exclusively caters to girls from the SC, ST, OBC, religious minorities’ groups as well as those living under the poverty line. At present there are 1, 90, 404 girls studying in a total of 2578 KGBVs. The financial allocation to this program falls short of the generous funds allocated to schemes like Navodaya Vidyalayas. The fact that several KGBVs are functioning with 3-5 toilets for 80-100 girls is appalling. The teachers appointed in KGBVs get minimal training, but these are not enough to understand and grapple with the learning and other needs of the girls studying there.

References


Annexure I- Tables

**Table 1** Gaps in Additional expenditure on Elementary education (1998-99 to 2005-06) vis-à-vis the requirement estimated by the Tapas Majumdar Committee

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year (A)</th>
<th>Required additional expenditure on EE (B)</th>
<th>Additional expenditure incurred on EE (C)</th>
<th>Gap (B-C)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1998-99</td>
<td>1.10</td>
<td>47.23</td>
<td>-46.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999-00</td>
<td>39.97</td>
<td>59.72</td>
<td>-19.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000-01</td>
<td>85.68</td>
<td>-13.28</td>
<td>98.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001-02</td>
<td>126.80</td>
<td>27.35</td>
<td>99.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002-03</td>
<td>163.87</td>
<td>9.80</td>
<td>154.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003-04</td>
<td>193.48</td>
<td>47.86</td>
<td>145.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004-05</td>
<td>250.24</td>
<td>23.25</td>
<td>226.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005-06</td>
<td>307.20</td>
<td>89.53</td>
<td>217.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total up to 2005-06</td>
<td>1168.35</td>
<td>291.47</td>
<td>876.87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Table 2** SC and ST enrolment in government and private management schools in 2006-07

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Government management schools (%)</th>
<th>Private management schools (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SC</td>
<td>I-V</td>
<td>82.34</td>
<td>17.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VI-VIII</td>
<td>87.36</td>
<td>12.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ST</td>
<td>I-V</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>32.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VI-VIII</td>
<td>74.49</td>
<td>25.51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: DISE website
Table 3 Female enrolment in elementary education in government and private management schools from 2003-04 to 2006-07

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Government management schools (%)</th>
<th>Private management schools (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2003-04</td>
<td>47.51</td>
<td>44.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004-05</td>
<td>47.76</td>
<td>44.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005-06</td>
<td>48.20</td>
<td>44.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006-07</td>
<td>48.71</td>
<td>44.98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: DISE website

Table 4 Gender-wise enrolment in elementary education from 2005-06 to 2009-10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Girls enrolment</th>
<th>Boys enrolment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2005-06</td>
<td>7.94</td>
<td>8.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006-07</td>
<td>8.55</td>
<td>9.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007-08</td>
<td>8.86</td>
<td>9.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008-09</td>
<td>9.04</td>
<td>9.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009-10</td>
<td>9.09</td>
<td>9.71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Planning Commission website  
*all figures in Crores
Annexure II- Figures

Figure 1 A comparison of the percentage of GDP spent on Education spent by India and other countries

![Percentage of GDP spent on Education](image)

Source: (UNICEF & CGBA, 2011)

Figure 2: Differences between budgetary allocations and actual expenditure under SSA

![Allocations (AWP&B) in cr. vs Expenditures in cr.](image)

Source: (UNICEF & CGBA, 2011)
Neo-Liberal Globalization and the Commoditization of Life: A Comprehensive Perspective

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Abstract
The Neoliberal theorem of globalization in the era of rampant capitalization has brought about the dehumanized practice of trafficking of life and the merchandizing of the organs, which effectuates itself as one of the most pressing concerns of this era. The all-encompassing effect of the phenomena of globalization has led to the conversion of every object into commodity with a price for everything and value of nothing. Thus, a pertinent question that needs to be asked is what can be the possible repercussions of the “Life for sale” model that governs our world today? This Paper seeks to critically analyze how this practice strikes a blow at the Right to life of the human-kind. Firstly, this paper will supply an insight into the concept of commoditization in a Globalized era and the underlying reasons for its unabated continuance. Further, the authors will shed light on the current scenario, purporting its ramifications on various classes of society with the paradigm of laws being the vantage point of analysis. In conclusion, with the tool of case studies, the paper seeks to sensitize the reader about the undignified living of those suffering from the problem and the possible mitigation strategies.

Keywords: Neoliberal Theorem, Globalization, Commoditization

Introduction
Human body and its parts have a long history of being victimized by the scourge of commoditization, within a multitude of cultural settings. In the neoliberal age of the celebration of markets, the pervasive expansion of markets and the role of commodification have come under intense scrutiny. In simple terms, commoditization of human beings signifies assignment of an economic value to a human being to such an extent that they become market commodities and can be bought and sold for profit. The medicalization of life, the fragmentation of the body, and the subjectification of colonized subjects all potentially dehumanize individuals and categories of persons in the name of profit. The most prominent examples of commoditization in the globalized era are human trafficking and organ trade. The flagitious practice of selling body and its parts have increased manifold in the last half of the 21st century. The all-encompassing effect of the phenomena of globalization has led to the conversion of every object into commodity with a price for everything and value of nothing.

Commoditization in Neo-Liberal Era

Concept and Meaning: Commodification is used to describe the process by which something which does not have an economic value is assigned a value and hence how market values can replace other social values. The practice of using body or body parts as commodities,
derive their morality from the views found in Libertarian political thought which held that body and its parts may be brought, rented and sold. This philosophy traces its conceptual ancestry to the seventeenth century philosopher John Locke, who argued that each individual's body belongs to that individual, and that individuals can acquire other properties by appropriating them from nature and mixing their labour with those things. According to Andrews, the principle of autonomy provides a basis for treating the body as property. With the coming up of globalization, commodification and merchandise of humans and their body parts became wanton and also prosperous. Globalization facilitated the heinous practices of organ trade, human trafficking, sex trade etc. with the development of medical technology and progress of market economy. As medicines for transplantation continue to advance, more tissues, organs are becoming resources for medical purposes and their commercial value as commodities also increases. Even biotechnology contributes to the woes of commodification of human bodies. In fact, the commodification of the human body is an extension of the commodification of the natural environment such as land and natural resources, of animals and plants, and of human labor (a part of the “functions” of the human body).

**Human Trafficking and Organ Trade:** Human trafficking involves acts of recruiting, transporting, transferring, harboring or receiving a person through the use of threat, abduction, fraud, deception, force or other coercive means for the purpose of exploitation. Although it is difficult to measure the scope of trafficking of human bodies (THB) due to its intentionally hidden nature, the U.S. Department of State, a government organ that annually reports on transnational THB trends, estimates that up to 800,000 people are trafficked across international borders every year. The innumerable definitions of human trafficking vary in length and concreteness but their core aspects remain constant i.e. coercion, deception and exploitation. People engaged in human trafficking do not always end up in the sex industry. Many victims are also exploited for the purpose of domestic work, marriage, industrial and agricultural work, and trade in human organs. More subtle forms of body trafficking drive a transnational trade in adoptable children.

Organ sale—for example, allowing or encouraging consenting adults to become living kidney donors in return for money—has been proposed as a possible solution to the seemingly chronic shortage of organs for transplantation. The menace of organ trade has divided the world population into two groups: organ donors and organ receivers. In the last three decades, organ transplantation has increased manifold as a common procedure in hospitals and clinics around the world. This rise in organ transplantation has led to the global shortage of the number of viable organs in the world. The capitalistic society of today taking full advantage of the situation, resorts to organ trade to achieve this shortage. The confluence in the flows of immigrant workers and itinerant kidney sellers who fall prey to sophisticated but unscrupulous transnational organ brokers is a subtext in the recent history of globalization. In a market context, paying for a kidney “donation” is viewed as a potential “win-win” situation that can benefit both parties.

**Commoditization over the Years: Development and Influential Factors**
Commodification of human body usually takes place because of a number of advantages which the human body offers to the perpetrators of the crime. It acts as a production site, where the demands of capitalist labour lead to dehumanization of subjects, female bodies
are majorly exploited because of their reproductive potential, body fragments may be emotionally charged objects of desire, embodying prized transformative properties that bear the power to harm or heal etc. Poverty and financial deprivation are the major factors which influence commoditization. Thus, the practice is mostly prevalent in the poverty-stricken areas of the least-developed and developing countries. Lack of employment opportunities also forces people to engage in the practice of trafficking and organ trade to earn easy money. Other reasons or factors which influence this commoditization of human life are lack of general awareness, lack of education, traditional beliefs and practices, low social status etc.

**Current Scenario: A Global Perspective**
Commodification of life in the forms of human trafficking and organ trade is a worldwide phenomenon today. They continue to exist and thrive in almost every major country around the world. The World Health Organization reports that kidney transplants are carried out in near about 100 countries. Around 66,000 kidney transplants, 21,000 liver transplants and 6,000 heart transplants were performed globally in 2005. The use of live donors for kidney and liver transplantation is also practiced, but the purchase and sale of transplant organs from live donors are prohibited in many countries.

The Voluntary Health Association of India estimates that about 2000 Indians sell a kidney every year. In China, organs are usually secured from prisoners. Nicholas Bequelin, a researcher for Human Rights Watch, estimated that 90 percent of organs from China are from deceased prisoners. Since China has ceased the legal sale of organs, global prices are estimated to have risen 40%. In Colombia, where 69 of 873 organ transplants were performed on foreigners, there is an allegation that organs of deceased donors were used in the organ transplants that were commercially arranged for foreigners. Bolivia, Iraq, Brazil, Peru, Turkey etc. are other countries where kidneys are reportedly sold. A report by Organs Watch, an organization based at the University of California, USA, identified Australia, Canada, Israel, Japan, Oman, Saudi Arabia and the USA as major organ-importing countries.

Human trafficking is considered as the third largest criminal industry in the world after drug dealing and arms industries. It is estimated by the United Nations that trafficking in person generates $7 to $10 billion annually. In trafficking, victims usually come from almost all developing countries. It is estimated, for example, that 50,000 people are trafficked into the United States every year, most of whom are sold into prostitution. In 2009, 1.2 million children were estimated to be trafficked across the world for sexual exploitation and according to UNICEF; 12.6 million children are estimated to be engaged in hazardous occupations.

**Ramifications on the Victim and the Society**
In the light of holistically examining the idea of commoditization of human bodies and humans themselves, it is essential to take a peek into the possible ramifications that such an activity has on both the victims and the society, as it is said that the benefit to the supplier should never outweigh the loss to the society. Hence, the possible repercussions of such an economical behaviour on the victim and the society need to be analyzed.
1) Victim
   - The objectification of humans constitutes stripping them of all rights bestowed upon them on covenants of the society and hence becomes a challenge unto law itself.
   - It involves the creation of a low self-esteem in the victims in order to facilitate control which often leads to depression or suicide.
   - It aims to remove the individual from the purview of the state and the law itself and hence destabilized social contract theory.

2) Society
   - The stripping of the persona of humanity from a person requires the development of an equally antisocial personality on the part of the perpetrator and hence harms the perpetrator himself.
   - In the current context the objectification of humans leads to a moral degradation of the society as a whole
   - The creation of fear in the society with regards to such behaviour being meted out them is a frequent perpetrator of social dissatisfaction and riots.
   - In the specific case of prostitution, it has capability to create marital tension and may lead to disintegration of the family unit.

The Present Legal Paradigm Governing Commoditization: A Critical Assessment

Human trafficking has been a matter of great importance for countries worldwide not only because this illicit crime is one of the fastest growing crimes which dehumanizes and erodes human dignity but also because it involves different countries, regions, and continents. To this end many international instruments have been effectuated as follows:

   - Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, entered into force in 1957 – This convention that was passed by the UN bans debt bondage, serfdom, early and servile marriage and child servitude.
   - Convention on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age for Marriage, and Registration of Marriages, entered into force in 1964 – Signed by 16 countries and ratified by 55, this convention focuses on protecting victims that are lured into the trap of commoditization by the tool of fraudulent marriages. As it has been seen that many a prostitutes spawning the trade were brought into the murk by such marriages.
   - Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children; is a protocol to the Convention against Transnational Organised Crime and came into force on 25 December 2003. This convention that has been ratified by 158 states comprehensively handles the scheme of both punishment and protection that are required by an effective law. However, most importantly, it provides for the systematic definition of such crime taking into account concepts such a recruitment, transportation and harbouring by means of threat, abduction, use of force, etc. It also reflects well on the purposive content of trafficking, thus giving a holistic idea of the same.
   - ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182) is one of the convention that has specifically made child trafficking a high graded offense. This convention that enjoyed one of the fastest ratifications provides for severe punishments to various forms of commoditization of child such as pornography and usage in sex industries.
Additionally Anti-human trafficking also has become a key task for many international organizations such as TOM, ILO, UNIAF, UNIFEM, Human Rights Watch, and Global Alliance against Trafficking in Women, Save the Children, and Coalition against Trafficking in Women. Human trafficking has been a matter of great importance for countries worldwide not only because this illicit crime is one of the fastest growing crimes which dehumanizes and erodes human dignity but also because it involves different countries, regions, and continents. To this end, the UN Protocol 2000, has been signed by as many as 117 countries. This projects a commitment to take strong actions to stop trafficking. However, this protocol isn’t the be all and the end all with regards to combating human commoditization. The laxity for the enactment of certain strong domestic laws or the blind eye shown by 17 countries show that a mere global treaty isn’t enough to combat this global issue of commoditization of life.

Possible Mitigation Strategies
Combating human trafficking is a transnational problem, but we need to keep in mind that one has to think globally but act locally. Thus, it must be targeted through a multilateral approach. Commodification is the modern terminology for slavery, which many people are not aware of. There are many societies around the world which are not aware of the fact that human trafficking and organ trade are global issues which affect almost every country of the world. Thus, to combat this menace at the grassroots level, NGOs and IGOs need to step up to the task of creating awareness regarding the issue and its ramifications. They should organize campaigns, seminars and widen their network to bring about effective awareness amongst the people. There should be establishment of intergovernmental organizations targeted towards the serial combating of the phenomena. Just as health care systems worldwide make use of institutional ethics committees to review research involving human subjects, organ transplantation stands to gain a lot from the contribution of ethics committees in sorting out the variable arrangements that can be proposed for the donation of transplantable organs. Another pertinent mitigating strategy is checking corrupt governments. The officials of such Governments do not implement the laws for the vulnerable section of the society properly. International organizations can help people living under corrupt governments to fight them. Commoditization in the form of trafficking and trade is a global issue and cannot be tackled separately by individual governments. This solution is a long-term goal that governments should consider because by creating one set of rules that every country can agree on, the fight against human trafficking will be easier. Since poverty is a major player in contributing to trafficking, loans to poor people by way of micro-financing can help to fight this issue. Micro-financing is a way to promote sustainable development in developing countries and transform areas at risk of human trafficking into more secure zones.

Conclusion
One of the gifts that has been brought to us by the 21st century is the wonder of seeing the world around us shrink at a rapid pace with the serum of globalization. The purposive economic and social integration on various fronts however, do not exclude the prominence of issues laced with negative connotations spreading on an international front. Along the same lines we seek to examine that the how the issue of Human trafficking, which has become a globally prominent issue, adversely affecting individual development, national, regional and global security, but also contravenes international conventions on human
Throughout this integrated world, the marginalized section of the society lives under the shadow of exploitation in the developed and the developing world alike, thus giving this particular crime a high prevalence in the society. The principled development of this form of business in human beings follows the two basic principles that every business looks for – High profit and low risk. The former being based on the rarity and supply constraint of the commodity and the latter being based on the fact that most of the people that are trafficked belong to poor dysfunctional households with often no recourse to legal remedies. Hence the obvious presence of will and desires in the humans becomes a moral and political anathema to the rapid concept of “life for sale” model that is being brought about in the globalized arena. Thus, it is stated that in today’s era of rampant neo-globalization, markets govern the order of the day. They dictate what is to be produced and how it is to be packaged. But one has to take the counterintuitive approach that markets are made for men and not the other way round. Hence, the degrading principle of commoditization of humans for satisfaction of needs and profits needs to be shunned. An empathetic approach needs to be adopted in order to combat such a phenomenon.

Endnotes

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Globalization and Primary Education in India: Challenges & Opportunities

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Abstract
Globalization plays a significant role in changing the fabrics of society and culture. Society is built upon certain values and belief systems which are inculcated from education institutions, family and society right from early childhood. Education institutions, today, face a challenge to maintain a balance between adapting globalization with rapidly changing pace and preserving indigenous culture and values. It also poses new opportunity to educational leaders to overcome problems with the help of continuously advancing instruments of globalization such as technology and body of knowledge. The impact of globalization will have different consequences for rural and urban areas. Primary education institutions in urban areas have different issues and opportunities for globalization than that of education institutions in rural area. The difference in implications and ability to entrap opportunity of globalization between public and private schools will either increase or diminish inequality. First section of article describes notion of ‘Globalization’ followed by second section on ‘Globalization and Primary Education’. Third section discusses the issues and opportunities that primary education would have in India due to globalization. The analysis of those challenges and opportunities in both areas will help to discover tools which can be used to mitigate issues and to entrap opportunities to inculcate education which meets objective of education. Last section concludes article with brief note on globalization and primary education in India.

Keywords: Globalization, Primary education, Implications of Globalization

Introduction
Target date to achieve Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) is just approaching in 2015. One of prime focus of MDGs is ‘Achieve Universal Primary Education’. Importance and need of education has been recognized and felt at national and international level for various reasons. Education is very significant and important tool to eradicate poverty, bring equality and protect and nurture the democratic values in post-modern era. Nation-state also sees education for instilling nationalism values and thoughts to make citizens. The role of education in promoting development has been the subject of much discussion in recent decades. In 1948 the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaimed free and compulsory education to be a human right. In 1990 the World conference on Education for All, held in Jomtien, Thailand, pledged to provide primary education for all by 2000. World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg highlighted the central role of education in promoting good health, environment protection, and sustainable development. The discourse of primary education has been talked since last few decades which shows that providing primary education to people is just not in interest of sovereign
state but at also in interest of large global communities and citizens. International organizations, which are founded after World War-II with objective to maintaining international peace and security, developing friendly relations among nations and promoting social progress, better living standards and human rights started to consider the role of education as a catalyst to meet their aim and to revise and set their agenda.

Process of globalization has begun to intensify the discourse on education which emphasized increased nation-state intervention to provide equal access to education to all. No Child Left Behind (NCLB) in US, Education for All(EFA) and Right to Education(RTE) in India are few examples of state-led policy intervention in primary education. However, neoclassical policies advocated the role of market and guided state to facilitate the market. Non-aided privately owned and managed institutions providing education have been on rise, after Structural Adjustment Policy (SAP), in developing world. India is no exception of that. Private school enrollment continues to rise in almost all states. Since 2009, private school enrollment in rural areas has been rising at an annual rate of about 10%. If this trend continues, by 2018 India will have 50% children in rural areas enrolled in private schools (ASER 2012 (Rural) Findings). Though globalization has created a huge impact in all form of education including primary, secondary and tertiary, the scope of this paper is limited to impact on primary education only.

What is Globalization?
The below given definition of Globalization has been taken into consideration, though other views are also observed, while discussing arguments in this article.

"Globalization = the process whereby market exchange relationships and multimedia telecommunications capabilities spread from the core of economically and technologically developed nations to other regions of the world, facilitating the flow of goods, services, and people across national borders, this process being stimulated by, while in turn reinforcing, an image of the world as a unified whole and humanity, despite its cultural diversity and continuing differentiation, as a single global society, while also generating resistance and violent opposition from those excluded from this imagined global society." (Waks, 2006, p. 414)

Economics factors are often listed first and as Green (1999, p.56) argues "economic globalization theory is on safest ground." Trade and exchange of goods and services between the nations promote 'unified global economy'(Waks, 2006, p.143). However, it is a mistake to assume that only economic issue, though extremely important, determine the nature of globalization (Giddens 1999). Open and easy communication between nations has created grounds for 'culture homogenization' developing a single global society'(Waks, 2006, p.143). Though number of nation-states increased in past few decades, in globalization era virtual borderless nation-state has been widely recognized than bordered nation-state which follows what Giddens argued "we now all live in one world"(Giddens, 1999, p.7). This interconnected between nations, despite differences, can positively as well as negatively affect cultural and socio-economic spheres of the world.

Globalization is frequently referred to as ‘Westernization’ and Americanization (Giddens, 1999; Papastephanou, 2005; Sahlberg, 2006; Tikly, 2001). Thus globalization is defined as
the dominance of single culture, namely Anglo-Saxon, over other cultures the world over and there is 'a lack of analogous influence of non-western cultures on the western ones' (Papastephanou, 2005, p.541). As Giddens (1999, p.13) claims, “globalization not only pulls upwards, but also pushes downwards, creating new pressures for local autonomy”. This has been ensured through neo-liberal policies gaining more and more popularity since 1980s and resulting in deregulation and devolution of power and authority from national to sub-national levels (Harvey, 2005). As a result of more power vested to sub-national levels, the size and scope of institution at sub-nation level gets reduced while aggregate number of such institutions will tend to increase. The evidence from India approves this fact in primary education domain. The proportion of small schools is rising in India (ASER 2012 (Rural) Findings). Neo-liberal discourse determined that many western states developed similar approach to education. Decentralization of education became the main strategy to solve accumulated problems. By devolving the authority to the local bodies, the state sought to meet equality and quality demands. Besides, decisions are taken closer to the context where they are to be realized can prove to be more effective and efficient (Welsh and McGinn, 1999). Elements of neo-liberal educational policy are increased accountability, competition and standardization (Clair and Belzer, 2007).

In many theories of globalization global and local are not viewed as opposing notions, but rather indispensable elements of globalization. The interdependence of these two elements is often described as 'glocalization' (Papastephanou, 2005). The notion of 'glocalization' is very relevant and significant in context of primary education in third world countries where resources are neither in abundance nor used efficiently and there is extant of plethora of cultural diversity and ethnicity. Simply copying or borrowing policy of North and implementing it in South would have backstage firing effect. However, it is unequivocally true that 'lessons learnt' from other country must be carefully observed and incorporated with local context as outcome of any social policy hugely depends on cultural and socio-economic factor of community.

Globalization and Primary Education
A vast literature on philosophy of Education has already been written by great philosophers and thinkers of the world. The most common definition of education, from literature, can be derived out is 'enlightening experience through enlightening mind, soul and self'. No one would question of education's intrinsic values, in addition to its economic return, to oneself and society. Econometrics research and study depicting correlation of no. of years of schooling with income or its monetary return has already identified the years of primary education statistically significant which means increase in those years would yield higher income. The aim of education is inculcating moral values and providing scientific understanding of subjects (Peters, 2009). Children get education, formally and informally, from three social institutions: family, society and schools. During formative years which are very important for children's achievement in letter years, children's education starts informally first from family and then from society followed by formal education in school at the age of 6 years. With pre-school education at early age, children are integrated into formal education with informal ways of instruction and teaching. Globalization influences all three, formal and informal, institutions at some extent which in turn results into change in cultural practices and social norms.
Globalization has changed the way children getting educated by elderly in family. During pre-globalization period children were also educated, in family, through storytelling by their grandmother and grandfather. Children's interaction with their elderly members of family inculcated social and moral values in former. However, there may be very limited literature available on this. With globalization, this form of education in family has been, mostly, replaced by technological entertaining equipment and machines. These machines might help, at some extent, in teaching basic skills of reading, writing and mathematics but they lack inculcation of moral values that binds society together as a fabric. Globalization has changed the preferences of parents for education and medium in which knowledge is transmitted. Emphasize on 'Education in the medium of English language' has become first choice for parents. What can be said is that globalization brings along re-shaping and re-thinking of values, re-modernization of traditions and attitudes. It stages tragicomedy where education has to play the main part (Parjanadze, 2009, p.78). If the major issue is to change the consciousness of people, then education has heavy burden, because people often become what they taught that they are (Papastephanou, 2005, p.548).

Challenges and Opportunities
'Liberal progressives' also support the idea of economic liberalization, but admit the fact that it can be a double-edged sword unless special attention is paid to equality issues (Waks, 2003). The concern about equality is shared by Neo-Marxists who see the salvation in 'trans-national alliances of labor and human rights activists' (Waks, 2003, p.385). On one side we, humans, have been successful in compressing time and space and thus reducing distance between cities, countries and continents but we are yet to use globalization as a tool to reduce inequality in education. Globalization can increase inequality if its benefits are not distributed equally among marginalized and disadvantaged sections of society. In context of primary education, globalization can create inequality in students' learning opportunity and access if private non-aided primary schools which charge fees from students reap more benefits of globalization by employing best available technology, implementing best teaching practices and hiring quality teachers than public or government schools where more students from marginalized and historically disadvantaged groups study if public school don't embark of ship of globalization due to lack of enough resources and political will. The inequality created by this difference will keep increasing when students from both types of schools go into phase of secondary and tertiary education. Moreover, in competitive age of the world, pressure to perform for competing to gain access to opportunity and employment which increase their social welfare is so high for students from public schools that they sometime drop out from further stages of education due to huge gap of learning between them and their counterpart.

Diminishing quality of education in most part of the world has been a major concern for policy makers, practitioners and parents. Assessment and comparison, across the world, of quality of education have been partly an outcome of globalization and a contribution to education. Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development(OECD)'s Programme for International Student assessment (PISA) is an appropriate example of Global assessment system which is common across all participating developed economies. PISA evaluates education systems worldwide by testing the skills and knowledge of 15-year-old students. To date, students representing more than 70 economies have participated in the assessment. Since the year 2000, every three years, fifteen-year-old students from
randomly selected schools worldwide take tests in the key subjects: reading, mathematics and science, with a focus on one subject in each year of assessment. Similarly in developing countries also such assessment system has been started at transnational level. Annual Status of Education Report (ASER), which measures educational outcomes by assessing basic skills, through surveys, of primary and upper primary children in reading and arithmetic in India, is an example of this. ASER was set up, in 2008, as an autonomous unit within an NGO, Pratham, in India which has now expanded its horizon in other third world countries such as Pakistan, Mali, Senegal and countries of East Africa. Globalization has certainly helped in sharing the 'know-how' with other countries to develop their capacity for social development.

Despite state's effort to push for education by increasing resources and expenditures, such quality assessment institutions have found and shown the real state of education which is certainly alarming for any country. State's 'Big push' for education succeeded in increasing enrollment rates in primary schools in India. Enrollment in the 6-14 age-groups continues to be very high. But the proportion of out of school children has increased, especially among girls in the age group of 11 to 14. The other major concern which is unaddressed is 'learning outcomes'. Reading levels continue to be a cause for serious concern. More than half of all children in Std. V are at least three grade levels behind where they should be. 2012 was the year of mathematics. But it has been a bad year for basic arithmetic for children in India. Private inputs into children’s education, such as private schooling and private tutoring, are widespread. And their influence on children’s learning outcomes is substantial (ASER 2012 (Rural) Findings). This suggests that increase expenditure on education is not translating into learning outcomes effectively. Bureaucratic solutions to problems of practice will always fail because effective teaching is not routine, students are not passive, and questions of practice are not simple, predictable, or standardized. Consequently, instructional decisions cannot be formulated on high then packaged and handed down to teachers (Darling-Hammond, 1997).

Though performance of students in most part of the world, including US which has been ranked 49th out of 148 developed and developing nations in quality of math and science instruction by World Economic Forum, in basic reading and mathematics is degrading, eminent educationalist and scholars of the world raise questions on objectives of education remained unfulfilled. “The fundamental basis of the system is fatally flawed,” says Linda Darling-Hammond, a professor of education at Stanford and founding director of the National Commission on Teaching and America’s Future. In 1970 the top three skills required by the Fortune 500 were the three Rs: reading, writing, and arithmetic. In 1999 the top three skills in demand were teamwork, problem-solving, and interpersonal skills. We need schools that are developing these skills (Darling-Hammond, 1997).

With increased mobility of capital, goods, labor and ideas in globe, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) has been seen as a new phenomenon in commercial and business sectors of developing countries. The discourse of FDI which brings technology and 'know-how', in addition to capital, to developing countries, can be certainly thought in third world development sectors such as Education and health with intention of contribution rather than investment and profit making by developed countries. Current notion of foreign aid which often comes with conditions must change to 'Foreign Direct Contribution with
Participation (FDCP)' which will enable contributing countries to actively participate in discourse and come out with solutions. FDCP would bring not only financial resources to support but also technology, knowledge and human capital which is lacking in development sectors. For instance, Finland and other countries that have very innovative education system and have been ranked on top in PISA score since past few years can certainly contribute and participate in improving education system through various means.

The globalization in primary education brings plenty of opportunities to ameliorate learning outcomes and achieve education's aim by providing teachers access to well-performing institutions of country and world through collaboration and exchange, developing teacher's capacity through trainings by experts from across the globe, maintaining a repository of best teaching practices and providing access to teachers without any cost, efficient institute management practices etc.

Technological advancement and globalization, both, subscribed to growth of each other. Technological advancement has made transnational connection easily accessible (Parjanadze, 2009, p.78). The transmission of the first message by electric telegraph in the nineteenth century by Sameual Morse gave start to a new world history (Giddens, 1999). In terms of education, technological aspect of globalization can have positive effect on teaching and learning process. However, there is an assumption that it can also present a threat by making a teaching profession obsolete. But it can be argued that it should not prevent the development of interactive learning software as people will still “have to learn how to learn” (Green, 1997). Technological advancement created a 'multiplier-effect' in education. With the help of technology, benefits of technology can be multiplied to large extent. Communication technology can help to come out of the hindrance of distance in communicating with each other. Education system, including public schools, in states equipped with effective and appropriate communication technology can deliver instructions and teach students from one place to many locations at the same time. Students studying in remote rural public school can learn and interact with teacher teaching from urban center with subject expertise, if schools have those facilities. It can also conduct teacher training through such mode of communication which reduces overall cost of training in long run and increase efficiency. Technology can bring innovative ‘Teaching and Learning Materials (TLM)’ which can be more effective and easy to teach and learn concepts.

Yet, India, barring few states, has not taken full advantage of multiplier effect of technology in education. India has to deal with few challenges such as shortage teacher with knowledge of technology and its equipment use, poor infrastructure which is manifested by no-supply or unreliable supply of electricity to remote and rural areas and lack of political vision. The scope for education to act as a socially integrative force in contemporary society is not necessarily diminished or impeded by the forces of globalization and postmodernity. What has diminished perhaps is the political will of governments, at least in the West, to pursue the goals of social cohesion and social solidarity (Green, 1997, p. 186). Globalization “unifies national education policies by integrating them with the broader global trends” (Sahlberg, 2006, p.262).
Conclusion

Notion of Globalization is not limited to only economic growth and trade agreements. Changing dimensions of socio-cultural spheres due to globalization creates a large impact, positively and negatively as well, in the world we live. Primary education can't be remained isolated and untouched in juggernaut of globalization. Education system and institutions, formal and informal, in developing countries tend to face more implications as globalization will try to create a homogenized culture which is common with other countries. The objective of education to inculcate moral values and scientific understanding is still a larger concern when students are struggling with basic reading and arithmetic skill. Concern of rise in inequality due to unequal access and distributions of fruits of globalization must be considered and addressed with advantages of it. Changing notion of foreign aid with conditions, from developed countries, to Foreign Direct Contribution with Participation will bring global expertise, technology and human capital to primary education, and other social sectors, in India. Global collaborations and using instruments to share the best practices would help improve learning outcomes. The multiplier effect of technology in education should be harnessed to achieve equality, equity and efficiency. With a hope that globalization would help in meeting fundamental objective of primary education in India, we must re-emphasize mission of our education institutions. That mission is: "The new mission of schools is to prepare students to work at jobs that do not yet exist, creating ideas and solutions for products and problems that have not yet been identified, using technologies that have not yet been invented" (Darling-Hammond, 1997, p2).

References:

Changing Contours of State in the Era of Globalization:
Some Reflections

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Abstract
Globalization is a new concept that has come to dominate the world since 1990s. Globalization has brought in new opportunities to developing countries such as greater access to developed country markets, technology transfer, and higher living standard among others. But globalization has also thrown up new challenges like growing inequality across and within nations, volatility in financial market, environmental deteriorations, hollowing out of state to mention some. In fact, globalization entails the demise of nation-state, summarized such as an emerging ‘borderless world’ and a ‘hollow state’. The present paper has analyzed the implications of looking at the impact of globalization on state autonomy vis-à-vis global and local actors. The study findings confirm that the concentration of power in the hands of state/s began in 1648 is over, at least for a while. Power, indeed, is less concentrated in state/s and has diffused to other actors in global governance. Nevertheless national governments are sharing power including political, social and security roles at the core of sovereignty with TNCs, supra-national organizations and a multitude of citizens groups and so on; still state continues to be major repository of power in governance.

Keywords: Globalization, State, Sovereignty

Introduction
Globalization as a phenomenon is as old as the civilization itself but since the 1990s it has become the new buzzword; dominating the world since last decade of this century with the end of the cold war and the disintegration of the former Soviet Union. Globalization has offered new opportunities especially to developing countries in terms of exchange of people, ideas, money technology among other thing. The enthusiasts and supporters of globalization (Bhagwati: 2004; Wolf; 2004) regard it as a wholly benign process, heralding the long-awaited deliverance of humanity from economic backwardness, underdevelopment and misery. For them, allowing market forces to work largely unhindered by the state and its politics will make possible higher economic growth and, therefore, human welfare. On the other hand, the critics of globalization (Falk: 1999; Chomsky: 2002; Klein: 2000) have mounted a powerful attack against globalization.

Globalization has posed new challenges like growing inequality across and within nations, volatility in financial market, environmental deteriorations etc. Also globalization heralded the changes to the frontiers of the state with arrival of market economy, structural adjustment programmes (SAP), international organizations such as World Bank, WTO and so on. The global integration spells end of the nation-state (Ohmae: 1995). Perhaps most common claim with the literature around globalization is the assertion that globalization

This paper is divided into five parts. First part includes the concept of globalization and its various dimensions. The historical centrality of nation-state is discussed in the second part. The third part has analysed the decline of the state power. The fourth part has highlighted the emerging global actors/structures in the era of globalization. The concluding remarks are incorporated in the final part.

Concept and Dimensions of Globalization
Globalization is a process that refers to the movement of capital, goods, human beings, and material across trans-national borders. Globalization remains a malleable, catchall term (James: 2008:93). Jan Aart (2000) outlines four common usages of the term, Globalization – internationalization, liberalization, universalization and westernization. To these he adds – de-territorialization. It involves the movement of ideas and cultures across the globe, though the nucleus of the phenomenon remains economic processes. The Blackwell Dictionary of Social Thought, define globalization as a process of social transformation in the broadest sense of cultural, political and economic (as a dismantling of national barriers to the operation of national markets that began in early 1980s) sphere. Ulrich Beck “Globalization - however the word is understood - implies the weakening of state sovereignty and state structures.” (Beck: 2000: 6)

A social process in which the constraints of geography on economic, political, social and cultural arrangements recede, in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding and in which people act accordingly (Waters: 1995). According to Held and McGrew (2007), “Globalization denotes the intensification of worldwide social relation and interactions such that distant events acquired very localized impact and vice versa. Further, they asserted that it involves rescaling of social relations, from the economic sphere to the security sphere, beyond the national to the transnational, trans-continental and trans-world. Alan Deardorff (2005) has provided very comprehensive definition of globalization and covered three facets of this phenomenon i.e. i) the increasing world-wide integration of markets for goods, services and capital that attracted special attention in the late 1990s. ii). Also used to encompass a variety of other changes that were perceived to occur at about the same time, such as an increased role for large corporations (MNCs) in the world economy and increased intervention into domestic policies and affairs by international institutions such as the IMF, WTO, and World Bank. iii). Among countries outside the United States, especially developing countries, the term sometimes refers to the domination of world economic affairs and commerce by the United States.

The phenomenon of globalization is not new. Beginning as early as 4000 BC, people were engaged in some sort of exchange and trade practices with other civilizations. At that time there were commodity and labour markets that grew into capital market with the emergence of market and state. Since 1907s the process of worldwide globalisation was
accelerated due to advances in information and technology, market oriented reforms and boom of MNCs.

The figure 1 below depicts myriad dimensions that are affected by the phenomenon of globalization. Alternatively, globalization impacts the political, economic, cultural facets among other. In the sphere of economics, globalization has offered unconventional choices to the consumers. MNCs have acted double edged sword – on the one hand these entities generated jobs and opportunities but on another hand actual benefits harvested by only a few privileged, corollary, widening the gap between rich and poor. This is true both within the country and between the countries. For example the GDP of the sub-Saharan Africa is less than the combined wealth of 15 richest people in the world (Parker: 2002). Politically, the reduced sovereignty of the state, (from within and without), the epitome of institutional, international system is being slowly challenged by the globalized world order (James: 2008: 96). For instance, at the end of Gulf war in April 1991, UN Security Council endorsed the establishment of interim sanctuary for refugees inside Iraq without Iraq’s permission.

Figure 1: Different Dimensions of Globalization

Historical Centrality of the State
The genesis of the modern state can be located in Western Europe in the eighteen and nineteen centuries, and is linked to industrial, economic and military changes, to an increasingly firm demarcation of national borders, and to the spread of rationalization and bureaucracy (Giddens: 1991). The French Revolution of 1789 is often viewed as a key moment in the development of the modern nation-state. In early twentieth century market failures provided window for state intervention to restrain the forces of free capitalism. The state pursued economic stabilization and steady growth through an active macro-economic policy. It regulated the more self-destructive tendencies of markets especially banks and financial markets. It provided social insurance and financed education among others (Kuttner: 2000:152). In the post-Second World War period, this ‘social democratic consensus’ reigned as the political-economic common sense in the West, and even Right-leaning governments pursued such interventionist policies (Ojeili and Hayden: 2006:91). The Westphalia model of international system gave primacy to sovereign territorial nation-states
Fotopoulos (1997) theorizes that movement towards neoliberalism as an important signal of the global ‘crisis of statism’. Thus, just as free market capitalism went into global decline around the 1920s (communist revolution and New Deal) similarly statism has gone into deceleration since the 1970s. Similarly, for Held et al. (1999), the UN system, in so far as issues of peace and security become globally shared concerns, represents a step forward and a movement away from the Westphalia system. Held and McGrew (2007) have divided this debate over globalization into three positions: the hyper-globalists take the extreme view that globalization will spell the end of nation-state. The skeptics argue that there is nothing unprecedented about current levels of national interdependence, and the nation-states will remain the primary political and economic actors in international affairs for the foreseeable future. Finally, the transformationalists take the middle view. They reject the claim that globalization will render the sovereign state obsolete but accept that states will not remain as strong as ever.

The Decline of State Power
According to globalist political power or governance has been or is progressively being altered in a movement of politics from a primarily national scale towards an increasingly transnational or global (Held and McGrew: 2007). Global politics no longer, they argue, first and foremost about states, and older conceptual distinctions between domestic and international or territorial and non-territorial are losing intellectual traction (Held et al: 1999; Short: 2001). Also Ulrich Beck (2002: 53) put it, ‘National spaces have become de-nationalized, so that the national is no longer national, just as the international is no longer international. This entails that the foundations of the power of the nation-state are collapsing both from the inside and the outside’.

Trans-world governance - such as WTO, IMF, MNCs etc.; regionalization - such as ASEAN, NAFTA, EU etc; and new actors within global civil society - Save the Child, World Vision International etc. (Scholte: 2000; Castells: 2000) are seeking independence and are bypassing the state. According to Castells (2000: 254), because of the close linkages between exchange rates, monetary policies and budgetary policies, as well as government dependence of global capital markets and foreign lending, states do not have control that they once had over their economic policies. This suggests that the substantial state economic intervention once pursued as a means to the goal of national development can no longer stand. On similar pattern, Martin and Schumann (1998: 211) contend, ‘the state and politics are visibly in retreat ...Economics is devouring politics’. In other words, globalization is supra-national borderless global economy has subordinated the domestic economies and has reduced national governments into metropolises. Nader (as cited in Ojelli and Hayden: 2006:97) has argues that, ‘the essence of globalization is a subordination of human rights, of labour rights, consumer, environmental rights, democracy rights, to the imperatives of global trade and investment. This is world government of the EXXONs, by the General Motors, for the DuPonts’. Table 1 below provides a comparative synopsis of traditional state functions and emerging global actors that are interfering with state’s independent realm of decision-making.
Table I: Comparison of Traditional State Functions and Emerging Global Actors in Decision-making

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Traditional State Function</th>
<th>Global Actors/Structures</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Defense</td>
<td>Security Council</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Un Peacekeeping Operations</td>
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<tr>
<td>Finance</td>
<td>World Bank</td>
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<td>IMF</td>
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<td>Trade</td>
<td>WTO</td>
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<td>UNCTAD</td>
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<td>Education</td>
<td>UNESCO</td>
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<td>Health</td>
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<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>WTO</td>
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<td>Environment</td>
<td>UNEP</td>
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<td>UNFCCC</td>
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Emerging Global Actors in Governance

Globalization has engendered the phenomenon of ‘pluralisation of global governance’, made up of three layers, according to Anthony McGrew (2000) viz. (i) the supra-state layer, which includes intergovernmental organizations and institutions created by intergovernmental agreement (for example WTO, IMF, ILO); (ii) the sub-state layer, where the tendency, in recent years, has been towards devolution and expansion of power at local levels; (iii) the transnational layer, which consists of arenas in which people across the world are able to make themselves heard (for example, the Amnesty International, The International Red Cross, WWF). In case of intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) the numbers have multiplied form just 37 in 1909 to 6743 in 2000 (Held and McGrew: 2002). The numbers of international NGOs such as Greenpeace is gone up from 1083 in 1914 to 40,000 by the end of 20th century (Held and McGrew: 2002). Similarly, 60,000 major TNCs/MNCs such as Shell, Barclays, Coca Cola and so on are operating around the globe. These entities have profoundly altered the structure and functioning of global economy. They have ability to invest capital and thus to create developmental opportunities (for individual, community, country and entire region), influence political actors, offer incentives to host government, lobby for changes in state laws and vice versa elsewhere should the conditions not be conducive [profitable] to these. Table II below provides a quick glance of various emerging global actors that are impinging upon state’s autonomy.

Table II: Emerging Global Actors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Global</th>
<th>G8, WTO, IMF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Regional</td>
<td>ASEAN, EU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-regional</td>
<td>SAARC, Gulf Cooperative Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transnational</td>
<td>MNCs, TNCs, WWF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-state</td>
<td>Civil Society Organizations (CSOs)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Conclusion
Over last three decades, due to globalization, scale and scope of global interconnectedness and integration has become increasingly evident in every sphere from economic to the cultural. As globalization has proceeded so surfaced predicaments - transnational to domestic such as climate change, cultural hegemony, encroachment on state precincts among others. It will be, therefore, prudent to describe globalization as ‘an inevitable force’. As Castells (2000) outs it, the exclusive link between territory and power has been broken, and that governance has become increasingly though not fully and evenly, multilayered. Nevertheless state faces lot of challenges in operating power and politics but still it remains the most important agent in governance. It, therefore, will be prudent to describe globalization as ‘an inevitable force’. Indeed, globalization forces necessitate states to transform and recalibrate its structures and institutions to carry out changed responsibilities in global world. As argued by Sen (1999: 5) ‘what people can positively achieve is influenced by economic opportunities, political liberties, social powers, and the enabling conditions of good health, basic education, and the encouragement and cultivation of initiatives and the State has a very important role to play in this respect’.

References
Globalization and Hindu Nationalism: 
Some Theoretical Reconsiderations

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Abstract
This paper attempts to present an understanding of the current discussions regarding religious nationalism in a global framework in order to solicit two themes in light of the case of Hindu Nationalism. One, the conflict of interest that arises between globalization as a ‘means’ and as an ‘end’; two, the implications of network societies and the politics of marginalization. Globalization is looked at from two ends of a spectrum – as an end product versus as a process in itself. This distinction between theorizing globalization as an end or as the means to an end has been made by scholars such as Robertson and White (2007). However, its implications on religious nationalism have not been explored exhaustively. An analysis of Hindu nationalism and revivalism as a peripheral dynamic in the Western nations needs to be problematized in this regard.

Keywords: Globalization; Religious nationalism; India; Network society; Hindutva; Diaspora

Introduction
The rise of religious factions is a pattern evident all across the globe. The sentiments of ‘tradition’ have been politicized to fit the public discourse and now appear as ghosts of their former selves. The ‘new age’ politics of religious affinity rely on global networks, global capital, global communications, etc. and yet somehow seem to be resisting the notion of a Western meta-narrative. Here too, the narratives of ‘nation’ and the imaginaries of ‘patriotism’ have not completely lost relevance. I argue that there convenient selection has a major role to play in defining the characteristics of religion, tradition and globalization. The function of collective ontological insecurity, global networks and diaspora politics can be further understood in light of this framework.

It is interesting to note, here, that while religious nationalism has been brought about by the consequences of globalizing, owing to ontological insecurities and existential anxieties at an individual and group level, the intensification of religious nationalism also makes use of globalization. What I perceive as the gap in the theoretical exploration of this face-off between globalization and religious nationalism is that there is scant exploration of whether religious nationalism is against the state of globalization or against the process of globalization. This distinction between theorizing globalization as an end or as the means to an end has been made by scholars such as Robertson and White (2007), but its implications on religious nationalism has not been explored exhaustively.
Beginning with contextualizing religion and nationalism in a global modernity, we will explore the possibility of some new theoretical considerations in capturing the dynamics that characterize Hindu nationalism in a global framework.

Religion, Nationalism and Globalization in the Context of Modernity
Peter Berger (1974) has made a useful distinction between substantive and functional definitions of religion. By substantive, he means an approach to understanding religion “from within” and in terms of its believed contexts, whereas a functional approach to religion would amount to a defining it in terms of its social or psychological functions. Geertz (1993) argued for an analysis of religion as a cultural system rather than one removed from it. I find this distinction that Berger makes very useful since it accounts for politico-religious movements as functional, thereby making a sociological analysis of the same possible. Heelas, et al (2005) in their book titled The Spiritual Revolution: Why Religion is Giving Way to Spirituality have added to the plethora of literature on this subject by discussing the shift from a functional to a substantive “from within” approach to religion as is manifest in the growth of spirituality in the UK and USA. In a collection of essays that discuss the ‘spiritual revolution’, this book discusses the rise of contemporary religion which has intrinsic connections with globalization, modernity, secularization and sacralization. In this paper, we will focus on the functional definition of religion.

Religion and Nationalism
In a trenchant analysis of nationalism and religion, Brubaker (2012) has argued that religion and nationalism are not antithetical to each other; they can be, in fact, considered to be intrinsically related to each other. Citing the work of Carlton Hayes (1926), Brubaker argues that nationalism is a kind of religion and has a compelling emotion that is ‘essentially religious’ (pp. 3). Brubaker further analyses the work of Anthony Smith and demonstrates that according to Smith, nationalism is a religion both in a substantive and in a religious sense; ‘substantive’ since it calls for a ‘this-worldly’ collective salvation and ‘functional’ since it involves a system of beliefs and practices that unite the adherents in a single moral community (pp. 4-5). Brubaker, however, ushers in an alternative framework to view religion within where social relations can be better understood. He claims that religion can be seen as providing a way of ‘identifying and naming fundamental social groups, a powerful framework for imagining community, and a set of schemas, templates and metaphors for making sense of the social world’ (pp. 6)

The modern nation states in the west were established through processes of economic integration, administrative homogenization and an equally prolonged process of territorialization (or nationalization) of identities and what Hansen refers to as the ‘production of the people’ through the complex processes of indoctrination, education, enfranchisement and development of public spheres for communication, production of social interests and contestation of power (Hansen, 1996). This is where the relevance of marginalization, unrest and the clash of identities come to the fore. In the next section, we shall see how religious nationalism aims to respond to a globalized world in which ontological insecurity becomes a matter of utmost concern.
Religious Nationalism and Ontological Insecurity

For a global culture seems unable to offer the qualities of collective faith, dignity, and hope that only a “religious surrogate” with its promise of a territorial culture community across the generations, can provide. Over and beyond any political and economic benefits that ethnic nationalism can confer, it is the promise of collective and territorial immortality, outfacing death and oblivion, that has helped to sustain so many nations and nation-states in an era of unprecedented social change and to renew so many ethnic minorities that seemed to be doomed in an era of technological uniformity and corporate efficiency' (Smith, 1995, p. 160).

One of the possible positions one can take in this debate is that while globalization in terms of increased movement of goods, services, technology, borders, ideas, and people has tangible social and economic attractions, some of its adverse consequences are manifest in increasing alienation and instability due to the effects capitalist development, privatization, urbanization, unemployment, forced migration, and other similar transformative forces that appear to be having a bearing on individual and collective lives (Kinnvall, 2004). Giddens argues that it is these global changes that have a major role in indicating that a fairly large number of people are beginning to find themselves devoid of relational connections that characterized communities earlier (Giddens, 1990). Robertson and Chirico (1985) theorized the interplay of religion and globalization almost two decades ago, arguing that the upsurge of religious and quasi-religious concerns and issues cannot be comprehensively analyzed in terms of what has been happening sociologically within societies and that globalization enhances, at least in the relatively short run, religion and religiosity (Robertson & Chirico, 1985).

Religion contains within itself an institutionally precise way to organize this modern type of collective representation. Friedland begets that religion does not change the nationalist form of collective representation. It does have a bearing on its content since it privileges a basis of identity and a criterion of judgment that cannot not be chosen (2002). However, religion, with its universal claims, is not inherently inconsistent with nationalism; religious nationalism is not an oxymoron’ (p. 385).

In a survey of 26 European nations, Immerzeel and Tubergen found strong correlation tendencies between increasing levels of insecurity and increasing religiosity (2011). Similarly, Kinnvall asserts that the character of modern society, with its tacit inscrutability and rupture, has made the lives of more persons rootless, erratic, and ‘insecure as they are uprooted from their familiar social locale’ (2004, p. 744). The result has been escalating attempts to ‘de-modernize’ in order to seek ‘reversal of the modern trend that has left the individual ‘alienated’ and beset with the threats of meaninglessness’. Juergensmeyer refers to this religious affinity as being a ‘surrogate’ for morality in a modern world where moral principles are diminishing rapidly (Juergensmeyer, 1996, p. 23).

Hindu Nationalism and Globalization: the need for a new framework

The concept of Hindu nationalism has been intensely discussed in modern Indian politics in both popular media and academic writings. Its supporters, on one hand, often represent it as the veritable manifestation of Indian nationalism vis-à-vis western notions of nationalism,
per se and justify its tenets on the basis of the majority-minority binary; opponents, on the other, present it as the very reverse of the concept of nationalism arguing that a modern nation-state cannot be built on the premise of religiosity. BJP supporters advocating privatization and deregulation policies are challenged by Hindutva sticklers opposed to neoliberalism and Western-style consumerism; also, a fraction of a global Hindutva network, local organizers abroad adapt to diaspora contexts whilst BJP voters among Delhi’s lower middle-class feel threatened by foreign investment and are not happy with the alignment with global economic patterns and demands (Karner & Aldridge, 2004). McDonald further asserts that economic prosperity, a substantial and sturdy state and a national identity are manufactured and imagined within Hindu nationalist discourse as critical for capitalizing on a global-modernity (McDonald, 2003). Varshney remarks that the existence of this ‘anxiety’ in Indian politics today is shaping most of the contemporary political discourse in the country (Varshney, 1993).

As in the case of the debate on modernity, Hindu nationalism also confronts a dilemma in this regard—how can political parties like RSS or BJP resolve the contradiction or the paradox that arises from wanting the financial and symbolic compensation that it has sought to obtain from foreign investment and diaspora connections while rejecting the ‘modernizing elements’ in terms of symbolic globalization and import of the neoliberal individual?

**Hindu Nationalism in India: The National Sphere**

In the national sphere, the notion that globalization is leading to insecurities within the society which furthers the need for Hindu nationalism is valid only to a certain extent. Five reasons contribute to my hesitancy in taking such a claim for granted:

one, Hindu nationalism in India is still dominantly a political one. Spiritual movements, even the explicitly ‘Hindu’ ones, ought to be analyzed with reference to religious anxiety;

two, India is not yet globalized in the sense of the term. The semi-global state of India makes it difficult to assess this question;

three, if we do take the assumption that India is globalized, territorial transformations and changes would be almost impossible to take into account without attaining the legitimacy of the global community (the need for reflexivity);

and four, the stance of the popular Hindu part in India, the BJP, is uncertain with regard to globalization, as has been discussed in the preceding paragraph. Ultimately, the strongest justification of Hindu nationalism in national politics is that the majority has been discriminated against in protection of India’s minorities. There is a fear of the minority taking over (Vanaik, 1997), not that of a global ontological insecurity as yet.

However, the case of Hindu nationalism abroad makes for an interesting analysis vis-à-vis globalization and its subsequent existential crises.
Hindu Nationalism in Global Networks

Contemporary globalization has ushered in a process of migration, transnational connectedness and deterritorialisation (Narayan, Purkayastha, & Banerjee, 2011). This also results in political participation by the migrants in the host countries. Indian-Americans, for instance, are said to ‘adopt and operate an edition of an ethno-religious identity that positions them within the rubric of racial politics’ (Kamat & Mathew, 2003). Racial groups tend to synthesize and affirm their respective ethnic identities by using history, ideology, belief and practice as ‘cultural gear’ to tactically endorse a sense of ethno-nationalism (Nagel, 1994). The discourse of Hindutva provides the immigrant community with social value, cultural capital, identity and social capital. It is thus argued that the dialogue in a globalized liberal and multicultural space energies the yearning for a special identity, one that does not align with the mainstream identity (Kamat & Mathew, 2003).

To extrapolate, fundamentalist ideologies, rather than being opposed to liberalism, are able to capitalize on the exclusion felt by some people in these liberal societies, and are thus finding a niche for themselves. Rajagopal (2001), however, takes a more nuanced approach in arguing that ‘in finding a niche for themselves, these immigrants tend to adopt a more syncretic culture rather than a sectarian religious outlook’ (p. 244). This also results in generalized simplistic forms of Hinduism becoming the norm; a ‘homogenization’, if you may.

The paradox here is this: the will to ‘distinguish’ turns into an unavoidable ‘sameness’; the will to create a separate identity results in one lacking in nuance. How does this process of identity formation occur? There are several reasons for this. The most obvious would be the role of media (Rajagopal, 2001). Apart from that, the role of networks – local and global – has been pivotal in disseminating ideas regarding ethnicity, nationality, culture, among others.

‘Hindu Networks’ – Global and Local

Manuel Castells has argued that the society in a globalizing world would be characterized as being a ‘network’ (2000). There are two implications of such a characterization: Exclusion from the network and power relations within the network. While the former can be a result of marginalization by the state owing to lack of access to the required nodes and modes of networking, the latter is based on more of a tug-of-war principle. In this age of global processes, the benefits of which accrue mostly to the North (or the West), exclusion and marginalization build up resentment amongst communities. In fact, Karner and Aldridge argue that ‘this exclusion from the network coupled with a lack of power gives rise to the most potent forms of resistance to globalization, such as, Christian and Muslim fundamentalisms’ (2004, p. 18).

A range of political and cultural organizations has burgeoned to carry out the cultural and political venture of constructing a Hindu character among Hindus and non-Hindus (Kamat & Mathew, 2003). The task of building a ‘Hindu Rashtra’ is also their universal goal. The center activity for promoting and showcasing a Hindutva ideology is the reproduction of the RSS (Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh) shaka, which are structured into local units in which young men are trained in physical education and are imparted certain aspects of the Hindutva ideology (Kamat & Mathew, 2003, p. 10). Once qualified, these persons are given
responsibilities of managing and administering organizations that range from day care centers and play schools to trade unions and political groups on university campuses (Noorani, 2000). Apart from this, parties like Bajrang Dal, a paramilitary group and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), a parliamentary party and the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP), a worldwide organization of Hindus (as the name suggests) are all a part of a ‘family’, the Sangh Parivar. Other organizations like Shiv Sena are either associated to the family or are ‘friendly’ to the ideals of the family.

While this organizational pattern appears to be deep-seated in a thoroughly radical ideology, there are organizations within its scaffold like the Sewa Vibha, which ‘provides rehabilitation and other public services like schools for poor, blood banks, organized tours of temples, homes for widows, etc’ (Kamat & Mathew, 2003, p. 11). Two important aspects emerge from this networked feature of the Hindu nationalist factions in India: one, that while the mechanized production of a Hindutva ideology is brokered by a network that has a wide class spread (Rajagopal, 2001, p. 263), there is a contention that the Hindutva ideology is purely an elitist project; two, the movement has a dual purposive agenda—some facets of the organization have an outwardly political and public role, while others engage in groundwork and grassroots-level voluntary organization, thereby taking their mammoth project to the ground level. Whether or not globalization as a process or an outcome has facilitated this penetration does not find intensive empirical evidence. Certainly, communications have played a phenomenal role in the transfer and flow of information. However, the question is how much impact have these had? Is there any empirical evidence that globalization has indeed contributed to the same? This is what needs to be researched in light of religious nationalist politics in India.

While the domestic networks do provide a reference for us to understand the level of complexity involved in the workings of the Hindu nationalist parties, the international networks that are emerging in the process of globalization have an interesting facet to uncover. The analysis on religious revivalism can no longer restrained within the metaboundaries of a single nation-state but has to be mapped across national boundaries (Narayan, Purkayastha, & Banerjee, 2011). While earlier, cultural ties were given priority as a lens for examination, owing to features like cultural hybridity and the multitude of second-generation immigrants, it is ‘symbolic ties’ today that have taken primacy as a means of understanding not just host-home networks (Dasgupta, 1997) but also host-host networks (Narayan, Purkayastha, & Banerjee, 2011). Appadurai contends that because of the increase in the modes and nodes of communication and fluid identities of audiences, individuals are blending relations with each other across national boundaries, disquieting conformist traditions about the linking between cultural affinity and political identity creating a space to withdraw from a conventional modernist approach to understanding identity formation (Appadurai, 1996).

The other form of interaction between non-resident Indians and resident Indians in a global scenario is the transfer of flows of finance. In context of the Hindu nationalism, the global Hindu community is known for financing many of its activities1 through the transnational transfer of money from ‘the Diaspora to the Homeland’ (Bhatt, 2000). While the monetary aspect of home-host networks has been buoyant since the time of the freedom struggles in
India (Rajagopal, 2001), the aspect of networking is gaining a lot of dominance in the past decade especially through that of the internet and other forms of media.

Several studies have revealed that the internet presents global and transnational platforms to schematize political triumph and produce social networks that offer political, cultural and social sustenance for community participants (Gibson, 2006). Mitra (1997) and Mallapragada (2000) argue that the internet provides the immigrant Indian population a comfort zone where they can correspond freely and openly without facing marginalization. The excesses of marginalization owing to global migration are thus combated. However, scholars also note a paradox that while the internet does garner hybrid, diverse opinions, it also attracts homogenous groups with standardized agendas (el-Nawawy & Khamis, 2010) thereby facilitating the propagation of stereotypical, generalized and simplistic notions of whichever concern. This is exactly what Nandy had hypothesized with regard to Hindu nationalism in India (1998). According to Nandy, Hinduism being a ‘way of life’ cannot be captured within a single group. The existence of a lot of diversities and sub-diversities within this religion makes any generalization redundant and antithetical to its very essence.

In a study of discourse and networks of ethnic student organizations in the USA and UK (Narayan, Purkayastha, & Banerjee, 2011) it was revealed that even while Internet inspires decentralized, autonomous communication channels, it enables privileged groups to exploit their resources to dictate the web-discourse, provided that technology is accessible. The study also validated the hypothesis that homogenized, simplified messages of Hindu nationalism tend to ‘drown out the more nuanced, diverse and measured forms of religious practice’ (p. 533).

All of this points to how global networks are used in order to reinforce a notion of ontological insecurity which is selective in its object of redress. Therefore, identities that are fashioned out of these discourses are multiple and partial in their scope. This notion of identity formation must be taken into account while understanding how identity politics pan out in a global framework today. The interlinkages between domestic and international politics are dominant enough to warrant a rethink on how identity politics are shaped today.

Conclusions
While theoretical frameworks have been forged with regard to understanding the relationship between insecurities and religious revivalism, one wonders if this relationship describes the Hindu nationalism case well enough. For one, while scholars do suggest that Hindu revivalism may have been a response to colonial rule, the rise of Hindutva seems to favour global capital flows, opening up trade barriers and other economic factors of globalization, not oppose it. This has resulted in some tensions within the Sangh Parivar itself.

Hindu Nationalism is still submerged in a more political outlook than a religious one. This makes it a challenging case to scrutinize with regard to only religiosity. Spiritual movements that have flowered in India and abroad should be the new topic of interest to religious scholars. The interplay of globalization and religion can be seen clearly in the case of spiritual movements. However, more research is needed in this direction. Networks and institutions, including political parties in India, tend to have a homogenizing effect on Hinduism. While
globalization tends to bring out the ‘voice of the marginalized’, the power relations within network is such that the majoritarian view dominates popular discourse. Whether this feature of networks is a nature of globalization process or is a permanent feature of the state of globalization is a matter of concern.

End-notes
1 For a detailed appraisal on the many ways through which Hindutva organizations are able to raise money abroad please refer to the Reference titled (Rajagopal, 2001) pages 237-263. It provides a very thorough narrative on how the funds are garnered by tweaking laws and regulations in the USA.

References


Women and Work: A review of the National Skill Development Corporation in the Wake of Globalization

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Abstract
Globalization is claimed to improve the condition of women by creating employment for them in industries as also eliminating gender discrimination in labour markets. This assumption shapes the policies regarding livelihoods in many countries including India. Policy prescriptions are informed by the major assumption that if women are engaged in income earning linked to the market, there will be an improvement in their status. Despite claims of radical transformations in earnings and subsequent social positions, studies have shown that not only does the “social” division of labour according to sex remain intact but in combination with the “sectoral” division it actually overburdens women – leading to continued subordinate position of women in Indian society. With the private sector showing a very poor record in effectively and fruitfully employing women and the public sector employing them in mainly “women oriented” jobs, there needs to be a thorough re-look at the employment related schemes devised by the government. In the face of these critical observations, this paper would try to analyse the impact of globalization on women's work with a special focus on the Indian context. Thereafter an attempt would be made to analyse the National Skill Development Corporation created under the National Skill Development Policy – to understand if it is – in its present form - sensitive to and inclusive of the gender aspect, which is absolutely crucial to build a sustainable growth in the employment scenario.

Keywords: Globalization, Women, Labour, Sustainable growth, NSDC

Globalization and Labour
In the wake of increasing “development” based on globalization, there has been an overhaul in the nature and composition of work. The increasing bargaining power of international capital in global economics puts companies in a position of power to impose tough conditions on their workers (Sarkar, 2007), as well as influence local governments and policies in order to affect local conditions of people (Koggel, 2006). All over the world, adopting neoliberal globalization have meant broadly incentivizing the private sector, increasing privatisation of government owned units, delicensing, deregulation and 'disciplining' labour (Shah et al., 1994). The conditions thus created by the rise of the global capital – which runs on the primary motive of profit maximization – in the local context, give rise to 'fragmentation of the labour processes' resulting in low skill, repetitive work (Sarkar, 2007). "The global labour force has (thus) become expendable, then irrelevant and finally invisible in the new high-tech world of global commerce and trade" (Hawthorne, 2008: 293). The impact of a global economics had also intensified class, race, ethnic and gender inequalities, in many cases (Lindo-McGovern and Wallimann, 2009).
Globalization and women's work

“Neoliberal globalization is not a neutral process, it is gendered”
(Lindo-McGovern & Wallimann, 2009: 1).

There are varying studies with varied conclusions regarding the relation of increasing globalization and women's work; signifying that there is no single or direct effect. Since the relation is highly differentiated and nuanced, a blanket stance is not easy to make or justified (Jhabvala & Kanbur, 2003). But at the same time it is important to point out the growing academic evidence indicating that when multinational corporations in the global context work at the local level, they sometimes enhance, but often limit, women’s freedom and agency. There has been mounting concern that the cost of "adjustments" accompanying economic globalization have been born differently by different sections of the society – with the brunt being borne by the disadvantaged and most vulnerable sections of the society – such as women (Shah et al., 1994). Global capitalism is primarily driven by the motivation to cut costs - which translates into specific groups of women being recruited into specific kinds of jobs; this does not always positively affect the levels of 'agency' of the working women as expected (Koggel, 2006).

Economic opportunities as a result of globalization are highly unequal since the beneficiaries are those with more access to skills, markets and resources. Chandra Mohanty in her seminal work observed that "third world women workers occupy a specific social location in the international division of labour" (Mohanty, 1997:7). Their status within the labour market which exemplifies the process of exploitation and domination within the capitalist processes is often concealed by the talks of 'progress' - that primarily means creation of jobs - assumed to accompany the rise of global capitalism (Mohanty, 1997). Despite claims of radical transformations in earnings and subsequent social positions, studies have shown that not only does the “social” division of labour according to sex remain intact but in combination with the “sectoral” division it actually overburdens women – which is important to study empirically in order to understand the continued subordinate position of women in third world countries like India (Swaminathan, 2012).

Effects of Globalization on Female Wage Labour

"There is a systemic relation between globalization and feminization of wage labour" (Hawthorne, 2008: 274).

Loss of existing employment without creation of new avenues

Studies have shown how the adjustment demands have encouraged closing down of traditional industries which employed a large percentage of women (Shah et al., 1994). A loss of existing work could happen due to cheaper imports from foreign countries which substitute locally produced goods, for instance, loss of job of women silk spinners and twisters of Bihar due to the import of “China-Korea” silk yarn. There could also be a restructuring of spaces due to globalization with a resultant modeling of local spaces based on the global north which leads to removal of “impediments” such as street vending to make way for new infrastructure; this has resulted in loss of opportunities for many women since street vending has been a major employment area for women in both urban and rural areas (Jhabvala & Sinha, 2002).
Another effect of globalization has been constant development of higher levels of technology that has resulted in the male appropriation of many jobs traditionally performed by women through the introduction of male operated machines – especially in the agricultural sector (for instance, introduction of tractors, harvesters and mechanical pickers) as also some sectors in the textile industry (through the replacement of hand-wheels by power winders). Even in the food processing sector - which is the fourth largest employer of women - due to lack of finance, access to latest technologies and modern quality control facilities, women might lose opportunities in the increasingly globalizing market. The home-based zari embroidery and screen printing work of women has already seen major decline with improving technology (Jhabvala & Sinha, 2002).

Informalisation of work
Women are paid lesser wages than men and mostly paid below the minimum wage; manufacturing sector being the most discriminatory (Jhabvala & Sinha, 2002). There have been instances of wage reduction to the tune of 10% to 30% in countries like Brazil, with similar experiences in other countries of Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean and Asia (Shah et al., 1994).

New Economic Policies have caused shrinking opportunities for women in the 'organized' sector - with new job opportunities created mainly in the export industries with abysmal working conditions and very low wages (Shah et al., 1994). In India, the Export Processing Zones (EPZs) promoted by global capitalism has a majority of women workers who work without safety standards. Women workers are in high demand in these zones all across the world due to their "nimble fingers" and thus work as vegetable packers in Mexico, garment workers in China, and cotton harvesters in Egypt (Globalization and Women's Work, n.d.).

Global entities also promote 'flexible', non-regular work through part-time, temporary, subcontracted and home based work since it involves minimum input in terms of capital investment and minimal responsibility towards the labour force (Sarkar, 2007). The home based women workers earn lesser than 1/4th of the factory worker doing similar work. In a majority of places in India, like Ghaziabad and Greater Noida, women are working within the confines of their homes engaged in piece-meal work on goods that circulate in the global market through brands like United Colors of Benetton for pitiable wages. Many multinational entities (like Maruti Udyog Ltd., BPL, Johnson & Johnson Ltd. and Hindustan Lever Ltd.) engage in subcontracting to vendors (mostly men) who then sub-let the work to home-based women workers. Moreover the work thus provided is highly irregular. For instance, in the manufacturing trades (except garments), the average deployment time is less than four months in a year (Jhabvala & Sinha, 2002).

Global Processes, Local Effects
Each local space has its own intricate context that results in it being affected in a different manner by global forces. It is necessary to acknowledge the unpredictable, complex effects of these forces on women, in particular, in order to build locally relevant, gender sensitive policies. This section therefore attempts to highlight some specific local dynamics in relation to women’s work.
The study of Maria Mies on lace workers in Narsapur (India) who have been integrated into the world market by their work in lace production demonstrates that whether change is possible in the lives of women due to entry into the job market is dependent on various factors - especially the local gender norms. The popular perception of women as 'housewives' meant that their work in the production of lace was interpreted as 'leisure activity' - even if it required working 6-8 hours within the confines of their homes in poor lighting conditions. This led to an appropriation of the proceeds of such production by men through a 'masculinization' of the non-production jobs (Mies, 2012). Therefore, having 'paid work' may not always make much difference in the lives of women if the work done is invisible and the income earned is appropriated by the male members of their family or society (Koggel, 2006).

The case of women workers in the Silicon Valley elicits the possible reason for overrepresentation of third world women in production areas in the developed nations. Shop floor work of the electronics factories in the Silicon Valley in 1980s were predominantly held by women (around 80-90 percent); half of whom were again Asian immigrant women. This over-representation of third world women could be explained by their impression as docile and satisfied with most minimal wages. They were also perceived to withstand taking orders and enforced discipline, as well as more suited to repetition-ridden, laborious and monotonous work (Mohanty, 1997).

Moreover studies have also shown a higher presence of multinational corporations in the geographical third world due to lower production costs and wages, supported by less rigid labour laws. Labour in such cases showed increasing feminization, such as the rise in female labour in maquiladora – the manufacture operations in the Free Trade Zones - in Tijuana, Mexico (Fussell, 2000). Women's perception of themselves as mere secondary earners turned them into readily available labour. Such women were perceived to be less prone to labour struggles as they were less likely to risk losing their jobs (Fussell, 2000). Thus in this way corporate interests skillfully took "advantage of women's disadvantage" and "diminished the earning potential of women" employed in the maquiladoras (Fussell, 2000:76).

Globalization has also affected regional dynamics wherein the rise of newly industrializing countries has sharpened regional inequality between neighbouring nations. For instance, Taiwan’s development greatly depends on women from poorer adjoining countries such as Philippines and Indonesia – after being forced out of their own countries due to conditions created by the neoliberal stance taken by their governments. They provide cheap labour in the domestic market and low-waged productive labour in companies (Lindo-McGovern & Wallimann, 2009).

The Women in Development (WID) discourse that demanded integration of third world women into economic development by entry into the global markets through increased institutional reforms and technology facilitated the “subtle insertion” of neoliberal globalization into the agenda of empowerment of women. But as the few examples in this section illustrate, globalization links itself to pre-existing structures of power and inequalities. Therefore these effects have to be carefully explored at each level so as to prevent global neoliberal forces from linking themselves plainly to the “frames of thought
that serve as the basis for development policy and practice” (Lindo-McGovern & Wallimann, 2009: 6).

**‘Missing’ female labour: the special case of India**

Since its first quinquennial account in 1972-73, NSS reports on Employment and Unemployment in India have shown the female labour force participation rate (LFPR) decline substantially from 32% to 18.1% in 2011-12 in rural areas, while remaining consistently low in urban areas throughout from 14.3% in 1972-73 to 13.4% in 2011-12 (Abraham, 2013). The possible reasons for such a decline from a socialist-feminist perspective have been illustrated pictorially in Figure 1.

This phenomenon is supported by various studies that link upward social mobility of households with an increased male participation in the labour force along with an associated domestication of women (Mies, 2012). Those women belonging to the realm of ‘intersectionality’ of various disadvantages - such as multiple vulnerabilities of caste, class and ability hierarchy - are deemed to stay within the labour market but within the informalized job section - often exploited as the reserve "army of labour" through such unjust systems such as home-based lowly paid production or putting-out systems (Abraham, 2013). Multiple societal fissures and complicated social beliefs make the case of Indian society with regards to women’s work extremely complex.

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Figure 1: Socialist-feminist explanation of "de-feminisation" of labour (adapted from Abraham, 2013)
Policy initiatives with regards to women's work

According to Dr. Sen, development policy should focus on providing women with the freedom to exercise their agency. Moreover, he stresses on the primacy of promoting women's workforce participation and paid employment outside their homes in adding force to their agency (Sen, 1999). He goes to the extent of saying that "freedom to seek and hold outside jobs can contribute to the reduction of women's relative - and absolute - deprivation" (Sen, 1999: 194).

As seen in section II and III, globalization is believed to improve the condition of women by creating employment for them in industries as also eliminating gender discrimination in labour markets (Sundaram, 2009). This assumption, along with reading Sen simplistically, shapes policy prescriptions that are informed by the major postulation that increasing income earning linked to the market, will automatically lead to an improvement in the status of women (Shah et al., 1994).

But the examples mentioned in the same sections illustrate how local labour markets as well as local perceptions about gender, class and caste are comprehended, manipulated, defined and utilized by global organizations to meet their demands of cheap labour and to define perceptions about work/workers itself. Many studies – especially feminist studies – have begun to point out some of the caveats missing in Sen’s account and problems with the primacy accorded to work outside home without accompanying stress on changes in the context of women’s lives (Koggel, 2006).

The purpose of the analysis that this paper undertakes is not to blatantly announce that globalization and the kind of work opportunities it creates for women have no positive effects at all on women's lives but to stress cautiousness in glorifying the effects of globalization by necessarily associating it with increasing gainful job opportunities and therefore progress. All these specific examples are to draw attention to the fact that the strategy to increase women's freedom through work outside of home can fail as a general policy if "pre-existing local conditions are disadvantageous" (Koggel, 2006: 194). Policies need to be "multifaceted" and developed after "multipronged" analyses – taking both local and global contexts into mind (Koggel, 2006). In her critique of Dr. Sen’s notion of the direct linkage of women’s work outside home and their increased agency, Kogell notes:

"Policies will not work if they are too general, rely too heavily on the power and goodwill of international organizations, or are not combined with local strategies for challenging the gendered, racialized and class divisions of labour” (Kogell, 2006: 196).

Policy on Skill Development: An analysis of National Skill Development Corporation

The National Policy on Skill Development (NPSD) – announced in March 2009 – outlined a changed focus from the past by visioning skill training to be outcome-focused and linked to jobs. The National Skill Development Corporation (NSDC) was setup in December 2009 under this policy with the objective of contributing “significantly (about 30 percent, i.e. 150 million people – the largest by any single stakeholder) to the overall target of skillling/upskilling 500 million people in India by 2022, mainly by fostering private sector initiative in skill development programmes and providing funding” (NSDC, 2009). The primary vision of the body lies in building scalable, for-profit vocational training.
Touted as a major Public Private Partnership (PPP) initiative, it has an equity base of Rs. 10 crore in which the government ownership has been restricted to a 49% share. The funding requirements are primarily funded by a government trust - National Skill Development Fund (NSDF) – with a corpus of $550 million in 2013 (Chenoy, 2013a). NSDC also promotes skill training as an initiative to improve “financial viability through tax breaks etc.” (for instance, the exemption of service tax) for its private sector partners (NSDC, 2009).

As elaborated by Dilip Chenoy (MD-CEO, NSDC), NSDC operations are driven by “scale, speed and execution” (Chenoy, 2013b). Chenoy also boasts of enabling NSDCs partners to make a “business out of skills”. He points out a report by Kotak Institutional Equities (2011) which forecast that skill development could become a $20 billion business by 2022 (Chenoy, 2013a: 187). Reports have suggested that NSDC, since its inception, has been able to meet only 16% of its target annually; whereas the target is to train 0.5 million per year, it has been able to train only approximately 75,000 students. Moreover, while its relatively small scale investments have been a little more disciplined regarding targets, the large multi-sector partners have majorly under-performed, despite NSDC’s undue focus on ‘highly scalable models’ (Ramaswamy, 2012).

NSDC and Women’s Work

Although the talks of building Sector Skills Councils for creation of National Occupational Standards, quality indicators for training courses, facilitating accreditation and training the trainers is promising, a total absence of the criteria of inclusive training and a sole focus on a number-based, target-driven approach can be extremely short-sighted. The elaborate district-wise and sector-wise district-wise and sector-wise on “Mapping of human resource skill gaps in India till 2022” on the NSDC website under the “knowledge bank” segment, has detailed sections on themes such as the current employment scenario, distribution of human resource by region, function and educational levels, skill requirements and emerging trends. But even these fairly detailed studies have no mention of the distribution of human resource by gender, caste or any such social category – the knowledge of which is important considering the skewed make-up of our labour force due to societal biases. This is a serious oversight, since these documents seem like the only guiding text available, in the absence of any specific document detailing the “guiding principles in functioning”, for the NSDC partners. Also wherever there is a mention of gender specific training (under suggestions segment in the aforementioned studies or in annual reports), it is under the traditional categories such as unorganized sectors including domestic services, embroidery and stitching, candle making, low scale food processing such as papad making etc. - which are lower paying.

An analysis of the annual reports of the NSDC indicates that there has been no proper evaluation of the number of youth being trained and employed based on demographic characteristics such as gender, the kinds of trade in which women are predominantly populating the training rooms, the nature of employment that they are engaged in after being trained and the difference it is making in their societal status and personal lives. The annual reports are merely an exercise in announcing the total number of people who received training through NSDC partners, commitment to the proposals in terms of money, number of partners, centres, sectors and courses, and overall features of NSDC mostly
through the medium of pictures (NSDC, 2013,2012,2011,2010,2009). The monitoring process of the partners also primarily focuses on contract monitoring, system/model monitoring and purely number/target based sector wise training done (NSDC, 2009). There is no break-up or analyses of these numbers to identify whether the organization is meeting one of the proposed agenda of NPSD (2009) – i.e. harnessing inclusivity.

One of the author’s personal experience with an NSDC partner has shown that there is an absence of insistence on specific mobilization and awareness creation techniques that cater to specific categories of the population such as the women – especially in a local context that is mired with traditional beliefs about women and them working – as also an absolute non-requirement of making the vocational training rooms inclusive and diverse in the NSDC policies. Further a gender segregated approach to training – such as marking courses such as "tailoring" and "beautician" as ideal and best suited to the needs and perceptions of women – prevents the "mainstreaming" of female labour. There are organizations that utilize money loaned out by NSDC to groom and "train" women from the lower strata of society and to "place" them in upper class houses as professional domestic maids. Thus a job that traditionally many women were already engaged in has been turned "professional" - not by negotiating for better job security or radically different wages - but by glorifying and charging (in many cases) for the grooming and preening that is deemed necessary to qualify to work in houses of a certain class. An artificial market is being created to provide “trained” professional maids – which in turn lead to further segregation based on sex in the kind of work women from the lower class can possibly engage in as also exacerbating class, caste and gender based division of work.

According to studies, the presence of women in certain sectors is higher than the other sectors. These sectors are: construction, crafts, agriculture, livestock, forestry, food processing, textile and garments, subcontracting in manufacturing, banking, nursing, traditional health workers and vendors. In most of these sectors, women form the predominantly unskilled or semi-skilled category (Jhabvala & Sinha, 2002). For instance, in the construction industry, as high as 92% women are in the unskilled category with the rest being semi-skilled, as opposed to only 36.8% men in the unskilled category (Jhabvala & Kanbur, 2003). With increasing globalization and the resultant mechanization there is a tendency for elimination of jobs that employ unskilled/semiskilled manual labour and an increase in demand for skilled labour. With the concentration of female labour in the former category, it does not fare too well for women and their work (Jhabvala & Sinha, 2002). All this information signals for highlighting the need to specifically map the existing skill level of women in these sectors and provide them with training that would move them higher in the skill ladder which would thus prevent them from losing their employment or even find new avenues. A complete absence of such an analysis from the NSDC’s studies or role can be damaging, considering it holds mandate to enormous funding and proposes to be the single largest contributor to creating a skilled workforce. Ignoring such category-wise examination, can further debilitate the already skewed, non-inclusive and exploitative labour conditions existing in India.

There needs to be a more directed approach to skill training to make it more inclusive and meaningful – not only for women but all the excluded categories of the population. This could be done by assessing specific demands and avenues for women in the mainstream
labour force, introducing new tiers of training and continuous "lifelong" learning and a more specific focus on women through targeted mobilization, training and placement processes. Studies further suggest the importance of policies to promote grassroots organizing and organizations to attenuate the negative impact of global markets on women's work, as also to protect the rights and incomes of women as labourers through legal and extra-legal struggles (Rodriguez, 2009).

Conclusion
The paper stresses that it is very difficult to take a unilateral stance on the effect of globalization on women's work. However, with increasing academic evidence of the negative effects of unregulated economic globalization, the paper suggests a cautious outlook towards glorifying it for its ability to create a surplus amount of work opportunities for women and also questions the nature of prospects thus created. The paper also questions the simplistic assumption of state policy to relate increasing job creation linked to the market with increased empowerment of women through a boost in their agency. It thereafter highlights an ascending influence of neoliberal global forces on the formulation of state policies. In the context of all this analyses, it takes a close look at the National Skill Development Corporation formed under the National Policy on Skill Development – to show that the single largest stakeholder in the creation of a “skilled manpower” in India, to leverage the demographic dividend at present, falls short on envisioning an inclusive and gender equitable workforce – through lack of stress on targeted mobilization tactics, reinforcing traditional gender biases in its training courses and completely ignoring the aspect of gender in its detailed studies.

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Impact of Globalization on Education: A study on Online Education

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Abstract
What are the impacts of globalization on education especially on online education? The paper investigates this question. The paper argues that globalization has been playing a changing role from industry to education. Because of accelerated and free flow of information, today sources of acquiring knowledge have become vast and easier than earlier. Access to knowledge indeed was once for a selected few. But the advent and speedy mode of globalization has changed this traditional notion of education which was supposed to be for a selected few in a formal educational institution. In future, on-line education can be accessed by anyone irrespective of age, sex, race, income, time and space. It is a sign of internationalization of online education. The process has already been started. Besides, from educational reform to course curricula planning and change to teachers training and professional development, online education has been playing a crucial role, the paper argues.

Keywords: Globalization, Education, On-line Education

Introduction
“The Future of on-line education for anyone, anywhere, anytime” ........edX

The above visionary statement of the edX depicts that in future on-line education can be accessed by anyone from anywhere irrespective of sex, race, time and social status. It is a sign of internationalization of on-line education. The process has been already started and hundreds of thousands has already been benefitted from online learning. Today, if one has a computer or laptop and an internet access, one has access to knowledge from hundreds of universities large and small, from developed to developing countries. Massive open online courses (MOOC), open-access journals, books, open courseware etc. is making a revolution in the access and delivery of education. So, one can claim that we are in a golden age of free and easily accessible online learning opportunities. Notably, Cecilia d'Oliveira, executive director of OCW at MIT rightly puts, “The online learning revolution began with a bold idea – to liberate knowledge so that anyone, anywhere, who has access to the internet, can learn anything. This simple idea, put into action, has offered millions of people around the world the tools that help them reach their potential. The numerous benefits and opportunities that ‘free’ and ‘open’ facilitate truly changes lives and improves communities”(d'Oliveira 2013). Besides, for educational reform, course curricula planning and change, teachers training and professional development online education has been playing a crucial role.

Once, only source of learning was printed books, journals and magazines. And the respected journals in respective fields were so costly that very few universities and academic communities were able to access it. Furthermore, elite universities were only accessible by the elite class only. So, vast majority could not get education from these top class
universities due to high costs as well as access to sources of knowledge. And, from a developing country, it was quite challenging access to many references. So, to build up expertise was quite difficult. But now-a-days, in one particular issue, there are thousands of references available in online. One can easily being expert on his/her concerned areas through online learning opportunities, although still now many respected journals of respected fields are very costly.

Globalization, simply put, denotes the expanding scale, growing magnitude, speeding up and deepening impact of transcontinental flows and patterns of social interaction (Held and McGrew 2002). It is thus basically free flow of goods, information, capital, and technologies. It is playing a changing role from industry to education. Because of accelerated and free flow of information, today sources of acquiring knowledge have become vast and easier than earlier. Access to knowledge was once only for a selected few. Globalization has changed this traditional notion of education which was supposed to be for a selected few in a formal educational institution.

Against the above backdrop, the paper investigates two questions: What are the impacts of globalization on education? And what are its implications for South Asia? The rationale & significance of the study lies in the ground that no rigorous study has done yet. So, to fill that gap the study is crucial. Secondly, from student to teachers community to policy makers to interested groups will be benefitted through this study since education is something which has power to change. I will use three case studies: edX, Coursera, and MIT OpenCourseWare to explore how globalization has impacts on online education. The study is basically qualitative in nature and based on secondary data.

**Impact of globalization on education**

“Business and engineering schools alike in the United States have added or are considering globalization as an important addition to a student’s higher education package. Globalization is already an important part of European education. Globalization is not a passing phenomenon. It is here to stay. Universities and colleges throughout the world need to recognize that every student needs to have global skills” (Fox and Hundley 2011).

From the above opinions of Patricia Fox and Stephen Hundley, it is easily understandable the impacts of globalization on education. In the following, the impacts of globalization on online education are explained through using case study of Coursera, edX, and MIT OpenCourseWare.

**Coursera**

Coursera, founded by Stanford University is a platform to provide free online education. According to its website, “We offer high quality courses from the top universities, for free to everyone. We are changing the face of education globally, and we invite you to join us”. From this open invitation from Coursera, it is crystal clear that today education has become decentralized and more accessible to anyone, anywhere in the world. It was totally out of imagination once, accomplishing a course from Harvard, MIT, Stanford or UC Berkeley staying at home, irrespective of age, education, means, and nations. Coursera has made a revolution on on-line education. According to *New York Times*, “Coursera, founded just last
January 2012, has reached more than 1.7 million till October 2012 — growing “faster than Facebook” (The New York Times, November 2, 2012). Currently Coursera is offering 341 courses from 62 world class universities of 16 countries on across Humanities, Social Sciences, Medicine, Mathematics, Computer Science, Biology, Business and many others (See, details on https://www.coursera.org/, accessed on May 2, 2013 (https://www.coursera.org/). Already 3,404,463 participants enrolled in this summer session on various courses in the renowned universities coordinated by courser (https://www.coursera.org/). In each and every minute, the number of participants is increasing. Coursera has made a revolution in higher education industry.

To be well-educated from a renowned university, one does not need to be present campus physically, or need not to spend huge money. What one needs is just internet connection. Globalization has made it possible. Gaining knowledge through taking such courses, one can change from personal to community to national life. In such way, we can change the world. Besides, today there are hundreds of best study materials on online which are imperative to build up expertise on one’s area. And thus, globalization has already made a revolution in online education through creating unprecedented levels of possibilities of learning for students and teachers around the world.

edX

edX, another non-profit online learning enterprise, founded by Harvard and MIT pursue an open source vision to enhance access to higher education for the entire world. It can be referred that,

“Focused on transforming online and on-campus learning through ground breaking methodologies, game-like experiences and cutting edge research, edX provides inspirational and transformative knowledge to students of all ages, social status, and income who form worldwide communities of learners. edX uses its open source technology to transcend physical and social borders focusing on people, not profit” (https://www.edx.org/press/stanford-to-work-with-edx).

The team of edX is revolutionizing education. edX has built sophisticated online platform to enable high quality courses to be offered to students on campuses education and worldwide. (Agarwal 2013). It is dramatically improving the quality of on-campus education by applying blended models to learning. It is reinventing the classroom through changing how knowledge is shared and delivered. It does not discriminate based on race, sex or income. Prof. Harold Riggs, MassBay Community College argues that, this course brings together students from all over the world (See, https://www.edx.org/). John Mitchell, vice provost for online learning at Stanford University argues that “A non-profit, open source platform will help universities experiment with different ways to produce and share content, fostering continued innovation through a vibrant community of contributors” (See https://www.edx.org/press/stanford-to-work-with-edx).

Not only the students but also the teachers and others can train themselves taking such courses. No alternative, to increase one’s levels of understanding and depth of knowledge. And globalization has made it possible to expand one’s depth of knowledge.
MIT Open CourseWare

Today one can educate him/herself through self-study taking help from the online courses or sources. Just for an example, through self-study one can be well-educated from MIT (though no certificate will be provided) through access to the MIT course syllabus, calendar, course materials, reading questions, video lectures, lecture notes, recitations, study materials, assignments, exams, writing advice which is now publicly accessible (see MIT Open CourseWare, available at http://ocw.mit.edu/index.htm). According to MIT website, “MIT OpenCourseWare makes the materials used in the teaching of almost all of MIT's subjects available on the Web, free of charge. With more than 2,000 courses available, OCW is delivering on the promise of open sharing of knowledge” (Ibid). Needless to say, from individual to educational institutions, everybody is being benefitted from this globalized nature of education. Here come the impacts of globalization on education.

Online access to MIT OpenCourseWare content has grown dramatically on the ocw.mit.edu site itself and on translation sites. According to 2011 impact report, 127 M visits to OCW content from an estimated 90 million visitors as of Oct 2011 and 1,018 courses translated and 290 mirror sites globally (MIT OpenCourseWare, 2011 program evaluation findings summary, available at http://ocw.mit.edu/about/site-statistics/11_Eval_Summary_112311_MITOCW.pdf). Visitors say that OCW has had significant impact on teaching and learning. According to MIT website,

• “89% of educators using the site to improve their personal knowledge say OCW has improved their motivation to teach
• 96% of students complementing their course materials say OCW improved their understanding of concepts covered
• 92% of self-learners using the site to plan a return to school say the site has increased their confidence of success”.

More in details, MIT OpenCourseWare is being successfully used for a wide range of purposes which is shown in the Table 1.

Conclusion

For the grace of globalization, thousands of learners are being benefitted through online learning. From the above study it is shown that top ranking universities in the world with the collaboration with Coursera and edX are offering best quality online free courses which are taught by world class renowned Professors on the respective fields. It is also found that these courses are very effective and interactive. Already it is seen that this online freely learning platform has made a great progress. In this regard, it can be referred that “Using MITx 6.002x Circuits and Electronics to supplement and enhance his EE98 Circuits Analysis course at San Jose State University, Professor Ghadiri saw pass rates in his class improve from 55% to 91%” (See, http://blog.edx.org/).

From critical perspective, one can raise question that what is the politics behind this online-learning revolution, is there any? This question merits for further study. Another question is that how much this online learning is effective comparing face-to-face education. Although, online learning opportunities is certainly less effective than face-to-face learning, but it has modest impacts which is also contextual.
From the above analysis it is crystal clear that globalization has far-reaching impacts on online education. And it is hoped that through online learning, students will change their lives, they will change the communities and they will change the world by the grace of globalization.

Table 1: Impacts of MIT Open CourseWare

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>USE SCENARIO</th>
<th>% OF USE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Educators</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improve personal knowledge</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learn new teaching methods</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incorporate OCW materials into a course</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Find reference material for my students</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Develop curriculum for my department or school</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Students</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enhance personal knowledge</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complement a current course</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plan a course of study</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Self-Learners</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explore areas outside my professional field</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Review basic concepts in my professional field</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prepare for future course of study</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keep current with developments in my field</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complete a work-related project or task</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


End-notes
1 edX is a non-profit education enterprise, founded by Harvard and MIT.

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Globalization: Re-examining the Historical Roots

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Abstract
Globalization in its very literal sense refers to the process of local phenomenon into global ones; a process by which the people of the world are unified into a single society and function together. This entire process is a synthesis of economic, technological, socio-cultural and macro political forces. But mostly the term globalization is used to highlight strongly on economics i.e. the integration of national economies into an international economy through trade, foreign direct investment, capital flows, migration and the spread of technology. The main purpose of this paper is to look at how far back globalization goes. Another area on which the author focusses on is to find in which period we can trace the roots for current globalization. This research work emphasizes the fact that the first marks of globalization initiated long time ago, whereas the institutions and structures which facilitate the current globalization process are much more of recent origin. This paper will provide an analysis of globalizations relationship with prior patterns of inter-regional contacts of people to determine more precisely what is really new about the recent developments. The author will also bring forth whether the current changes constitute in reality a huge change of unexpected magnitude or rather an acceleration of experiences to which many countries have already adjusted or responded to. Finally, as against any single perspective, the paper advocates for continued debate and dialogue for recognition of the complexities in determining any point of the origin of globalization.

Keywords: Globalization, History, Process, Synthesis, Economy

Introduction
Globalization is an inevitable process. In popular or dominant parlance, globalization refers to internationalization of financial markets and of production networks across the world. It is also viewed as an erosion of borders and an end or threat to the identity of the nation-state. Globalization practically touches all aspects of life today. As Bauman (1998) states globalization is ‘on everybody’s lips, a fad word fast turning into a shibboleth.’ To Susan Strange, ‘Globalization can refer to anything from Internet to a hamburger’ (1996: Xii). Thus it encompasses a wide genre of things and ideas that govern our life. The forces which drive the process of globalization cover ‘deterritorialization, digitization, internationalization, liberalization, modernization, privatization, regionalization, universalization, weaponization, Westernization etc. (Peter 2008: 76). Globalization is ‘like a prism in which major disputes over the collective human condition are now refracted: questions of capitalism, inequality, power, development, ecology, culture, gender, identity, population, al come back in a landscape where globalization did it and it crosses boundaries of government and business, media nad social movements, general and academic interests’ (Pieterse 2004: 7). Globalization is seen today as increasingly omnipresent and we are living in a ‘global age’ (Albrow 1996).
As there are a host of multi-dimensional definitions, these really make it difficult to generalize the impact of globalization. It could be cautiously observed whether globalization is putting forward a ‘human web’ (McNeill and McNeill 2008), a global network society (Castells 2000), a flat world (Friedman 2005), bumpy (Hamilton & Quinlan 2008: 108), spiky (Florida 2005: 48-51) world, selective denationalization (Sassen 2006: 13-14) or fragmentation (Rosenau 1997: 30)? It is worth examining whether there is an ‘end of history (Fukuyama 1992) consensus around free market capitalism and political democracy? Or is ideological support for neoliberal capitalism eroding as suggested by a 2011 poll that indicated that between 2002 and 2010 the percentage of Americans who believe that the free market system is the world’s best declined from 80 to 59 percent (The Economist April 9, 2011: 70). Therefore how far globalization is advancing, retreating or staling could be found after examining the current status of it. In fact the most important challenge posed by globalization today is the emerging threat to the survival of the authority of the nation-states and their control over their own citizens.

The origin of the term ‘globalization’ is highly contested till date. ‘At one point, it was incorrectly credited to Theodore Levitt, a professor at the Harvard Business School’ (Bauman 1998), but it was used much before. Though the word globalization received wider publicity in the 1960s, but with the end of the Cold War in the 1990s, it became an inseparable concept in international politics and economy. However the ‘Globalization theory owes much to a group of political scientists who did pioneering work during an era that was otherwise dominated by the state-centric thought: Karl W. Deutsch’s path breaking study of security communities, integration theory, and transaction data; Headley Bull’s development of the concept of international society; Robert O. Keohane’s and Joseph S. Nye Jr’s theories of complex interdependence and transactional politics; Susan Strange’s advancement of the subfield of international political economy; and James N. Rosenau’s exploration of national/international linkages and post-international politics’ (Ferguson & Mansbach 2012: 1-2).

**Historical Roots of Globalization**

Globalization has strong historical roots spread across different disciplines. It started much before the current developments in science and technology, or the end of the Second World War or even the end of the Cold War in the 1990s. It has been widely believed that globalization has originated in the lap of capitalism and industrialism and the institutions, systems, technologies heralded by them. As Martell (2010) argues ‘These provided the biggest qualitative leap in globalization and are behind many forms of globalization today. They were not just the key starting point but also the basis for current forms. At the same time it is less plausible that globalization, or the bases for current globalization, started before this. While Europe and the West were still relatively backward, other more sophisticated parts of the world were practicing long-distance trade, religion and expansion but these were not truly globalization.’ This suggests that globalization is not purely a Western or European phenomenon and it has a worldwide base. ‘In the longue duree historical perspective globalization has been growing ever since homo sapiens settled into sedentary cultures in river valleys. Connections that began as short forays for trading, exploration, evangelism, and imperial expansion have accelerated over the millennia’ (Chanda 2008: 119).
Early roots: The globalization phase began with the biological emergence of a very small number of our human ancestors who walked out of Africa and possibly Eurasia as well (See Haederle: 2009) and their descendants had reached every place except Antarctica about 10,000 years ago. Though by modern standard the pace of migration was very slow, but considering the mode of transportation available at that time, the movement of people was surprisingly fast. As about 10,000 BCE, the Ice Age Came to an end, From hunting and gathering, people looked for settled life with agriculture. Essentially the basic motivations that propelled humans to connect with others – the urge to profit by trading, the drive to spread religious belief, the desire to explore new lands, and the ambition to dominate others by armed might – all had been assembled by 6000 BCE to start the process we now call globalization (Chanda 2007: 9). Thus, early migration has sparked the speed and process of globalization across.

Ancient Mediterranean: The Mediterranean cities had played a key role in global trading. As per sound historical sources, the first civilization, substantial citi-polities and emerged in summer in Southern Mesopotamia (Ferguson & Manohar 2012). The Tigris and Euphrates made available water resources for easy and cheap trading except minerals. Smith (2009) notes: “Trade thus was important not only to supply temple-priests and rulers with luxury items, but also to raise the temples and cities in which elites dwelled: indeed trade became an engine in driving socio-political complexity.” The Nile river became the centre of focus for trade as the Egyptian civilization started moving along the lines of Mesopotamia. Smith argues that the fight for controlling internal and external trade began in the Nile Valley among various warrior groups. Infact, Palestine, Lebanon and Syria – all were involved in trading and a massive movement of people took place in these places. Thus, he observes that by the late Bronze age there existed ‘A series of overlapping commercial exchange systems that extended from the Western Mediterranean to Afghanistan and India’. Gradually, entrepreneurship started emerging after the Dark Age. With the Iron Age ushering in tools and weapons, kind of individual initiatives in trade, agriculture, warfare, politics etc. started. Smith states: “Greek cities early on established colonies throughout the Mediterranean as far as Italy and Sicily and North to the Black sea, partly to reliefe land pressures but also to create trade links…” (2009). With Alexander, the Romans rule and culture spread across and became a universal code.

Linking the Continents: The Mediterranean region slowly linked to the other parts of the world ‘that themselves had previously been experiencing substantial economic and other forma of integration’ (Ferguson & Mansback 2013: 50). This showed entirely a new dimension of globalization and this was emboldened more by the advent of new religions at the same time. The ‘three great corridors, the Red sea, the Persian Gulf, and the Malacca Straits leading into the China Sea connected East South, and West Asia and Africa and Europe’ (Smith 2009). Thus, Indian Ocean got connected to the trader’s route and an entirely new zone came into focus. China was the farthest destination from Western trade, apart from the America’s and South Pacific during that time. With the Han dynasty came to the power, the Chinese created border markets to encourage local trade. However, the official Han ideology of Confucianism (rather like the attitude of classical Greek aristocrats) was disdainful of merchants and craftsmen, but the government found their activities
useful, taxed them heavily, and occasionally assumed direct control of trade’ (Smith 2009). Religion played a very significant role in spreading culture and traditions along with trade. As Chanda writes: “The rise of monolithic religion, centered on the belief in one God for all, could unshackle humans from their animistic local Gods. Freed from local settings, religions could travel and become global, and yet a God could be personal” (2007). Thus, Christianity, Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, all played a global role in the movement of ideas and people. This period marked the decline of the Asian continent.

- Emergence of global capitalism: The historic voyages of Marco Polo, Columbus, Vasco da Gama and Ferdinand Magellan helped the Europe bridge the Atlantic. It transformed the world history with a broad range of positive and negative consequences by closing the last intercontinental transactions gap after millennia of separate development and regional integration. Diamond describes the period as one of ‘Hemisphere colliding’ and Alfred Crosby somewhat more positively as ‘the Columbian Exchange’. The emergence of Britain, Spain, Italy, France, Germany etc. as colonial powers had entirely changed course of modern history of nations across the world. The consolidation of sovereign territorial states i.e. creation of Westphalian System took hundreds of years. As Ferguson and Mansbach notes: “It is surely one of the greatest ironies in history that the rise of the nation state is so closely intertwined with what also might correctly be described as an age of Empires (2012: 57). From here the French Revolution, American Revolution, Industrial Revolution, the World War I, birth of the USSR and the League of Nations etc. entirely changed the course of modern world history. In fact with the outbreak of World War I the global capitalism or the first phase of globalization came to an end which was built around the trade and commerce, migration, creation of global political institutions etc. among the independent nations and their colonies.

- Globalization—Cold War to the 21st Century: From the end of the World War II, we could see the beginning of the Cold War between the two power blocs led by the USA and USSR purely on ideological grounds. This war came to an end in 1989-90 with the breakdown of the USSR and related historical events across Europe and other parts of the world. This period clearly showed globalization in a much thicker, powerful and penetrating way.

Ferguson and Mansbach underlines five major and interrelated factors to mark the growth of global economy during this period:

a. First, the institutionalization of the GATT into WTO in 1995 which widely opened the global trade into an unimaginable heights with the lowering the barriers to trade. This has led to mass scale socio-political movements particularly in developing countries against globalization, narrowly against Americanization of the world.

b. Second, the revolution in communication and information which brought modern TV, computers, mobile phones, satellites, fiber optic cables and most importantly the Internet (the World Wide Web became widely available in 1991). Alongside, the birth of numerous social networking sites has become the centre point of exchange of ideas and things from one to the other corner of the world. As Scholte says, “The increase in human mobility was almost equally impressive with the average number of persons crossing state borders each day rising from 69000 in 1950 to over 2 million in 2000.”
c. Third, China’s re-engagement with the West and acceptance of market capitalism and the incorporation of former USSR and East Europe into the global capitalist economy after the end of the Cold War were regarded as ‘monumental shift’ by Ferguson and Mansbach. The recent Arab Spring has also generated much hope for democracy in the Middle East.

d. Fourth, another major trend is the expansion of the transnational corporations (TNC’s) in their size, number and innovation strategies. This is largely credited to the revolution in the field of IT and communication. There has also been an upsurge of mergers and acquisitions, strategic alliances and networks, joint ventures and corporate supply chains (O’Brien & Williams 2007: 193-4). Today some 51 of the 100 largest economies are not states but corporations, and TNC’s account for nearly 70% of world trade (www.gatt.org/trasstat-e.htm).

e. Fifth, one of the most remarkable “development in the 1990s was the liberalization of the national and world financial markets” (Ferguson and Mansbach 2012). It is widely seen that by the late 1990s, international financial activities were so intertwined with domestic financial markets as if there is one single global financial system in which all countries were participating. Of course, the global capital market has expanded very fast in the last century and it is now hardly in control of the states. The other side of the liberalization of global financial market is alarming for both the developing and developed countries. It is extremely volatile which had been seen in the recent past- the debt crisis of the developing nations in the 1980s, currency traders speculation on pound and lira in 1992, collapse of the Mexican peso and banking system in 1994, financial crisis in South East Asian countries in 1997 etc. These altogether clearly indicates the unstable global capital market and its impact on billions of people. Again the financial crisis in the US in 2008 once again proved that financial stability has not been achieved in the global market. This has fast generated mistrust on governments and their leaders in these countries. In fact, globalization is creating an uneven development. But generally speaking inequality may be rising across the state system and within some countries; the rich have been getting much richer, while the lot of the poorest has remained the same, improved at a much slower pace, or actually declined (Ferguson and Mansbach).

Finally, possibly the greatest setback of economic development associated with globalization is the threat to the survival of the planet. With massive economic development, the alarming dangers on the rise are shortage of energy, erosion of the green house, pollution of air and water particularly in developing countries, radical decline in biodiversity etc. Surely globalization cannot be blamed solely for these ills, but it is contributing fast towards them.

Dimensions of Globalization
While analyzing different dimensions of globalizations it is strongly observed that even the most useful understanding of the term globalization makes the task of tracing its history more complicated. Scholte offers a set of alternative definitions-

a. If globalization is internationalization, then its history began with the emergence of sovereign nation-states in Europe; or, if nation is the key term embedded in ‘international’, much earlier with what Armstrong (1982) described as “nations before nationalism".
b. If globalization is liberalization of state imposed restrictions, then its history may go no further back than the abolition of British Corn Laws affecting trade in the mid-nineteenth century; and in any event pre-sovereign state history is excluded unless one expands the notion of “state” (as archaeologists tend to do) to include early kings or tribal polities.

c. If globalization is universalization in the sense of a “planetary synthesis of cultures”, we may perhaps ignore regional patterns and conclude that any truly global synthesis is to date very modest at best.

d. If globalization is Westernization, or modernization especially in an Americanized form, we may end up in more problems arguing—what is West exactly, when did it emerge? Do we start with the ancient Mesopotamians and Egyptians or Greece, the Romans or Renaissance in Europe? Or is Westernization or modernization much later developments? If the US is the primary influence, when did US influence begin to have a global impact? Thus defining globalization in historical context creates additional problems as it fast engulfs the nook and corner of the world by now.

However Scholte’s fifth alternative definition i.e. re-spatialization meaning ‘a reconfiguration of social geography with increased trans planetary connections among people’ seems to be comprehensive, though it has some limitations. ‘Globalization is a powerful discourse or ideational force’ (Martell 2010: 8). It can be seen from an inclusive and unifying perspective or else from a divisive or contradictory perspective. To measure which way globalization is moving, we will provide here an in-depth analysis of the significant definitions with the existing perspectives related to the same.

Scholte (2005) is of the opinion that ‘a new word should not restate what is already known with other terminology but has to mean something different.’ He rejects four meanings of globalization—as internationalization, liberalization, universalization or Westernization because these do not add anything to the status quo of globalization. To him, internationalization refers to the growth of transactions which bolsters interdependencies between nations. The word internationalization practically covers what comes under this broad framework of cross border transactions of material and non-material things. Therefore, the term globalization is not newly required to redefine the existing contours of internationalization. Scholte opines that globalization is also not liberalization. Liberalization advocates for removal of regulatory mechanisms like trade barriers, capital controls, visa requirements and is connected partly with modernization. As he argues that liberalization has already happened and has facilitated globalization. ‘But liberalization and globalization are two different things. Globalization can and could take different forms, including neo-liberal ones. We do not need the new word globalization for this as this has long been debated as liberalization’ (Martell 2010: 9).

Globalization cannot be called as universalization which refers to distribution and dispersion of material and non-material objects to every part of the world. Examples provided by Scholte include tobacco, clothes, the state, food, education, children toys and arms. Sometimes this gets extended into globalization as standardization or homogenization. But he says ‘There is nothing new about this. It is age old, for instance in world religions and trade. There is no need for new terminology for something we already have a word for’ (Scholte 2005). Again globalization cannot be regarded as Westernization because the latter
refers to a particular type of universalization of Western structures like industrialism, capitalism, individualism, democracy, rationalism, urbanism or put more critically colonization, Americanization and imperialism. These Scholte says are part of the process of globalization but not the same one, because it may move in non-Western directions as well. It need not be imperialist if emancipatory movements can guide it. And Westernization existed long before globalization, so let’s call this Westernization and not invent a new word for it.

Thus for Scholte, globalization is deterritorialization or supraterritorialism. These involve more than just transplanetary links. Transplanetary connectivity, connections between parts of the world, has been around for many centuries. Supraterritoriality is however relatively new and breaks with territorialist geography with territories and borders being important. It seems how Scholte offers an explanation for transplanetary and supraterritoriality overlaps with one another. So it is not clear from Scholte’s analysis how different globalization is from internationalization, liberalization, universalization and Westernization.

Broadly it could be said that what Scholte has earmarked has finally led to three dimensions of globalization which are termed as Hyperglobalist, Skeptical and Transformationalist (Held et al. 1999: 2-10).

- Hyperglobalist Dimension: The advocates of hyperglobalist dimension include ironically both economic neo-liberals and Marxists who strongly emphasize on the economic aspects of globalization. ‘To the neoliberals on the right—the pro-globalizers globalization is a political economic project, one which it is argued will bring the greatest benefit for the greatest number……The rising tide of globalization will lift all boats; human material wellbeing will be enhanced’ (Dicken 2007: 6). Dicken also puts forward the opinion of the hyperglobalist who criticize globalization and value equality and justice above efficiency. He writes, ‘To the hyperglobalizers of the left—the anti-globalizers the problem is globalization itself. The very operation of those market forces claimed to be beneficent by the right are regarded as the crux of the problem: a malign and destructive force…………Unregulated markets inevitably led to a reduction in wellbeing for all but a small minority in the world….’

To them, the changes in the global economy are moving beyond the territorial states and it is creating a new, single integrated global market. It is happening because ‘the barriers that inhibit trade and prevent exchange from taking place are lower today than they were a century ago’ (Bordo et al. 1999: 15). Today, the trend emerging is that trade in services among the developed countries has replaced trade in manufactured goods as GDP in current prices has become increasingly dominated by services. In 1913 about two thirds of GDP in advanced countries, in current prices consisted of the production of goods; today, services make up the same proportions’ (Wolf 2004: 111).

To the hyperglobalizers, ‘economic globalization is bringing about a denationalization of economies through the establishment of transnational networks of production, trade, and finance’ (Sassen 2006), a borderless economy in which national governments are relegated to little more than transmission belts for global capital’ (Held et al. 2000: 550). Thus the hyperglobalizers claim that the growth of a single
market and fast receding capacity of the states to decide their economic destiny are among the most remarkable facets of contemporary globalization. Ferguson and Mansbach argue that the conception of hyperglobalism is akin to Scholte's liberalization, emphasizing the speed and volume of economic exchange across sovereign borders (2012: 21). Globalization in this perspective owes much to neoliberal economics and is to be measured by removal of official interventions in the market, especially through measures of deregulation, privatization, and fiscal constraint (Scholte 2005: 38). To them, the contemporary globalization is purely novel as Dicken argue that the economic integration before World War I is shallow integration, involving trade in goods and services between different corporations and the straightforward movement of relatively limited investment among countries. By contrast today’s global economic system reflects deep integration, organized primarily within and between geographically extensive and complex transnational production networks. When it comes to sovereignty and globalization, the fact that globalization produces markets that extend beyond any single country’s ability to impose regulation is only half the story: the other half is that these central functions are disproportionately concentrated in the national territories of the highly developed countries (Sassen 2006), particularly in their big cities which are strictly under the control of sovereign states.

- Skeptics Dimension: The skeptics emphasize that contemporary globalization is neither new nor revolutionary (Held & McGrew 2000). They argue that governments retain full control of the economy even today and interdependence of states is not dramatically significant today than it was in the late 19th century. Ferguson and Mansbach say as skeptics see that the power of government in other words has not ebbed; state sovereignty has not eroded; and transnational corporations remain under national control and retain national characteristics. State can reassert sovereign prerogatives any time they choose to do so even the costs of doing so may be high’ (2012: 19).

Hirst and Thompson two of the pioneering advocates of skeptics define globalization like this: ‘The present highly internationalized economy………….is not unprecedented: it is one of a number of distinct conjunctures of states of the international economy that have existed since the economy based on modern industrial technology began to be generalized from the 1860s. In some respects, the current international economy is less open and integrated than the regime that prevailed from 1870 to 1914’ (1999: 2). They also argue that migration in the 19th century was much more than that of today. So the current globalization is nothing of an epoch making event. They strongly emphasize on the state centric idea of economic development which to Scholte, Ferguson and Mansbach, is highly misleading explanation of globalization. As Ferguson and Masbach clearly points out that their definition of globalization ‘is deficient not least because it relies so heavily on states and intergovernmental institutions and bargaining’ (2012: 20). Even historian Ferguson took a similar approach who opines that this kind of economic development also happened before. To him, ‘From around 1870 until world War I, the world economy thrived in ways that look familiar today’ (2005: 64). He claims that with World War I, globalization came to an end and if history is any guide globalization can be reversed.
Coley and Spruyt put forward a unique skeptical dimension on globalization. To them sovereignty as an exclusive right and even entitlement to modern states is a mere fiction. Again they argue that contemporary global politics offers sovereignty as a dynamic contractual form of governance on which a distinction must be made between the right of ownership (residual rights) and the right to make use of the territory and other aspects of polity.

Finally, Keohane and Nye (2000: 104) offers another form of skepticism on globalization who prefers to use the term “globalism”, a condition that can increase or decrease. To them, ‘Globalism is a state of the world involving networks of interdependence at multi-continental distances that has ancient roots’. Hence for them globalization is nothing extraordinarily new phenomenon rather it is deep seated in history.

Transformationalist Dimension: To them, globalization has multiple dimensions-economic, cultural, security, environmental and so forth (Risse 2004). They are emphasizing on various dimensions which are interlinked. For instance same dynamics may raise standard of living, but reduce mal-practices and comparatively manage the rich-poor gap. Again like economic or ecological disasters might force migration to a massive scale but may lead to socio-political tensions in society. Martell (2007: 193) refers to the perspective of the transformationalists as “third wave” of globalization theory. Their perspective is different from the hyperglobalists and skeptics on the ground that unlike them, the former recognizes the involvement of other dimensions by not simply relying on the economic aspect of globalization.

Future of Globalization

“It is worth noting that while the social sciences are pretty good at analyzing the past and even the present; their prognostications about the future are notoriously weak. The history of social thought is littered with wrong-headed (Marx on the collapse of capitalism, at least so far) and sometimes downright ridiculous (August Comte on the coming of a new positivistic religion of which he would be supreme pontiff) predictions for the future (Ritzer 2011: 309). Keeping this trend in mind, the author will not offer any bold predictions about the future of globalization, but rather would put forward some rumination about the growing complexities of the entire edifice of it.

Globalization as the current trend advances will surely grow and expand much faster in the days to come. Notwithstanding the arguments of proponents, reformists, pluralists or anti-globalizers, any reasoned argument about the future of globalization would be always mixed. As globalization is a multi-dimensional phenomenon, it cannot be explained with help of one single concept. Globalization increasingly thickens interstate dependency which further makes them weaker than stronger. At the same time, this dependency does not guarantee the lessening of interstate conflicts which is highly on the rising side. Today interstate war has become a remote possibility, ‘but intrastate and transnational warfare has spread. Global forces and networks limit state autonomy which domestic publics place governments under intense pressures to protect them from these forces. So the identity and the regulation of the nation-state over movement of goods and its citizens are fast diminishing, but not altogether. Many economists are of the view that earlier phase of economic globalization came to an end with the World War I and though it reemerged much
powerful today its future can never be guaranteed. Experts like Frieden (2006) highlights two impediments which might jeopardize the course of economic globalization - first, the supporters of globalization and its markets want to gain greater control over it and its vagaries and difficulties through better forms of global governance. Second, the critics of globalization see the need for greater accountability through the creations of various political institutions that can exercise greater control over these markets. Ritzer (2011: 310) argues ‘Both of these involve external oversight, if not control, over the global economy, and at least from a neoliberal perspective, such external direction could spell the death knell for a economy which from that perspective, operates best when it is left to its own devices. To him, the major threat to globalization seems to emerge from the economy itself if the current global economic crisis rages again. He correctly puts it ‘If the future of economic globalization is not assured, then it seems more likely that one cannot unequivocally forecast continued growth and expansion of globalization more generally’ (ibid).

As the cultural globalization leads to the clash of virtues of uniformization against diversity; the fast political globalization enhances the proliferation of international organizations and NGOs along with the dominance of the US to each part of the world; ‘the civil society exists but remains embryonic and individual emancipation does not democratize regimes’ (Ferguson & Mansbach 2012: 176). Therefore Hoffman sadly summarizes that “the attractive idea of improving the human condition through the abolition of barriers is dubious”.

However Wallerstein (2005) offers a little more optimistic perspective when it comes to the future of the global economy. First social and economic inequality will increase in future. Second, the current highly unequal world cannot continue anymore because the ability of capitalism to accumulate capital is declining and this is weakening the political structures that are based on such structures. So the weakened states will increasingly be unable to control the rise of dangerous classes. Third, he forsees the possibility of the collapse of the current world system, but what will replace it cannot be discerned with any great precision although the possibility of the development of less developed countries is more likely than before. Wallerstein sees more hope in social movements e.g. those associated with the World Social Forum than with the actions of nation states. He sees these movements as best advised to push decommodification. Such a process runs counter to the objectives of neoliberalism and it can provide the base for an alternative political system. Ritzer argues ‘however, since commodities lie at the base of the modern economy, it is not at all clear what kind of an economy a decommodified economy would be and whatever it is, whether it has any chance of success.’

Concluding Remarks
It is a painstaking job to find where exactly globalization began. The pre-modern globalization is not globalization in today’s sense. ‘It was regional in extent and did not create the systematic interdependent structures of a global sort that have been established in modern globalization’ (Martell 2010). But it could be surely said that in the modern era, globalization has become more global rather than regional supported by a complete institutional mechanism. Martell argues that in this period globalization became more worldwide and interdependent rather than just interconnected. Also the motivations of the capitalist economy, industrial technology and the nation-state, all modern institutions were
behind this. Thus we can clearly see that the base of contemporary globalization lies in modern globalization. By the late 20th and early 21st centuries, with the end of the Cold War, the world has become a connected unipolar place. But the dominance of the US and its allies continue even today. What we could see is that ‘globalization has expanded and new possibilities in it have been created by developments such as IT. But these are extensions to the globalization of the modern period through its institutions and technologies, rather than a break from it to a new era of globalization’ (Martell 2010). When globalization started first depends on what base that we consider looking at it—if we focus on free trade and price convergence, then globalization began in the mid-nineteenth century (O'Rourke and Williamson 1999), if technologies of communication are crucial, then globalization may all be credited to the 20th century, if the if the imaginings of something global amongst sections of the population are decisive, then earlier than the modern era may be a good start date, or the 1980s onwards if you are looking for globalization as an ideational force (Martell 2010).

As Ferguson and Mansbach rightly concludes about globalization: “It is a non-unilinear evolutionary process: that is, it ebbs and flows and typically does so unevenly in its different dimensions. Therefore speaking globalization as a single phenomenon is highly misleading. It is multi-dimensional; however those dimensions may be grouped, divided and subdivided. Different dimensions routinely overlap to some degree and also influence one another. Since globalization is an evolutionary process, in any dimension it may be considered to have begun long before globality is fully achieved.”

References


Globalization, Deforestation and the Disappeared Islanders: Challenges in Andman & Nicobar Islands

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Abstract
Globalization has been one of the highly-debated topics over the past few years. Rapid economic growth and poverty reduction in developing countries has been a positive aspect of globalization. But globalization has also generated significant opposition over concerns that it has increased inequality and environmental degradation. Today, the Andaman & Nicobar, an Indian archipelago is facing multifaceted challenges of globalization in the form of deforestation, degradation of biodiversity, water scarcity and the extinction of indigenous. The problem of nature covers a whole cycle of history and its proper interpretation can play a crucial role in shaping our understanding and guiding our decisions. Indian history only says that the archipelago was once a glorious chapter of Indian freedom struggle. The history is silent on the past, present and future of original inhabitants and their environment. However while tracing the references of globalization on the Andaman and Nicobar Islands in a historical perspective it is found that the first wave of globalization reached at Andaman coast in the form of Malay pirates which started the slave trade. Second wave of globalization reached in the form of British. They set up a forest department here in 1883 with the sole purpose of fulfilling the increasing need of timber. The recent and third wave of globalization is looking it exotic paradise as the target of massive tourism promotion. These islands are now dominated by the outsiders brought by the different waves of globalization. Present paper would take a comprehensive look at the way the indigenous people and their environment have been subjected to alienation in the wake of the exploitation of natural resources during the different phases of history. This will also examine the role of state and the rights of marginalized.

Keywords: Globalization, Deforestation, Indigenous, History, Andaman

Introduction
It is increasingly become important to make a choice between economic development and the protection of socio-cultural values and environment. Globalization leads to economic development by integrating regional economies, societies and cultures through a global network of trade and communication. While globalization contributes to gradual economic development, it has to be adapted to specific region in order to mitigate any adverse consequences. The focus of this paper is on the Andaman and Nicobar Islands in India—an environmentally fragile region that suffers hugely from environmental changes due to different waves of globalization. Environment preservation in the Andaman has a significant link to not only the certain socio-cultural rights associated with the indigenous communities but also the survival of these people. Their environment, identity, culture, language and overall survival are under serious threat. The paper while addressing the basic issues of the
indigenous people of the Andaman’s, also shows how they are continuously affected by globalization at the different point of history.

**Andaman and Nicobar Islands and Its Indigenous People**

The Andaman & Nicobar islands are situated in the Bay of Bengal, mid-way between peninsular India and Burma, an off-shore outpost of the Indian union, in the shape of an arc in a North-South direction. The closest continental area is Burma and is about 190 km. to its northeast. To the west, about 1200 km of sea separates these islands from the mainland of India and far in the north lies the giant mangrove belt of the Sunderbans. The Andamans consist mainly of two groups of islands, viz., the Andaman group and the Nicobar group. They are separated from each other by a stretch of sea of about 100 km, which is popularly known amongst the navigators as the dreaded 10° channel.

These islands have a tropical climate throughout the year with the temperature varying from 18° C to 34° C. The mean annual rainfall is about 3000-3500mm. Due to the proximity to the equator, these islands enjoy a hot and humid uniform climate. (Aul Bandana)

Since the islands have a tropical, hot and humid climate with abundant rains, all the major islands support very luxuriant and rich vegetation. There are six indigenous communities that live in these islands. The Great Andamanese, Onges, Jarwas, and Sentinelese live in the Andaman group of islands while the Nicobarese and the Shompens, which are of Mongoloid origin, inhabit the Nicobar group of islands.

**Three Waves of Globalization: Civilization, Development, Deforestation and Depopulation**

**A. First Wave: Piratical Activities:**

The process of globalization can be defined the way it has to be seen, economic, political, social, cultural or any other, there are examples that globalization is not at all a new phenomenon which started early ages of the recorded human history. (Bhagawati, 2004) Andaman and Nicobar Island witness the first wave of globalization when the Malays started using these islands for piratical activities in the Strait of Malacca. They also started trading of Andamanese slaves, most popular being the Shompens from Nicobar Islands of bigger and stronger stature compared to other tribes. The slaves found their way to the courts of Siam, Cambodia and Indo-China accelerating the hostility on the part of the aborigines to all visitors to the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. Therefore after some time among pirates the tribes appear to have earned them a reputation for cannibalism, a theory which has not been confirmed. The practice of throwing the vivisected bodies of their enemies onto a fire according to their superstition may be the observations from where the theory had its origin. This first wave led disappearance of indigenous people at the Andaman Islands.

**B. Second Wave: Colonization and Forest Revenue for State:**

To secure the sailing route from pirates as well as natives the British settled from 1789 onwards on Andaman Islands, initiated by Lord Cornwallis who sent Lt. Archibald Blair to survey the islands for the purpose of colonization. First on Chatham Island (Port Blair), later in the present Port Conwallis in the north-east. The fever forced the British to abolish the settlement in 1796, and not until 1857-58 the colonization finally succeeded by the founding of Port Blair and a penal settlement for Indian freedom fighters from the Mutiny against the British on the Indian subcontinent. The Andamanese fought and resisted the settlement for many years, living as they had been used to on these islands for ages. Redcliffe-Brown did his fieldwork in the
Andamans from 1906 to 1908. He was the first anthropologist to make a clear distinction between the Great Andaman Group (including all Great Andaman tribes except Jarawa) and the Little Andaman Group which includes: The Onge of Little Andaman, the Jarawa of South Andaman and the Sentinelese on North Sentinel Island.

On the adjoining Nicobar Islands the Danes were fighting the fever too, and colonization expeditions from Tranquebar settled on the islands from 1756-59 and again from 1768-87, until Denmark finally quit the devastating conditions in 1869 and sold the Nicobar Islands to the British. The health condition was quite simple threatening for Europeans and the profit from the trade much too low.

This was the second wave of globalization which came in the form of colonization largely contributed disappearances of indigenous people. The main purposes of colonialism included economic exploitation of the colony's natural resources, creation of new markets for the colonizer, and extension of the colonizer's way of life beyond its national borders. Natural resources of colonies were indispensable for the functioning of colonialism and modern economies. It is without question that globalization has affected all corners of the earth. Due to the neoliberalism and structural adjustment practices of contemporary globalization, the forest of Andaman has been especially exploited. The following some paras will briefly discuss the nature and pattern of deforestation and depopulation during the British time.

This second wave led the history of Andaman to be known as the history of deforestation and depopulation of its original communities. The history of deforestation started with the appointment of Dr. James Pattison Walker, who had appointed as the first Superintendent of the Penal settlement of Port Blair. His remarks on the jungle are of interest. He wrote “The magnitude of the task of clearing the primeval jungle of the Andaman Island can only be appreciated by those who have witnessed the nature of the vegetation and the difficulty of affecting a clearance. The jungle is so dense, and its entanglement by gigantic creepers so complete, as to render it passable, except along the few pathways used by the aborigines. The jungle, so far as is known, is continuous, no open plains having been observed. Even when cut, often trees cannot be got to fall without great force, nor brushwood when cut removed, owing to the intricate binding by creepers of great strength. There is great difficulty even during the present dry weather in getting brushwood that has been several days felled to burn, and the largest heaps are constantly extinguished at night by the very heavy dews that fall, drenching everything exposed.” In this way the clearing of forest started with the arrival of so called civilization on these islands. The forests were “wasteland” that needed to be tamed, settled and developed. It did not matter that these forests were the home of myriad plants and animals that had evolved over aeons. It did not matter that ancient tribal people were already living here for centuries, neither that they were physically and spiritually sustained by these forests. The idea that forests could mean more than just the timber the trees provided had not even taken seed in the national consciousness.

The timber extraction continues even after the independences. But the civilization story not stops only with the extraction and supply of timber for the essential demand. Shekhar Sngh Commission report says that timber extraction operation involve crores of rupees annually
is common knowledge. There have also been allegations that many top forest officers and administrators have made a lot of money through illegal timber extraction and transport operations. Concrete proof of this was unearthed in February 2000 before the Supreme Court. The matter also involved the issue of unnumbered transit passes for the transport of nearly 400 cu. m. of timber from Mayabundar in North Andaman to Chennai. As a conservative estimate, the total consignment was worth over Rs. 27 lakh and it is being described as only the tip of the iceberg. The apex court of country had passed detailed order in May 2002 banning the transport of timber from the islands to any part of country. However, the production for local demand remains on.

The tribals too had to be civilized and brought into the Indian mainstream. There was no question of trying to understand, forget about asking what it was that the tribals themselves wanted. And the result is very obvious. The Great Andamanese have been wiped out as a viable community. This community, which had an estimated 3,000 members about 150 years ago, is today left with only about 48. Even in 1883 E.H. Man also mention this “There can, moreover, be no doubt that the effect of our clearances of jungle has been prejudicial to the health of the aborigines, while the excessive tobacco-smoking among members of both sexes, which has been unrestricted, has seriously undermined their already enfeebled constitutions. If the evil ended here there would be ground for regret, but a graver cause exists in the deterioration which has taken place in their morals through their unavoidable contact with the alien convict population, the lamentable consequences of which will be found under the head of “Pathology”. So widespread is the evil influence that has been exercised, that on no point probably will future writers differ so strongly as on the social and moral virtues of the Andamanese. I wish, therefore, to make it clear to my readers that my remarks and observations on all, and especially on these points, are restricted to those communities who have been found living in their primitive state, and who may therefore be fairly considered as representative of the race, being unaffected by the virtues or vices of so-called civilization”. Not only the Great Andamanese but the fate of all other tribes remains same. The most serious problem being faced by the five small tribes of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands has been their sharp demographic decline following their close contact with outsiders. The Director of Census Operations 2011, N K Sharma while releasing the data, announced the total population of the islands as 3,80,581 comprising 2,02,871 males and 1,77,710 females with the growth rate of 6.86 per cent. Despite the increase in the general population, the population of tribal people was decreased from 29,469 to 28,530 as compared to 2001 Census, registering a decrease of 3.19%. The 2011 census data for individual tribes is not available. (Please see table 1 & 2)

Detailed Account of Second Wave: Globalization, Tribal Policy and the Andaman
The process of globalization has made unprecedented change in the lives of indigenous people across the world. Tribals as a homogeneous group across India has also paid the price for the globalization process led development which is reflected through displacement from the forest, alienation from the land and livelihoods, violation of rights with the forest and its resources and threatening their existence. Some studies carried by eminent authors clearly established contributions of second wave that led to disappearance of indigenous people in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

Simron Jit Singh very aptly analyzes the tribal policy of India in his book “In the sea of Influence: A World System Perspective of the Nicobar Islands, Lund University, 2003”.

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According to him India followed a policy of rapid economic development for its aboriginal populations. Already from the 1950s, innumerable schemes and enormous amount of money began to be sanctioned for tribal areas in the name of “welfare” and “development”. The concept of a tribal policy was not a novel idea for India. From the beginning of British rule, the colonial administrators treated the “tribes” and “non-tribes” as two different categories of subjects. On the advice of Mills and Huttons, two prominent administrator-anthropologists, the British colonial administration set up the so-called “excluded” or “partially” excluded areas in regions with high concentration of aboriginals. Verrier Elwin, the British anthropologist and a close friend of India’s first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, identified three reasons for this laissez faire policy of the British: firstly, the task of administration, especially in the border areas, was difficult and unrewarding; secondly, “from a desire to quarantine the tribes from possible political infection”; and thirdly, “a number of officers sincerely held the view that the people were better and happier as they were.” From the second half of the nineteenth century, the colonial interests of commercial exploitation of the rich and vast forest in tribal areas clashed with aboriginal interests. There took place an organized transfer of forests to the state that originally belonged to the inhabitants and the regional rulers. Having lost their right to the forest, taxes were levied on the use of forest resources by natives. Adding to their rootlessness was a growing dependency on the officials of the Forest Department. Besides, several parts of tribal India witnessed, to a degree, organized infiltration of landlords, money lenders, and Christian missionaries who were very active inside these “excluded areas”. Independent India was bequeathed this tribal policy of segregation and exploitation. India inherited along with its independence in 1947, some 533 tribal groups, of which 75 were classified as “primitive Tribal Groups” (Tribal affairs 2002). However, at that critical moment, when the young nation was still very much preoccupied with the larger issues that demanded immediate attention, the aboriginals of India were not the priority. Also, independent India’s first Prime Minister, Jawahar Lal Nehru, was of the opinion that the tribal population had remained more or less insulated from British rule and the long anti-colonial struggle for freedom. This was not completely true. Nehru’s own involvement in tribal affairs had been only marginal in relation to the other major achievements and issues he had been constantly confronted with. Only distantly aware of the activities and administration of tribal areas during the British rule, Nehru paid little attention to these areas at the beginning of his tenure. On the face of it, he maintained a rather romantic view of the tribes:

The tribal people of India are a virile people who naturally went astray sometimes. They quarreled and occasionally cut off each other’s head… It is often better to cut off a hand than to crush and trample on a heart… They are an extremely disciplined people, often a great deal more democratic than most others in India… I would prefer being a nomad in the hills to being a member of the stock exchange… I am quite sure that the tribal folk, with their civilization of song and dance, will last until long after stock exchange have ceased to exit (Nehru 1960 in Singh 1989:2).

Nehru’s perception of Indian tribes found itself strongly represented in the nation’s tribal policy that emerged in the 1950s. Theoretically; he avoided the two extremes of dealing with the tribes: one that sought to isolate the tribes as museum specimens for anthropological study, and the other that demanded their assimilation into the Indian mainstream. Although he suggested a path somewhere in between these two options, in
actual practice his inclination was more towards the latter. Clearly, Nehru could not have completely denied his British education and privileged elite background.\textsuperscript{11}

In all practical senses, Nehru’s philosophies are more to be understood and felt than to be written, because the chances of them being interpreted according to one approach or another is higher and eventually risks the entire project at hand. In this sense, the most important problem that Nehru needed to address while laying down his tribal policy was how to raise a class of administrators and field-level workers who could “feel” the complexity of his ideology so as to execute it in the manner he envisioned. It required a deep understanding and sensitivity for tribal culture. Therefore the approach of Nehru continues to be problematic when transformed, into any practical terminology or legal regulations. In doing so, the possibility of misinterpretation according to one’s approach is enhanced with the consequences that the violation of these principles became even harder to challenge through the law.\textsuperscript{12}

Furer-Haimendorf (1985) estimated that these principles had hardly been applied in any region of India, apart from a few exceptions in the northeast. Particularly grave consequences of a forced industrialization have been observed in central India where the steel industry was developed. The result was the mass uprooting of people and impoverishment of indigenous people was the result. These were the consequences of the lack of sensitivity usually found in the lowest offices who eventually formed the link between policy and people and who made all the differences in implementing what Nehru meant to as “psychological approach”\textsuperscript{13} The Andaman and Nicobar were no exception. In this context an important fact is that after 60 years of independence there is no single policy which looks at the issue of protection and development of the Scheduled Tribes in an integrated manner. So, The Group of Ministers (GoM), constituted to ensure the all-round development of the National Tribal Policy 2007, met on 6\textsuperscript{th} September 2007 to discuss the issues of indigenous people, particularly their diminishing control over forests. One can only hope new policy will be able to deal this sensitive issue.

Third Wave: Tourism Promotion and other Developmental Activities
A review of government efforts over last few decades in the Andaman and Nicobar brings to the fore an intense conflict of different world views, combined with persistent efforts to create a cultural hybrid. Ironically Government itself has contradicted its own law and showing how sensitive it is towards the primitive. For example to safeguard the interests of the vulnerable tribal communities of Andaman and Nicobar Islands In 1957, territories inhabited by indigenous population in the islands, namely the Jarwas, Great andamanese, Sentinelese, Onges, Nicobarese and the Shompens, were declared protected under the Andaman and Nicobar Protection of Aboriginal Tribes Regulation (ANPATR) of 1956. But these tribal reserves are today struggling to keep their status intact as tribal reserves. One of the biggest instances of blatant violation of this law is Andaman Trunk Road. The antecedent of Andaman Trunk Road present example of encroachment of the aborigines land and their rights. The 340 km. long Andaman Trunk Road, which slices through the heart of the Jarwa reserave, has opened up more areas for settlement. Trunk Road is quite revealing. The Jarwas raised barricades repeatedly at road head. They used to put up barricades in the night and road workers used to break it in the morning. The barricade raised at the road head warned the builders not to proceed further in felling the trees,
bulldozing and blasting. The Jarwas brought down and destroyed many log bridges of the Trunk Road to stall the further work on road. Apart from this directly communicative resistance the Jarwas kept up terrorizing tactics by attacking the road building site camps and labour camps to kill the workers and plunder the iron. Despite the resistance by the Jarwas, The Andaman Trunk Road was built and maintained. But it is significant that the Jarwas too have not given up their efforts to extirpate the non-autochthons. They keep attacking the people traveling along this road in trucks and buses. There are instances of the Jarwas shooting the persons traveling in log carrying trucks. They lie in wait and arrow the individuals sitting on logs that are being transported by trucks from extraction point to saw mills. They organize the commando attacks on the erstwhile camps which in most cases, have become the permanent settlements along the road. This road cuts through the heart of the forests that is the natural abode of Jarwas for centuries. Now it has become an important means bringing many unwanted influences to the Jarwas like epidemic of measles, tobacco and alcohol, a huge tourist influx and sexual exploitation as well. Significantly this area also known as the last reaming patch of tropical evergreen forests on islands and need to be protected.

In response to an intervention related to the islands filed in the Godavarman (forest) case, the apex court of the country had passed detailed orders in May 2002. The order was wide ranging. Among others, it also included the shutting of the Andaman Trunk Road (ATR) through or along the Jarwa Reserve within the three month time. But ten years passed and the road is still working through and along the Jarwa Reserve.

In January 2013 India's Supreme Court has again banned tourists from traveling along the Andaman Nicobar Trunk Road when in 2012 Gethin Chamberlin, a reporter working for the Observer, released a shocking video in which a group of Jarawa women and children are being forced to dance for tourists, which showed that the road was used as the Human Safari. But in March 2013 the Supreme Court of India again cleared the decks for opening the Andaman Nicobar Trunk Road to tourists going to the Limestone Cave on the island.

This was the third wave of globalization which was looking it exotic paradise as the target of massive tourism promotion. Andaman & Nicobar Administration is positioning the islands as a premiere eco-friendly tourist destination in the global market and therefore ignores the rights and interest of an aborigine tribe. Tsunami struck India on 26.12.04 and it has changed lives of thousands of people in the islands of Andaman and Nicobar (A & N). The Administrators see this as an opportunity to rebuild the profile of islands, starting from the rebuilding of livelihoods to building of infrastructures, and also reviving and expanding tourism. It is being anticipated that developing tourism at a massive scale would by default generate employment. It would also rebuild the economy, In the last few years Andaman & Nicobar has seen a steady growth rate of 13 per cent in terms of tourist arrivals. The last two years have in fact seen domestic tourist arrivals grow by 20 per cent, and foreign tourists by 7-10 per cent. The increasing number of tourist arrival increases the vulnerably of Islands tribal population. The extent and degree to which any community experiences the socio-cultural impacts of tourism necessarily depends on their own state of society, culture, historical processes of community building, intra-community cooperation and conflict, cultural sensitivities and social vulnerabilities. In the case of the Andamans, Dhandra (2005) writes: A set of people transplanted under traumatic circumstances to an isolated groups of
islands...the need for a sense of belonging to the country, in circumstances severe and exacting, or attended by the hope of a new dawn, as the case may have been, still dominates their psyche and they cling to each other and to a national pride in a manner that is strongly reminiscent of expatriate communities. In her analysis on the post-independence history of the islands, Dhingra (2005) concludes that of the many primitive tribes to have lived in the Andamans, the tribe most impacted by civilization has been the Jarawas. An overview of promotional material on tourism brought out by the A&NI Administration indicates a change in the attitude towards these primitive tribes. The shift is clearly form an earlier stance of seeing the tribes as part of the tourism product that the Andamans offered to clearly stating in tourist material that while the Andamans are home to many primitive tribes interaction with them is prohibited. But, as various field surveys indicate, it is the perception in the mind of the tourist that continues to expect to get a glimpse of a “naked tribe”.17

At the macro-economic level of the economy of the A&NI as a whole, data indicates that tourism currently does not play a significant role in the economy both in terms of its contribution to GSDP and employment. Despite a significant increase in tourist arrivals over the last two decades, the extent to which these increased arrivals have contributed to the economy is not clear. This is reflected by the contribution of tourism to the GSDP of the islands that has stagnated at approximately 8 per cent for the last two decades. In fact, for few years when arrivals did increase by around 10 per cent, per capita contribution of recorded tourism to GSDP has actually fallen, corroborating the previous point made. In terms of its contribution to revenue generation, tourism contributes 1.47 per cent to indirect tax collection, which is not significant.18 However the tourism affected the Island’s environment badly The consequences are deforestation, critically endanger endemic bird species, massive poaching, erosion of sand, littered beaches, socio-cultural change in the lives of native people, decrease in fresh water availability, problem of the disposal of solid waste and sewage, air pollution and climate change.

Like Jarwas Onge has the same story. In 1965, Government of India prepared a plan specifically for the Little Andaman, proposed the clear felling of nearly 40 per cent of the Island’s forests in the Tribal reserve, the bringing in of 12,000 settler families to the area and the promotion of commercial plantations, such as those of red oil palm, and timber based industries, in order to support the settler population. Had the plan been implemented fully, it would have destroyed Little Andaman and caused the extinction of the Onge tribe. The government team that suggested the development program ignored the Andaman and Nicobar Protection of Aboriginal Tribes Regulation (ANPATR), which had, in 1957, accorded the status of a tribal reserve to the entire island of Little Andaman. Further, about 20,000 hectares (roughly 30 per cent) of the island were denotified from its tribal reserve status in two stages, in 1972 and 1977. It has also seen that the Andaman and Nicobar Forest Plantation and Development Corporation (ANFPDC) was logging within the tribal reserve, making a mockery of the law and also the rights of the Onges.19 The Government of India started a similar scheme to settle the ex-servicemen in Great Nicobar since 1969 under its rehabilitation scheme. Taking into the strategic importance of the Island, government had a scheme to settle about 2000 families of ex-servicemen on South-Eastern coast. The land earmarked for this purpose was reclaimed by felling trees, North-South road (51 kms) was laid and the administrative headquarters was founded at Campbell Bay. 330 families of ex-
servicemen were settled in six villages on the South-Eastern coast which was however shelved subsequently by the government. But the infrastructure like laying of East-West road (43 kms.) across the Island connecting Campbell Bay on East to Kopenheat the Nicobarese village on the West coast was accomplished. This road, on which more than one thousand persons of the Border Roads Organization (Project Yatrik Unit of General Reserve Engineering Force) worked for five years since 1971, cuts through the Shompen areas. Great Nicobar was a also total tribal reserve area under Andaman and Nicobar Islands (Protection of Aboriginal Tribes) Regulation, 1956 before it was opened for the rehabilitation of ex-servicemen. The settlement area covering six villages and Campbell Bay was deserviced by the government subsequently. The Nicobar district had exclusively the tribal population and as such, there was restriction on free settlement by outsiders. The scene changed with the rehabilitation program in Great Nicobar. Number of government departments was established following the settlement of ex-servicemen. Simultaneously, many people arrived in pursuit of livelihood and business in this new territory. Therefore, the population grew very rapidly. The reclamation of forest land and settlement of ex-servicemen as agriculturists resulted in the retreat of the Shompens with usurpation of their territory. Encroachments on their territory by outsiders and depletion of their natural resources have not only affected their subsistence economy but also the socio cultural and health aspects (Awradi S. A.)\(^{20}\) The story of Nicobar is also not different. Since the Nicobarese inhabit almost all of the Nicobar Islands, the entire group of islands was declared a tribal reserve. Since the passing of the 1956 Act, the procedure normally followed by the local administration for obtaining land has been to make a request to the indigenous leadership who, if in favour, in turn, passes the request further to the actual owner. On compliance, the transfer is made via a “surrender certificate” issued by the owner in exchange for an agreed compensation. The land presently utilized by the government as administrative headquarters as well as by the Indian Navy on Camorta Island was obtained by similar procedure.\(^{21}\)

In the period following independence, the question of forests had not arisen and the Nicobarese continued to manage their lands and forests in the way they did traditionally. In 1967, the Indian Forest Department, through the Chief Commissioner, declared 1,975 km\(^2\) (762.4 square miles) of forest in the Nicobars as Protected Forests\(^{22}\) (Notification issued by the chief Commissioner, dated 11 march 1967). Later, in 1971, another notification was issued by the Forest Department according to which the entire area of the Nicobars, except village land, was declared Reserve Forest\(^{23}\) (Notification issued by Forest Secretary in the name of the Chief Commissioner, dated 15 March 1971). However, the entire procedure for declaring a forest as reserved was not carried out. Under the Indian Forest Act of 1927, a forest cannot be declared “reserved unless a proper survey is made and the rights of those who have traditional stakes in forest are settled. Since the Nicobarese were not notified about this intention via a formal (not informal) procedure as laid down in the Forest Act, the forests in the Nicobars do not legally fall under the reserved category. Further, the Nicobars being a tribal reserve under the ANTPATR (1956), all land belong to their traditional owners. Since nothing really happened on the ground, the Nicobarese too remained ignorant of the situation concerning their land rights.\(^{24}\)

About seventeen years later, perhaps owing to some confusion over forest rights in an actual situation on the ground, the late Rani Lachmi, chief of the Nancowry islands, wrote of
her concerns to the Lt. Governor (Letter dated April 8, 1988). The Lt. Governor was quick to pacify her by writing that the “forests in the Nicobar group of islands were notified as Protected Forests on 11.3.67. The tribals living in the area enjoy full rights as regards the use of forests produce and wildlife. There is no change whatsoever in this status”. He further added that the “forestry activity in the island is mainly confined to planting trees, on a limited scale, under the Social Forestry Programme, with a view to bringing unproductive grasslands under proper use... with the full cooperation and active participation of the local people” (Letter dated 10 May 1988).

Rani Lachmi died the following year but the matter still remains unresolved. From time to time, the Forest Department lays claim to forest land owned by Nicobarese on the basis of the 1971 notification, stating that the forests are “reserved”.²⁵

Be it the cutting and logging of woods in the regions inhabited by the Onges or the construction of roads through the regions marked by Jarwa and Shompen habitations or department of forest's illegal encroachment on forest areas of Nicobarese people, it is evident everywhere that despite clear instructions in the 1988 forest policy, the government departments have never taken the intimate or say, inextricable relationship between tribal people and forests seriously. In this context, the ‘Draft Schedule Tribe (Recognition of Forest Right Bill 2005’ can be regarded as a healthy initiative which is being opposed by the Department of Forest. Ramchandra Guha writes that this Bill is an attempt to rectify the historic blunder of neglecting the traditional rights of forest dwelling tribes by the British imperialism. As it has been mentioned in the Draft Bill, we have continued these colonial legislations even after independence. Now, this mistake can be rectified by associating tribal people with the conservation and protection of forests and granting them permanent rights in the forests.

This initiative, which seeks to grant their rights to the forest-dwelling tribes, is certainly a welcome one. But it is a stark reality that even this Bill becomes an Act without any opposition, the motive of it will remain insignificant unless it is enforced in a proper way. Its clear evidence is the blatant violation of the Andaman and Nicobar Protection of Aboreginal Tribes Regulation (ANPATR) which was notified in 1957 for the protection of tribals of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

Conclusion
So, apart from making laws and legislations, what is imperative is to understand the inextricability of the relationship between forests and tribes dwelling there. Vandana Shiva (2003) rightly says that the search for ecological balance in an era of globalization not only requires an assessment of the social and ecological impact of globalization but also require an imagination and a realization of an alternative order that puts ecological balance and social and economic justice rather than trade and commerce at the center of economic policy.²⁶

End-notes
¹ Aul Bandana, “Quantification of Damage caused by the Introduced Fauna, Spotted Deer (Axis axis),on the rate of Natural Regeneration in Small Island Ecosystems-Andaman And
Nicobar Islands “, M.Phil Dessertation submitted in Salim Ali School of Ecology and Environment Sciences ,Pondicherry University.


4 Portman, M.V.(1899), A History of our relations with the Andamanese, vol I, Asian Education Services, pp 254.

5 Sekhsaria Pankaj,( 2002), Logging off, For Now, Troubled Island.Kalpvriksh

6 Sekhsaria Pankaj, op cit ,pp 4.

7 Man ,E.H.,1883, Aboriginal inhabitants of the Andaman Islands, Sanskaran Prakash

8 With the adoption of an Act in 1874, the tribal areas were specified into “Scheduled Districts” to segregate the tribals to protect them. The areas were reconstituted at the time of the Government of India Act 1919. Subsection (i) of section 92 of the Govt. of India Act 1935 is the next landmark providing for the administration of the ‘excluded areas’ and the ‘partially excluded areas’.


10 Simron Jit Singh,( 2003), In the Sea of Influence; A world System Perspective of the Nicobar Islands, Lund University, Lund, pp 249.

11 Simron Jit Singh,( 2003), In the Sea of Influence; A world System Perspective of the Nicobar Islands, Lund University, Lund, pp 250.

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid.


15 Sekhsaria, Pankaj, To Save an Archipelago, Frontline , June 21, 2002.

16 Andaman & Nicobar positions itself as premiere sustainable tourism destination, Express Travel World,10 August 2012


18 Rethink Tourism in The Andamans Towards Building A Base for Sustainable Tourism, June 2008 Published by EQUATIONS


20 Awaradi ,S.A., Comuterized Master Plan (1991-2021); For Welfare of Primitive Tribes of Andaman & Nicobar Islands, Andaman and Nicobar Adminstration ,Port Blair,26-27.

21 Simron Jit Singh, (2003), In the Sea of Influence; A world System Perspective of the Nicobar Islands, Lund University, Lund, pp 105.

22 A Protected Forest is defined as an “area notified under the provision of Indian Forest Act or State Forest Acts having limited degree of protection . In Protected Forest all activities are permitted unless prohibited (Forest Statistics 2002).
A reserve Forest is defined as an “area notified under the provision of Indian Forest Act or State Forest Acts having full degree of protection. In reserved Forest all activities are prohibited unless permitted” (Forest Statistics 2002).

Simron Jit Singh, 2003, In the Sea of Influence; A world System Perspective of the Nicobar Islands, Lund University, Lund, page 105-106.

Ibid.


Table 1 Population of Andamanese Tribes

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<td>346</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>97</td>
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<td>100</td>
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<tr>
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<td>114</td>
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<td>50</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>200</td>
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<td>Sentinelese</td>
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<td>117</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>80</td>
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Sources: Census Reports 1901-61, 2001, Anthropological Survey reports.

Table 2 Population of Shompen and Nicobareses

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<td>92</td>
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<td>Nicobareses</td>
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<td>9272</td>
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<td>12009</td>
<td>14563</td>
<td>17874</td>
<td>21172</td>
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Sources: Census Reports.
Sustainable Livelihood of Rural & Urban Assam: Gender Perspective

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Abstract
The paper aims to understand the role of women in the context of livelihood strategy in north east part of India – Assam. Women in North East are always placed in a separate dimension mainly for the diversity in religious background, tribes and customs. In the inclusive growth strategy for sustainable livelihood role of women has a separate place and importance. With this objective in mind a very comprehensive study is made both in rural and urban Assam to understand the present status of women and the changes occurred in the time period. Effort is also made to understand the factor influencing the sustainable livelihood of women in Assam. A holistic approach is made both in the macro and micro perspective with secondary and primary data analysis respectively. To get a more vivid scenario and for a comparative analysis between rural and urban Assam intensive study is made through field visit with different religious background and livelihood strategies. Case studies with graphic presentation are used to make a vivid analysis of the disparity in the livelihood strategy of women in rural and urban Assam. Gender equity and gender security are analysed with the components like educational background, employment status, ailments, domestic violence, female work participation. The analysis indicates that the rural urban gap is less in female ailment and literacy level. Migration is the common coping strategy used for livelihood. Without any entitlement the livelihood of artisans and migrants are identified as less secured and in more vulnerable state. Huge disparity in income with the male counterpart both in rural and urban Assam displays the significant gender inequity in livelihood. The scope of diversification in livelihood is relatively less which limits the sustainability of livelihood in both rural and urban areas.

Keywords: Gender Equity, Sustainable Livelihood, Female Work Participation Rate

Introduction
One of the priority areas in the present era for the problem of persistent poverty and inequality is improvement of the status of rural women and poverty alleviation. Highlighting the importance of women for sustainable development FAO stated that the advancement of women is central to achieve sustainable development. Women are responsible for natural resource management through their day-to-day productive and reproductive tasks of providing fuel, water and food for household consumption and for sale. However, they are rarely in a position to influence decisions that determine the allocation of resources and on use of land, water and woodlands. Women are often the major suppliers of household subsistence. When their access to productive resources declines, more people suffer from poverty and its related effects, including hunger, malnutrition and illness. Improving women's access to resources and services increases farm productivity, provides a more efficient use of resources, and ultimately yields higher profitability (FAO).
Gender discrimination excludes women from the equal access needed to sustain livelihoods, increases their dependency and locks them into long-term poverty traps. Improvement of women’s access and participation is an integral part of the process of achieving sustainable livelihood. At the household level it can be difficult to ensure gender sensitivity, but empowerment and participation of both genders is a primary objective and important element of sustainable livelihood framework. In sustainable livelihood analysis women must be able to live equally with men. Therefore gender equality is one of the key issues in livelihood analysis. Gender equality does not necessarily mean equal numbers of men and women in all activities, or simply the same treatment. It signifies an aspiration towards a society in which neither women nor men suffer from poverty, and both are able to live equally fulfilling lives (DFID, 2000). The pursuit of gender equality is bound to be complex process as inequality is multi causal phenomenon, which is mainly influenced by different institutional norms and by market signals. Livelihood strategies in the macro aspect have different settings in rural and urban areas. With the growing importance of migration as livelihood strategy women play a role in both way either by becoming a migrant or by staying back. In cases men move out for extended periods, but retain their controlling interest and decision making power in land. Without any decisive power women cannot take any measures for increasing the productivity by the efficient utilisation of scarce resources.

Rural strategies often involve a variety of different activities as cultivating, exploiting common property resources, rearing livestock etc. They are almost totally dependent for their livelihood on environment resources and on their own labours. They have very little access to different capital assets. On the other hand urban livelihood strategies are mostly dependent on capital and labour. In urban centres mostly legitimate and illegitimate livelihood opportunities are available within the informal economy. Stretton almost three decades back expressed the difficulty of understanding urban life by stating that the life of a modern city is very complicated. The citizens have intricate patterns of common and conflicting interests and tastes and beliefs, and individually and collectively they have very unequal capacities to get what they want for themselves or from one another. From that tangle of powers and purposes comes a social life so complicated and partly unpredictable that any understanding of it has to be incomplete.

In the broad canvas of different livelihood strategy in rural and urban areas a comprehensive effort is made to understand the livelihood strategy of Assam in gender perspective. Discussion is made at two levels – Present livelihood strategy and Changes in strategy with time. It is made on the basis of both primary and secondary data with quantitative and qualitative method of analysis. In Assam 86% of the population stays in rural areas and 14% in urban areas. The sex ratio was 935 in 2001 which increased to 954 in 2011 (Census Report 2011). In Gender Equality Index Assam is ranked 29 amongst 32 States and Union Territories. In a comparison of the North Eastern States, Assam ranks below Manipur, Meghalaya, Arunachal, Mizoram and Nagaland. Though significant improvement in sex ratio is observed but high gap in life expectancy at birth in rural and urban Assam of males and females is reported in HDR.
Methodology
Graphical and average method is used to understand the livelihood of rural and urban Assam in gender perspective. Simple random sampling method is used to collect primary data for quantitative information. Qualitative information is collected from Focus group discussion (FGD), Key informant interview, Case studies, direct observation. The FGD is carried out to elicit collective experience and take the opinion of Women. Information from six key informants (six villages) is also included in the analysis. FGD and key informant interview is carried out in rural areas only. Case studies, with special reference to women and children are given while discussing the livelihood outcome explaining the transition, problem, social taboos etc.

Data sources
The different reports of the National Sample Survey are primarily taken for the study of parameters in the state. In addition, Census report 2011, NFHS reports and Economic Survey of Assam are referred for a macro perspective of Assam.
The household survey from selected occupation is done on the basis of well-structured questionnaire by simple random sampling method. The households’ quantitative data is collected by occupation. Rural area occupation is categorically divided into four groups-
- Agricultural labour
- Cultivator
- Self employed and
- Artisans.

Urban area occupations of unorganised sector are divided into three groups-
- Self employed
- Regular worker and
- Casual labour.

Area of the study
Kamrup and Nagaon are the two districts taken for primary data collection. These two districts have highest urban and rural population respectively on the state (Census of India, 2011). From the above stated district villages are purposively selected on the basis of dominant occupation – cultivator and agricultural labour (Census of India, 2011). In Kamrup district Dhopguri and Ganakpara and in Nagaon district Chakori Gaon and Pachim Salpara are taken dominated by cultivator and agricultural labour respectively and another village Kuch Gaon is selected on the basis of direct observation having agricultural based business and other businesses. In addition to these, two villages from Nagaon are taken dominated by artisans- Bhakatgaon and Kalapani which have pottery and making bamboo work as major source of income. The difference of the two artisan village is that in one (Bhakatgaon) the artisan group is almost perishing and on the other people is still living as artisans (Kalapani). To understand the problem and adoption to the changes taken in time period, these two villages are taken for the study. Guwahati is selected from Kamrup district for understanding the living of urban. Urban living condition of Nagaon district is collected from Haibargaon and Dhakaipatti.

Considering the recent changes in livelihood strategy for India it can be asserted that the Livelihood led growth policy should be at the centre of ‘inclusive growth’ model where for sustainable livelihood traditional role of women also needed to be taken into cognizance. It
has to focus on correcting the existing trends of jobless growth that has excluded women and disadvantageous group. FAO (1995) claims that limited sources of employment in rural areas may push women to overexploit the few natural resources at their disposal. At an everyday level, maintaining sustainable livelihood for women is increasingly becoming challenge as the very base of resources like fuel, food and water is increasingly becoming depleted.

In developing countries the linkage between poverty and livelihood of the women is discussed by Rekha Mehra (1996). She explains that women in developing countries through their economic and household roles have a significant impact on the use of natural resources and sustainable development. Women she explained are at particular disadvantageous position in attempting to overcome poverty because of various additional institutional, educational and social constraints. These constraints may also pose problems regarding women’s ability to adopt certain practices that ensure environmental sustainability. The specific constraints which restrict women’s progress are lack of access to assets and productivity enhancing resources, new technological training and extension services.

Educational background
The livelihood strategy depends on the educational background and thus literacy is taken as major indicator for level of living. NSS report of 63rd round indicates the literacy rate of urban male is very high (98) in Assam. The literacy rate of Assam is higher than all India average. In the country almost half of the rural females are illiterate which portrays the gender discrimination in educational sector (Table S1).

Employment status
The employment status shows that, only one male works in higher percentage of households in Assam but in rural India in most of the household one male and one female works. But the percentage of households with one male worker in urban Assam (62) is almost double of rural. In rural Assam with one male and one female employed is almost thrice of urban whereas in rural India twice of urban households one male and one female is worker. Both in the country and state, most rural and urban female headed households only one female is employed (Table S2). The Female work participation rate is less in Assam but it is noted that with time the participation is declining in the country whereas in Assam it marginally increased.

Principal workers
The population ratio of principal workers in rural (by person) is marginally higher as compared to urban. It is found that male worker population ratio of Assam is almost same in rural and urban but the female ratio in rural is marginally higher (Table S3). Arjun Sengupta (2007), in his report stated that share of self-employed is much higher among women than men in rural areas while in urban areas the share is more or less the same for men and women. The male worker ratio in rural is higher within the age categories of 10 to 44 years and again from 54 years till the last category. In between only 45 to 54 male of urban have higher working population. On the other hand in rural Assam except the age categories of 45-50 and 55-59 the female population ratio is higher as compared to urban. In urban India female worker population is higher only in the age category of 15-19 years. In urban area
girls of this age category mostly work as domestic servant. Ratio of worker in India is higher than Assam but by sex it is found that male worker is higher in Assam.

As far as working status is concerned, in agriculture, women are in much higher percentage as compared to man. They are also sharing the working status of trade, hotel and restaurant in rural. In urban high concentration of women is found among the status of public administration, education and commercial services (74) whereas male shared the status of, trade, hotel, restaurant, transport etc. public administration, education and commercial services and also to some extent manufacture (Table S3.1). In urban India the relative importance of manufacturing, construction and financial business etc is higher and in rural including the manufacturing, trade hotel and restaurant gained more employment. Arjun Sengupta (2007) estimated that in India regular worker consisted about 17% of non-agricultural workers in unorganised sector. Regular men are distributed between manufacturing, trade and transport, storage etc. The women regular workers were concentrated in their services such as education and health and manufacturing (13% each). 54% of regular women workers in unorganised sector were hired by private households mainly in domestic services

Ailments
Taking the ailment by sex we find (Table S4) that in rural area there is more increase in male ailment as compared to urban. The percentage difference of male ailment between the two rounds (52nd and 60th) is higher than female ailment. The urban women are found to be more ailing in both the time period. With a focus on working population we find men are more ailing than women in both areas. In addition to it we find the rural men and women workers are more ailing than urban workers. Highest increase (140%) of morbidity is noticed among the rural male working population and lowest (49%) is found among the urban women working population.

Violence against Women
Under section 498(A) IPC violence against women includes all kind of cruelty and torture by husband. Sustainability of livelihood requires negative trend of the vulnerable factor. From the table S5, it is found that from 2004 to 2008 a gradual increasing trend of violence against women. For the non-availability of data on domestic violence for rural and urban areas the study is concentrated only on data of violence against women. The rate of violence was gradually increasing till 2007 but in 2008 it made a sudden decline and the number of cases only increased by 379 from 2007. It is less as compared to 2006 and 2007. In 2007 it is found that 452 cases have added from 2006.

In female work participation rate Table S6 shows a contrary figure of Assam and India. In urban Assam as we find the FWP is increasing whereas in the average of the country both for rural and urban areas it is declining significantly. It is understood in towns and cities of Assam, more women are getting into work.

With a broad outlook of rural and urban livelihood strategy of women an intensive study is made in selected villages to understand the position of women and the changes in their livelihood on time.
Rural- Nagaon

In the Muslim dominated village (Paschim Salpara) ordinarily women are not allowed to work in field but they are responsible to look after their house, children and livestock. Livestock is handled by women only to the extent of self-consumption. The widows or those who live alone, under compulsion go to the field or migrate out of the village to work in Sikni factory1. No gender differences are seen in the area of imparting education. They are educated mostly in the hope to get good husband with better financial status. Recently women are getting some earning from the organization like ASHA situated in Pub Salpara. Few young girls are trying to become financially independent but lack of Government assistant to deserving people is making them frustrated.

A just opposite picture is found in Assamese dominated village Chakori Gaon with religious background of Hindu. The status of women are found improving in the sense they are participating in much diverse kind of work- going to market, selling cloth etc. Earlier they only used to help their husband in field but now as most of them lost land all are trying alternative sources based on weaving. Girls are given equal opportunity for education which was not present in their childhood days. In decisions they are taken into account. Physical assault is carried out in some places mainly for drinking and such other activities. Women consider the young generations are wasting time. The self help group of women organised in 2001 has 40 members which mainly work in micro finance but they want to extend the area. They have high expectation to do things like rearing livestock, weaving etc. from self-help group. But lack of unity among the and improper organization is dominant lacuna.

The Sikni industry is a good source of earning for migrant women in Kuch Gaon. Mainly the widow or wife of landless worker earn in the factory. For cleaning the betel nut they earn Rs.25/gunny bag. This work is only done by female worker. Such work remains for 7months and during this season period from other villages women migrate to the village and settle down in the land of the factory owner. The education background of these migrant women is very poor. Husbands either work in the factory or as casual labour in village. All of them are landless with almost no asset holding. Security of the village is not good. Rearing livestock is one of the main activities of women but only when it is reared for self-consumption. They do not get any financial benefit from it. In most of the female headed households husbands have left her for not being able to give birth to children or he does not want to stay with her. These group of women got a way of living with Sikni factory and somehow are living with children or living themselves.

In the two artisans villages Bhakat Gaon and Kalapani dominated by Hindu population with Bengali as mother tongue are living in the deplorable condition with common sickness of asthma, stomach disorder, anaemia and weaknesses. Almost 80% of the children are dropouts in these villages. Indebtedness of the families forces the girl child to work as maid in nearby villages or in the lenders residence. Without any cash payment they are made to face various kinds of exploitation. Labour of male child is used as a helper in making earthen pot-material and bamboo items. Thus child labour, high rate of dropouts and exploitation of girl child makes the village highly vulnerable.

We find in the villages of Nagaon the participation in livelihood activities of women is particularly dependent on socio cultural and religious background. Plight of indebtedness is
very high in the artisans’ villages and makes it highly vulnerable for the sustainability of livelihood. Women Self Help Groups in financial area is very active and present in almost all villages.

**Urban- Nagaon**
Among the three categories- self-employed, casual labour and regular worker the self-employed is found to be in much depressing state as compared to the others. Labours from nearby places like Rupahi, Lanka, Hojai come temporarily or permanently in the town. Due to the increase in wage they are relatively in satisfactory state. Women worker is found in very limited number in the town and all of them have come with their husband who is living in the town for some longer period.

**Rural- Kamrup**
Weaving is the common practice of women but differences exist on the degree of production with the distance from town. Village closer to town do it more for the commercial purpose in much progressive manner and with time they are found to be getting more confident. Taking the expenditure of thread and selling price the average earning from per cloth in Rs.300-400. During Bihu slightly more is earned. Many of them weave in adhi where the thread is given by owner and in turn she gets half of the produced cloth which is used by her for daily use. Back ache and sickness related to clear vision is common in every household. Beside agricultural labour women with the tribal (Boro, Kachari& Rabha) background sells local liquor which helps them to meet their daily cash requirements. Wife beating is mostly common in every household. Migration of male members are common in the villages of Kamrup due to the better linkage (by transport and middleman) with city and states though at intra level the infrastructure condition of the villages are in poor state. For easy education of children and high living expenditure in urban they prefer to keep their family in village. Women with infants are in highly vulnerable state as they are incompetent to work as agricultural labour or as weaver. Cash flow from male migrant counterpart is neither assured nor sufficient.

**Urban- Kamrup**
People from various places like Goalpara, Dhubri, Barpeta, Kochbehar and from other nearby villages comes at Guwahati in search of livelihoods. In Guwahati city women specially come to work as casual labour under compulsion in condition like – husband does not look after her, husband/father is sick or handicapped or widow. Almost 10% of them work to give education to children and to meet some extra expenditure or to overcome a stress period they work as a coping strategy. Self-employed women are though mostly working under compulsion but also few of them are doing by own choice. Sicknesses like Jaundice, Asthma and Gastric is very common among the casual worker and that hampers them to work regularly. Good amount of expenditure is incurred for illness. It is to be noted here that in Guwahati all the three categories of worker do not keep single source for living. Simultaneously subsidiary source is constantly tried by them. Diversification in livelihood is very clearly evident here.

**Summary of micro perspective- Rural Assam**
In the matter of imparting education no gender discrimination is observed. Girl child are given education mostly in Muslim dominated villages of study area to get good husband.
Women in Muslim dominated village very scarcely perform any other activity in addition to household work. But now slowly some young girls are found getting into some alternative means to earn. Weaving is common practice in Assamese villages. But here also we see the influence of competition from substitute product also touched the livelihood of women. This is limiting their income. As whole women of such villages feel themselves to be placed in improved status as they now alone handle the cash and they have a strong support of organisation. Compared to the earlier generation they find themselves to be in better state. It is to be noted that as far as violence is concerned they are still in poor state as wife beating is common in most of the villages.

To measure the extensity of gender security a comparative analysis between rural and urban Assam is made under the following components.

**Annual average income, work participation, Ailment and literacy (Table P1)**

The disparity of the annual average income of women between rural and urban Assam is explained with pictorial presentation in Fig.1. The differences in other components are shown in Fig. 2. With the support of the components the various issues in the livelihoods of women are examined through case study of rural and urban areas.

In the survey area urban women is found earning almost more than three times as compared to rural areas. As reported by HDR the average income of women in rural is much lower as they are unpaid or poorly paid and mostly they belong to the category of unskilled labour. As far as ailment and literacy is concerned marginal difference is observed between rural and urban. The ailment of rural women is found more related to the work pattern (backache and asthma) they practice, on the other hand in urban the food habit (gastric, pressure and diabetes) is found more responsible for illness. Women in villages has common problem of weakness probably for being anaemic and back ache for weaving cloth constantly. Women artisans’ (pottery) have asthma as common sickness. NFHS 2 data shows that 70% of women in Assam are suffering in Anaemia which is caused mainly from a nutritional deficiency of iron, folate, vitamin B12 and other nutrients. It may become the underlying cause of maternal death, antenatal loss and perinatal loss. Anaemic expectant mothers are at risk of premature delivery and low birth weight. Assam HDR reports (2003) that the prevalence of anaemia is relatively higher for rural women than urban. Gastric and pressure is found common among men and women in urban Assam. Female literacy is significantly low in one of the (33.33%) artisans dominated village where social taboos are also found significantly high. It clearly depicts the strong relation between these two variables.

As expected it was obvious to find higher Female Workforce Participation Rate (FWPR) in rural than urban. The overall FWPR in Assam is 20.8 which are much lower than the national average of 25.7. NSS report shows the female worker population ratio has higher concentration in urban between the age category of 10-14 years as compared to male worker. In rural on the other hand highest concentration of female worker is in the age category of 40-44 years. Thus more girl child in urban is found working as compared to male worker. In urban girl child worker are seen in worst condition. They mostly work as domestic servant, rag collector, helper in shop etc. where they are tortured various ways. These children get very easily assaulted by various ways either by the employer or by other agents.
Roshni, a 17-year-old girl collects rag from Ulubari area and stays with her sister and mother. As she is growing up, she feels ashamed to collect rag. She wants to work as a maid like her sister but as she works with dirty things, no one likes to keep her at home. Earlier she lived in Jorhat as a maid but due to her mother’s sickness, her father, who was a rickshaw puller, brought her to Guwahati. Few days later, her father died and her mother remains unwell. Since then she is collecting rag and supporting her mother and herself with earning of Rs.30-50 daily. She regularly gets sexually assaulted by the shop owner. She cannot say anything to him as he is the only buyer in the area. She cannot go far as her mother is sick so she faces these things silently.

It is understood from above analysis that much is to be done for gender equity in Assam. Both in rural and urban areas, their livelihood is not secured. Taking the districts separately, in Gender Related Development Index (GDI), Kamrup ranks 4th and Nagaon ranks 22nd among 23 districts. Significantly poor status of women in Nagaon district is reflected in the following case study.

Pura Boro is 55 years old woman of Nagaon district living with her daughter-in-law and grand daughter in Pachim Salpara village. She has lost her only son three months ago. The death of her son came as a relief to both of them as they were victims of physical assault. Her son used to regularly drink and beat them. Earlier they cultivated their land and also earned from livestock. But on the treatment of her son she had to sell all her livestock and gave her land in adhi. Only a pair of bullock is left which she will sell within these days as now it is of no use for them. They are now working as agricultural labour (ruoni) and consider themselves to be very happy indeed with reduced asset. Both of them says together that “We have peace now, we are very happy now”. The smile on their faces was contradicting the hard truth of physical absence of son/husband and loss of tangible asset.

In the secondary data, many activities of women cannot be included mainly for the definitional problem. This leads to underreporting of the diverse activities carried out by women. Time use survey in rural areas of Nagaon and Kamrup districts indicated that women work on average 9.30 hours a day on domestic chores alone. As most of the tasks are to be accomplished in hour of natural light, women do not get time for recreation or personal development. Planning Commission has given the average of 8.25 hours for women and 3 hours for girls on domestic duties. While the time used by boys are 45 minutes in domestic duties (Assam Development Report, 2001).

Maina Kalita (24) of Chakori Gaon in Rupahi circle is mother of two children carries out diverse kind of work in whole time period. Whole day she has to run and finish her daily work. She weaves cloth and sometime on getting call for ‘ruoni’ she runs for it. In between she runs into home to cook and give food to children and mother in law. Evening she goes to collect some firewood and sometime goes to field if necessary. If call from field does not come till evening she weaves cloth. Maina does not run alone in such a way but it is common among all the women of the village. She states ‘Whole day we are only running for living’.

Livelihoods of poor are based on multiple activities and source of food, income and security are different. In both rural and urban contexts a vast majority of the poor have individual, household and community survival strategies. It also includes other economic activities that
include informal sector work, exploitation of common property resources, share-rearing of livestock and reliance on social network for mutual support as well as number of mechanism for coping in times of crisis. Coping strategies are an integral part of livelihood systems and a function of underlying institutional rules and cultural norms which determine the distribution of entitlements, capabilities and resources within these systems.

Without any entitlement women are leading a livelihood within high poverty and insecurity. The outmost plight of women is seen among the wives of migrant worker who have settled in other state. Women of such houses with small children are in the most shocking state as they can neither go out to work nor can earn by weaving. In Muslim society women are not allowed to work in field. In this condition widows are left with only option of begging. Social taboos thus drag women into begging.

Anjali Pal (65) says ‘there was a time when we used to wake up at the sound of Chak and now in the whole village there is only one Chak and that also could only be used by the elderly person of the household’. Male members did not learn it as it gave limited earning and women are not allowed to touch Chak as social taboo. In the process the village which was well known for pottery is now almost in the state of poverty. Children are not sent into school not only for helping in pottery work but because the midday meal in the school is cooked by a Muslim lady.

Saliana Begum(39) of Kuch Gaon in Rupahi circle is a widow of a ‘Maulabi’- a priest with two children of 7 and 5years. As a wife of Maulabi she cannot go to work as society finds it degrading. The asset of her husband is now owned by her father in law. She stays in a very small area with polythene roofing. In poverty she got forced to give away her elder child to her maternal uncle. She survives somehow with her infant on alms given by villagers during some occasions. Staying within that small area she stitches ‘katha’- layers of cloths stitched together and earns Rs.25-30 in month.

Income is one of the key factors of sustainable livelihood. To understand the difference in income a comparative study of average monthly income by occupation is taken up. It indicates that in urban area the labour earns more than double of rural. Taking into account of gender equity for sustainable livelihood, income earned by women in Female Headed Household (FHH) is taken separately to understand the gap between the earning of men and women by occupation. On comparing the Table P2 and Table P3 the gender discrimination in wage and in other earning is clearly evident. Due to the many household constraints and for sickness and other problems women cannot regularly go out to work. This also reduces their average earning in month. In rural they are mostly in weaving, agricultural labour, selling liquor, and working in factory. In urban, the migrant women worker has to face more plight as they have to nurse their children in between their work.

Women find less earning opportunity in villages for limited option of diversification. While men migrate as well as take up new employment opportunities women in rural areas find them at disadvantage position. Agricultural labour remains as easy option before them. Therefore agricultural labour in the female workforce is very high. 72.8% in 2004-05 is the percentage of female agricultural labour in India while for male it is much lower at 48.9% (Arjun Sengupta, 2007). With time in urban more women are stepping out for adding their
limited household income and to meet the educational and other extra expenditure of children. They generally considered that there is an improvement in their condition. They are trying to get into the changed strategy of living by adopting diversification and facing regular corrupt practices.

Anjal Debi is 36 years old woman who work in press at Guwahati and earn Rs.35 daily (not regularly but when there are orders in press). From morning she starts her day in uncertainty as she is not sure whether there will be any work or not. Her husband had a shop in Bamunimaidan which got burnt down in fire in last year. He has problem of high blood pressure and so cannot work at any other place. Somehow she has helped him to start a shop near the railway gate. Her daughter is studying Higher Secondary in college and she wants her to finish her college study. She says ‘I know my daughter will not get job with her education but with education she will be able to live and will come out of any problem in near future.’ Every day all the family members of her are struggling to live and someday they all have to survive with only rice and salt.

Afia is 20 years old girl from Agricultural labour dominated village Pachim Salapar of Rupahi circle who has taken certificate course on tailoring by staying at her uncles’ place in Nagaon town during 2004. They are nine brothers and sisters and father earns from farming, fishery and livestock. Father had sewing machine from 1988 and wanted his daughter to be self-dependent and thus initiated to take the course on tailoring. During Idd or such other festival period she earns within Rs.500 which helps her to cover her expenditure on cosmetics. She has freedom to spend it for herself. Her cousin sister Aktara learnt embroidery from Bortol (10km from Pachim Salpara) and earns 100-200 rupees per month. People do not give much significance to the embroidery so she gets less order. In spite of having certificate Afia till now could not qualify for loan as she and her parents lack contact with political power and other middle man (Dalal) who manages the loan. Two girls from village got loan for machine who does not know to stitch. Her machine is old which needs constant repairing and lots of time is required in the work. She wants to work more and earn for herself in near future.

Thus from the above analysis following things are evident-

- Socio-cultural and religious background determines the livelihood strategy of women in rural Assam.
- The rural urban gap is less in female ailment and literacy.
- Relatively rural women are less secured and without any entitlement rural women are in more vulnerable state.
- Girl child is highly exploited in artisans dominated villages.
- Limited scope to diversify livelihoods.
- Self Help Groups are strong in financial areas and positive scope is observed in other areas too- marketing, livestock rearing etc.

Within various problems and challenges in livelihoods as stated, diversifications in strategies are essential for sustainable living. Diversification reduces dependence on one source of livelihood and so reduces vulnerability to specific stresses and shocks. Poor households both in rural and urban areas can diversify their sources of income and can carry out portfolio of activities - formal waged employment, informal trading, and service activities etc. with different family members engaging in. But in this context it is to be noted that engaging in
too many activities can mean that households are not able to invest sufficient time or resources in any one activity to make it profitable. Thus with proper balancing and with study of market activates with the genuine support of SHG diversifications are to be taken up. In addition, the huge potentiality of SHG is to be channelized for overall socio economic up gradation of women.

End-notes

1 The factory adds colour, tobacco etc. in the various step of processing betel nut where women works as peeler of betel nut cover.

References

19. ILO (1994) ‘The changing role of women in the economy: employment and social issues’ Paper by the Committee on employment and social policy, ILO

Annexure

**Table S1: Literacy rate (%) among 7+ population by sex.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Assam Rural</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>India Rural</th>
<th>Urban</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>75.9</td>
<td>89.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>53.5</td>
<td>77.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Table S2: Percentage of households having at least 1 member of age 15 years and above by number of usually employed (pass) persons of age 15 years and above.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>None all</th>
<th>1 male</th>
<th>Only 1 female</th>
<th>1 male 1 female</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>th all</td>
<td>th all</td>
<td>th all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Th: Female headed household.

**Table S3: Per 1000 Age-specific usual principal worker population ratio.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural male</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>384</td>
<td>730</td>
<td>935</td>
<td>971</td>
<td>987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural female</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural person</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>455</td>
<td>535</td>
<td>558</td>
<td>640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban male</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>506</td>
<td>720</td>
<td>956</td>
<td>957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban female</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban person</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>428</td>
<td>532</td>
<td>575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural male</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>453</td>
<td>820</td>
<td>956</td>
<td>977</td>
<td>986</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rural female</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>482</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural person</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>544</td>
<td>694</td>
<td>681</td>
<td>731</td>
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<tr>
<td>Urban male</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>662</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>965</td>
<td>975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban female</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban person</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>560</td>
<td>604</td>
<td>626</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table S3: Percentage of usually working persons in the principal status by broad Industry division (NIC 1998) in Assam

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Agri. Etc.</th>
<th>Mining and quarrying</th>
<th>Manufacture</th>
<th>Electric. water, etc.</th>
<th>Const.</th>
<th>Trade, hotel &amp; restaurant</th>
<th>Transport, etc.</th>
<th>Other Services</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rural male</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural female</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural person</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban male</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban female</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban person</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table S4: Changes in the ailment on the day before the survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1995-96</td>
<td>0-14</td>
<td>15-99</td>
<td>40-59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>0-14</td>
<td>15-99</td>
<td>40-59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table S5: Violence against women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of cases registered</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>1945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>2206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>2548</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>3000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>3379</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: CID Office, Ulubari, Guwahati

Table S6: Changes in FWP rate in rural and urban Assam

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>1990s</th>
<th>2000s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Assam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female work participation rate</td>
<td>NSS</td>
<td>1993-94</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: NSS report 52nd and 60th round

Table P1: Components of Gender security

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work Participation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ailment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literacy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fig 1: Average income

![Average income graph](image)

Table P2: Monthly Average income of (Rs.) male by occupation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>RURAL Monthly average income</th>
<th>URBAN Monthly average income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Casual labour</td>
<td>1380</td>
<td>3375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural labour</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self employed</td>
<td>2500</td>
<td>4200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regular Worker</td>
<td></td>
<td>3800</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table P3: Monthly average income by occupation of the FHH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>RURAL Monthly average income</th>
<th>URBAN Monthly average income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Casual labour</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>2075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural labour</td>
<td>356.25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self employed</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>3500</td>
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<tr>
<td>Regular Worker</td>
<td></td>
<td>2140</td>
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</table>
Impact of Globalization on Sustainability of Indian Cities

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Abstract
We are in the era of 21st century where we want to achieve everything but we do not understand that we are neglecting many things. Globalization is the world-wide exchanges of national and cultural resources. It has the ultimate effect on many aspects. One of the aspects is sustainability of cities. With advancing globalization, the sustainability of cities is subsequently affected. Sustainability of cities means that a city should meet the needs of present without sacrificing the sources of future generations to meet their own needs. It basically defines the potential of cities to meet the requirements effectively and efficiently. Like a coin, globalization also has two sides. On one hand it tends to develop cities and on the other hand it is devastating them. It is accepted that globalization is propitious for cities but its consequences cannot be underestimated. The paper focuses on relation between globalization and sustainability of cities. The first part of the paper analyses the effect of cultural, social and political globalization on Sustainability of cities in the recent years. Secondly, Can both globalization and sustainability go hand in hand? If yes what are the possible ways thorough which it is possible. The paper concludes by upholding the proposition that there is a need for cities to resolve the conflict between being part of a competitive global city network and satisfying the day to day requirements of their own inhabitants.

Keywords: Globalization, Sustainability, Cities

Introduction
“A Person Moving Ahead Along With All Aspects Achieves Real Success, Neglecting One May Lead To Havoc/Disaster”

Globalization as we all know is simply exchange of culture between countries. The concept of globalization is not a new thing to India; it’s been there from many years. Although before liberalization, India was highly isolated from the foreign markets in order to protect its economy from falling. There were many restrictions that were put on the foreign trade which ensured restricted FDI. Post Liberalization, India’s international trade has increased many times. Liberalization has opened the gates for foreign investments in India. Globalization led to rise in multinational corporations. The entry of multinational corporations in India has led to the growth of Indian economy but at the same time, these companies had led down India somewhere in some aspects. A line perfectly applies in the case of globalization in India-“To achieve something, one need to lose something”.

Sustainability of cities means that a city should meet the needs of present without sacrificing the sources of future generations to meet their own needs. Cities must harmonize the collision between being a part of global network and the satisfaction of day
to day requirements of the people living in them. Cities will be called sustainable of they are able to maintain the balance between the two. A bit of misbalance between the two can raise the question on sustainability of cities. The co-ordination between sustainability of cities and globalization is significant for proper growth and development of a country.

This paper tends to analyze the impact of globalization on sustainability of cities. Firstly various kinds of globalization are discussed. It is followed by the indicators of both globalization and sustainability, which is essential to calculate the effect of globalization on sustainability of cities. And lastly the positive and the negative effects of globalization on sustainability of cities are discussed. The paper tends to make out how much or to what extent are cities sustainable in the light of globalization. In the end some suggestions are made to turn the negatives into positives.

**Globalization**
Globalization is the new buzzword now-a-days. It has been highly advantageous for the developing countries like India etc... The country like India is well - equipped with the latest technology, which was not possible without globalization. The markets are integrated with the global world. Globalization has promoted the understanding and goodwill among various countries. Companies whether it is domestic or international, reach much wider markets. The only matter of concern with globalization is that it has the potential to affect the sustainability of cities. This is discussed in the later part of the paper. Before that we should first look at the various kinds of globalization. Globalization is basically of three types: cultural, political and economic globalization. All three are sequentially discussed below-

**Cultural Globalization**
Cultural globalization is simply sharing of ideas, values across international boundaries. This basically aims at introducing the new cultures in countries we can say that it is mixing cultures of various countries. There are various aspects of cultural globalization. It can be seen in sports business, religions and languages. These aspects are creating business for multinational corporations. For example, Harry Potter has readers all over the world. Also English songs are listened all over the world. The exchange of culture between countries is a good step as it unites people of different countries having different cultures. The only difference is that companies have found a way to earn through this exchange of cultures and there is nothing bad in this. As a result of cultural globalization, people get a large variety to choose from, whether it is clothes, songs, movies or any cuisine. It’s a benefit for both the companies and the public but its disadvantageous for the small local companies as due to globalization the market price of the product decreases and as a result margin of the small companies reduces, which can even lead to winding up of those companies. Tufte (2008) has analysed the cultural globalization with two perspectives. First being the development and change perspective. He has assessed the issue of cultural globalization. In his opinion cultural globalization is connected with the political and economic globalization.

**Political Globalization**
Political globalization refers to the human associations, rather growing power of the human association as a result of globalization. Political globalization is very much significant for the
Economic globalization means globalization which affects the economic resources of countries. Well if we see then all other globalizations are ultimately covered under economic globalization. The reason behind this is that every minute thing ultimately affects the economy of a country. Also, no country can reside without globalization. As for one or the other thing it has to depend on other countries, because no country can completely depend on itself for everything. For example, Japan has a technology which China doesn’t. Japan sells that technology to China. This is globalization. No country can ignore or restrict it, rather the developing countries like India are utilising it fully to build up their economy.

Chun-Ping, C., & Chien-Chiang (2010) researched to analyse the effect of the globalization on the economy of the country. They concluded that. “We thus try to give specific policy advice: keep on promoting policy towards globalization, because on the one hand it contributes to economic growth continually, while on the other hand it converges policy differences and political conflicts between parties in OECD countries.”

Indicators of Globalization and Sustainable Development of Cities
Indicators, as the word suggests, an indicator of something or a clue to determine future events. In this part both the indicators of Sustainability and globalization are discussed. Firstly let us have a look on the indicators of sustainability of cities. These indicators are the indicators which indicate the level of sustainability quantitatively. They show what are the changes that are taking place but do not reveal the reason behind those changes. These indicators do not give an exact value but an estimate that what are the changes that are taking place and to what extent they are taking place. Also these indicators do not reflect the situation of a particular industry or area rather these show the situation as a whole. The need of these indicators is to know where we are, what the aspects that are lacking are or how much we have improved. These are also important to tell people who are concerned with sustainable development. There are many organisations that are involved with the issue of indicators of sustainable development.

To study the relationship between globalisation and Sustainable development of cities, it is important to know about the indicators of both because an indicator is an alert about the problem and how it can be sorted out. There are major 3 types of indicators to measure sustainability of cities, namely economic, environment and social indicators. If we further divide these major indicators into sub categories it will be as follows:

**Economy:** How much sustainable a city is, it is measured by the inflation rate and the employment opportunities that are available in that city.

**Energy:** Moving on to the source of energy consumption in that city. Like for e.g. instead of using LPG, if bio fuel is used which is made of mainly cow dung, it will reduce the consumption of the non-renewable fossil fuels and would help in the sustainable development of the city. Also, the kind of vehicles used like use of cycles rather than cars is more sustainable.
Forestry: Further, the area covered by forests in a city is also an indicator of sustainability. More trees mean more greenery; more greenery will lead to healthy environment. The healthy environment will reduce the no. of diseases spread in the city. Hence, increasing the sustainability of the city.

Climatic change: This is more or less based on the area covered by forest in that city. Greenery leads to stable weather conditions. Because now-a-day’s deforestation is common in many cities to create a cement jungle which leads to improper weather conditions. For a city to become sustainable, it should have stable weather conditions.

Social: Lastly, the living conditions in the city also decide how much sustainable the city is. The pollution index, percentage of people suffering from health problems is some of the parameters that decide whether the city is sustainable or not.

Now, the indicators of globalization. Globalization is basically integration of countries. Hence, globalization is said to take place when a country is integrating with other countries. To measure or to know whether globalization is taking place or not, there are five major indicators of globalization, given below:

International Trade: International trade is to trade with other countries. When a country is involved in international trade, it is said to move towards globalization. The more a country is in international trade, more it is said to be globalized. But it should to a certain limit. The level international trade reflects how much a country is globalizing.

International Investment: International investment is to either invest in other countries or the investment done by other countries in our country. The level of international investment also reflects the how much a country is globalised.

International Finance: Every developing needs to take loan from other countries. International finance is a way to develop relations with other countries. The more a country develops relations with other countries, more it is said to be globalised. Hence, international finance is also a way to measure globalisation.

International Labour: International labour means people working in other countries. For example, BPO’s, doctors of India moving abroad, etc. How many people of other countries come to our country and how many people of our country are working in other countries is an indicator of globalisation. As employing international labour is having a new skill with culture.

Technology: Technology is also an indicator of globalisation. As exchange of technology with other countries avails us with the technologies which we cannot invent. The level of technology reflects the level of globalisation.

Is Globalization Compatible with Sustainability of Cities? 
Globalization is such a thing which cannot be ignored. However it has the potential to affect the sustainability of cities. So the question which arises is that, Can globalization and sustainability of cities go hand in hand? The question can be answered only after knowing the positive and negative impact that the globalization have on the sustainable development of the cities because on one hand, if globalization surges or we can say that it improves the economy of a country, but on the other hand it is diminishing our country in some aspects. The positive and the negative impacts of the globalization are discussed below:
Positive impact: Globalization is there since 19th century. It has slowly progressed and has shaped itself into a golden egg. Golden egg because it helps the developing countries integrate their economies with the global economy. Globalization not only helps in increasing the economic growth but also have many benefits. Some of them are discussed below.

Making wider use of market: With globalization the scope for companies increases. They have access to much wider markets all over the world which help them grow. Secondly, with all the global markets at one place gives customers a wider choice to choose from. So globalization is the win-win scenario for both the customers and the companies. Lastly, it provides the employment opportunities for the local people so it also contributes to sustainability of the cities.

Strengthen decision making process: Political globalization has made the decision making process easier for the government. With the help of globalization government can learn from the mistakes of other countries and draft the policies in the efficient manner and integrate environmental and social policies to make the city sustainable.

Harness science and technology: Globalization harnesses science and technology as multinational corporations come with new science and technology in our country. Through these MNC’s our country is also able to work with these new technologies. The new technology tends to improve working ways, which will further help in making the cities advanced and with advancement it will become sustainable.

Manage Links with Other Countries
Globalization manages links with other countries. As for exchange of culture or products with other countries creates a relation between us and other countries and maintaining links with other countries is very important. In this way globalization is really helpful because it develops relations and maintains relations with other countries.

Negative impact: Although globalization helps in developing the economy of the country and it is beneficial in many ways, but at the same time it has some devastating effects on the country sustainability. Ian DeWeese-Boyd & Margaret (2007) tried to establish the kind out relationship that exists between globalization and sustainability. They came to a conclusion that over consumption patterns in highly advanced countries are not at all beneficial from a global perspective but also is highly unsustainable. Batool, Mostafa and Khadijeh (2013) concluded that economic globalization lays a negative impact on the sustainable development of the country. Secondly, social globalization had improved the life expectancy.

Some of the negative impact that the globalization have over sustainability of cites are stated below:

Growing poverty: Multinational corporations set cities as their targets. Also these MNC’s bring new and high technology with them. As all of us are aware that the bringing up of new technology means more dependence on capital labour rather than human labour. This dependence leaves human labour jobless which ultimately results in poverty. This is quite obvious that when people will be jobless, then they have no means to earn their livelihood. Also these MNC’s require skilled labour and employees highly educated employees. Those people who are not skilled up to that level and those people who are averagely educated are left jobless. Hence, globalisation is making rich richer and poor poorer.
World-wide increase of environmental degradation: The entry of these MNC’s clearly indicates the development of new buildings or use of resources. With the development of new buildings, malls, etc. leads to environmental degradation. For example, forests are cut, trees are cut to make buildings. Also, the wastes of these companies are thrown into rivers which are ruining water resources. The smoke which comes out of factories creates pollution in the environment. Globalization tends to use finite resources very quickly, especially those resources which are essential for our country.

Ties different countries with each other: Globalization ties different countries with each other in such a way that if one country’s economic condition collapses; the other one’s is definitely going to collapse. Let us take an example of US dollar, with the rise and decrease in dollar, the countries are affected. This is what globalization does. If recession comes in America then it ultimately affects India. This is what globalization does.

Encourages dependence for essential goods: The export and import of essential goods from other countries is encouraged by globalization. As MNC’s require some materials and if they do not find it in other country they import it. These MNC’s do not try to manufacturer that good in that country rather they import it. This relieves people that when it can be imported then why to manufacture it. This way it increases dependence on other countries.

Economic Inequality: It is rightly said by Sen (2000 p. 14) “economic growth cannot be treated as 'an end in itself'”. It’s true that globalization contributes to the economic growth of the country but it also leads to the economic inequality with rich becoming richer and poor becoming poorer. Hence the globalization can make the social and environmental sustainability a much difficult task to achieve.

Conclusion
This paper concludes with upholding proposition that globalization has both positive and negative impact on sustainability of cities. If seen from a different point of view then it can be seen that if globalization is giving something in one hand then it is taking also from another hand. Globalization is not at all a bad step as no one in this world can live alone; everyone has to take help from other. Same is the case with countries, globalization necessary but to a limited extent. MNC’s should be allowed in our country but to a limited extent they should not be allowed to conquer us. As discussed above globalization has both negative and positive impact on the sustainability of cities. On one hand it contributes to the economic growth, on the other hand it leads to economic disparity. This is to be taken care that globalization takes place with no harm to cities.

Excess of anything is bad; similarly excess globalization will lead to unsustainability. Now on this point, an argument will arise that if globalization is improving the economy, will stopping it or restricting it will create a problem or not? It is quite obvious that it is not completely possible but at least to the extent it could be done, it should be done. The best cover of the sustainable future of cities is that policies should be made in such a way that it leads to equal distribution of the resources to the whole world making the world a peaceful and enjoyable place to live.

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Education, Globalization and Sustainable Development: Issues Related to Educational Governance in India

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Abstract
After exploring the linkages between education, globalization and sustainable development theoretically, this paper discusses the issues and challenges before Indian policy makers in shaping an adequate governance framework for education sector keeping in mind the dynamics of globalization. Education is a service and without proper governance in this sector, the benefits of education cannot be realized and problems like low quality, less inclusion, wastage of resources and deterioration of moral values, all would continue to exist. As a solution to the problem of low efficiency in government sector, new public management (NPM) has been advocated to be introduced in educational institutes in order to deliver quality education with optimized use of resources. In view of globalization, the international comparative measures of performance have become a global aspect of corporate type governance. The new governance system emphasizes on performance, reconceptualizes education policy in terms of market and this performative policy is closely aligned to ‘audit culture’ with emphasis on efficiency and effectiveness. But how far is this system compatible with the broader role of education in achieving sustainable development in a globalized world? This paper seeks to address this question with special reference to Indian education policies and examine its efficacy in ensuring efficiency without compromising with the grater agenda of achieving sustainable development in the era of globalization.

Keywords: Globalization, Education, Governance

Introduction
The purview of sustainable development has conventionally remained concerned with the environment and the economy. However, societal concerns and in particular inclusive development have now emerged to be a major challenge as sustained economic growth does not lead necessarily to inclusiveness. It is now being realized that economic growth is of little use if society breaks apart due to growing discontentment arising out of worsening inequality and rising unemployment. The concept and salience of sustainable development loses much of its sheen if economic growth does not lead to improvement in socio-development indicators and mitigate the existence of sources of exclusionary forces. Economy, environment and the society have now become the three main pillars of sustainable development. The broader concept of sustainable development entails synchrony amongst these three pillars. The channels through which education binds these together are technology, governance and culture (Scoullos, 2010).

Globalization continues to pose new challenges for governance as the roles of government, workers, and citizens tend to change in the face of new globalized economic order (Ashford and Hall, 2011). There are four channels through which sustainable development and
globalization can be linked. They are the followings: (i) the production of goods and services (ii) the mobility of knowledge and information (iii) mobility of capital and (iv) the international movement of labour and human resources, or migration (Ashford and Hall, 2011). Education is closely related to globalization and sustainable development as it plays an essential role in shaping the nature of all these inter-linkages. It plays a crucial role in the era of globalization as countries are increasingly engaged in international competition of production, absorption and transfer of knowledge and technology (Amsden, 2002). After exploring the linkages between education, globalization and sustainable development theoretically, this paper discusses the issues and challenges before Indian policy makers in shaping an adequate governance framework for education sector keeping in mind the dynamics of globalization. Education is a service and without proper governance in this sector, the benefits of education cannot be realized and problems like poor quality, exclusionary forces within the school and the society, less inclusion, wastage of resources and deterioration of moral values, all would continue to exist.

As a solution to the problem of low efficiency in government sector, new public management (NPM) has been advocated to be introduced in educational institutes in order to deliver quality education with optimized use of resources. In view of globalization, the international comparative measures of performance have become a global aspect of corporate type governance. The new governance system emphasizes on performance, reconceptualizes education policy in terms of market and this performative policy is closely aligned to ‘audit culture’ with emphasis on efficiency and effectiveness (Nandi and Chattopadhyay, 2013). But how far is this system compatible with the broader role of education in achieving sustainable development in a globalized world? This paper seeks to address this question with special reference to Indian education policies and examine its efficacy in ensuring efficiency without compromising with the greater agenda of achieving sustainable development in the era of globalization.

Education and Sustainable Development
It is being increasingly felt world over supported by both theoretical formulations and empirical evidences that education plays a stellar role in spurring growth and achieving a broad-based economic development. In studies covering the growth of the world economy as a whole and a comparison of income growth across the nations, human capital has been identified as a significant factor in the emerging divergences in growth among the nations. It is not surprising as knowledge as an input to production of goods and services has become a prime mover of growth.

We need to distinguish between the concepts of inclusive growth and inclusive development. Inclusive growth pertains to the relation between growth, income inequality and and poverty whereas the concept of inclusive development is broader as it combines the existence of structural exclusion, social exclusion and income exclusion and hence inclusive growth is a subset of inclusive development (Chakrabarti and Dhar, 2013). However, the improvement in the social indicators has not always been commensurate with the economic growth. The lack of correspondence has been found to be more profound in the context of the developing nations. For India, the differences in the ranking between the Human Development Index (HDI) and per capita income ranking in the world have become starker after India had achieved high growth rate in the recent years. It was admitted in the
policy circle (GoI, Economic Survey 2010-11) that a higher rank in terms of per capita income than HDI could be attributed to unsatisfactory attainment in the realm of education. The linkage between growth and social development could be made stronger and robust only with steady improvement in attainment in education and skill development. But the question remains to be addressed is how does education matter for sustainable development? Since for economic development, economic growth has to be sustained, education would contribute to the process through knowledge creation and knowledge dissemination. Percollation of economic benefits down to the masses would come about through skill empowerment and education would contribute to the deepening of the democratic process and building up of a responsible and concerned citizen.

**Capability Approach to Development**

Over the past years, the concept of development has changed from income oriented growth to human development and now to sustainable development (Comim, 2007). Drèze and Sen (1996: 10) defined the concept of economic development from a long term broader perspective.²

“One way of seeing development is in terms of the expansion of the real freedoms that the citizens enjoy to pursue the objectives they have reason to value, and in this sense the expansion of human capability can be, broadly, seen as the central feature of the process of development.”

What people can do or can be, a process of emancipation from the enforced necessity to ‘live less or be less’; whether they can live long, be well nourished, be able to read and write communicate, take part in literary and scientific pursuits. Capabilities reflect freedom which is necessary to achieve happiness. This entails command that people have over their lives. Deprivations (exploited landless labourer) are not captured in metric of utilities. Happiness is one of many capabilities but happiness by itself cannot be the sole indicator of all capabilities. For example, one may get good food but would feel constrained at every step to realise her potential.

Education is central to the capability approach and basic to all other capabilities. Absence of opportunities or lack of it can put an individual in a disadvantageous position irreversibly and forever. Further, this basic capability contributes towards expansion of all other capabilities including the future ones (Terzi, 2007). The notion of capability as implied, education has a much larger role to play for an individual and social development. Not only does it enhances well-being and freedom of individuals and peoples and contributes to economic production, education ushers in social change. If development is defined as an expansion of other capabilities and freedom, education occupies a central place. Social context and social relations can enlarge or constrain individual capabilities for education. Equality thus depends on personal responsibility for actions (effort). Material (goods and services) and non-material (effort) shape the opportunities that we have and the choices that we make. Education is viewed as a constitutive aspect of development. People are viewed as ends in themselves not as means to achieve. Education is not for efficiency and social welfare. But also for enjoying the culture, participate in activities and affairs, social and political, to provide each individual a secure sense of one’s own worth.
Individual ‘functioning’ are influenced by a person’s relative advantages in society and enabling public and policy environments (e.g., good teachers, productive peer relationships).

1. Intrinsic importance: valuable achievements in themselves. It can affect effective freedom directly.
2. Instrumental personal roles: seizing economic opportunities. Getting a job and earning which will affect achievement of other ‘functionings’. After all, purchasing power is important. Education gives skill and it is easier for the person to sell in the job market.
3. Instrumental social roles: participation in public discussion of social needs, informed collective demands, improvement in public delivery of services and its better utilization.
4. Instrumental process roles: process of schooling can reduce child labour, social connectivity improves, improves horizon, e.g., ‘Campus life’.
5. Empowerment and distributive roles: resist exploitation, organize politically to get a fairer deal, both within groups as well as within family. Female education is effective for gender based inequalities.

While Sen’s approach is based on liberal-egalitarian framework, Martha Nussbaum conceives capabilities from a moral-legal-political perspective and clearly argues for the need of a political structure in which the constitution will guarantee the central capabilities (Robeyns, 2003). She has mainly focused on the question of minimum social justice, and has given a central role to law, constitution and political structure. In particular, a nation’s constitution should ensure these ten central capabilities to all the people and thus it has a role in fulfilling citizen’s fundamental entitlements (Nussbaum, 2011). In this way, she has connected the capability approach with the task of government in the sense that governments must have the obligations to protect and secure these central capabilities. Both Sen and Nussbaum agree that some capabilities or rights may not be always legally enforceable, but if it is in the list of Central Capabilities, then according to Nussbaum, it is the job of a government to secure it. The governments of developing countries thus have a role to play in ensuring central capabilities as well as the governments of developed countries who are responsible for ensuring it in a global space. Nussbaum’s notion of capabilities are more related to people’s skills, thoughts, emotions and thus, to some, it is more useful for understanding meanings, motivations and actions (Gasper and van Staveren, 2003).

Though Capability Approach talks about general human development from a normative framework, it has serious implications for setting social policies in case of education, especially in today’s world when the field is highly unequal (Unterhalter, Vaughan and Walker, 2007). Sen and Nussbaum, works of both the stalwarts can be very useful for evaluating education policies as one argues that policies must be evaluated in the space of real freedoms and capabilities and the other talks about ‘content’ and ‘process’ of education. The mainstream theories of education often look at it as a means of getting higher income and increasing social and private rates of return, and sometimes to make people ‘eligible’ for a global market or for a typical society and evaluates the merit of education through its outputs according to some standard pre-specified universal scale. With the tendency of a generalization, mainstream theories often ignore the needs of
different people and fail to understand the diverse contexts in which people are living. But Capabilities Approach considers education important not only because it enables other capabilities but also as an end in itself and it evaluates a policy in terms of capabilities, for example, what a person can ‘be’ or can ‘do’ after completing a course. Education can also be useful in ‘using reflection, information, understanding and the recognition of one’s right to exercise these capacities in order to formulate the ‘valued beings and doings’ entailed in the concept of capabilities’ (Unterhalter, 2003).

As Terzi (2007) argue that empirical research supports the role of education to the flourishing of individuals and their quality of life Terzi quotes Schuller et al (2004) that the important function of education is to enable people to have a sense of a future for themselves, for their families and communities and provides a kind of choice, opens up new vistas of life, extends the horizons of life hitherto unimagined. Sen along with Freire and Nussbam restores the humanistic view of education as opposed to the dominant modernist theories of education such as human capital theory, manpower planning or an idea of knowledge based economies (Flores-Crespo, 2007). Human beings are conceived of responsible agents who can carve out their own destinies and it has immense importance in the context of inclusive development. Availability of resources and its proper utilization in a socially just manner to make people capable of making sense of their lives is extremely crucial in for a nation to develop in a equitable and sustainable way. The next section tries to locate education in the realm of sustainable development.

Locating Education in Sustainable Development

The concept of sustainable development cannot be understood within a single-dimension framework. It is a multi-dimensional concept whose main pillars are the environment, economy and society (Ashford and Hall, 2011) as mentioned earlier. The importance of the first pillar, i.e., environment needs no explanation, as this was the starting point of any discussion on sustainable development. The other two dimensions, economy and society are interrelated between themselves and with environment through various channels. This section explores some of the linkages and seeks to position education at the core of whole structure.

Education helps spreading awareness about the need to protect environment and can combat corrupt practices, which is the major source of degradation of nature. Environmental education makes individual understand the importance of nature and the need to distribute natural resources in a sustainable way. Research and development can develop eco-friendly technologies, which can be useful in sustaining the environment. Apart from this, in order to be sustainable, a development process should also ensure adequate and fair supply and distribution of basic amenities. It should encourage individuals within the society to fully realize the potentials of their abilities and get a fair reward in return. Economy, thus plays an important role in the development process and it is related with education as the latter enables individuals to be engaged in productive capacities in a meaningful way. Society, is another most important dimension of sustainable development. Education transforms individuals to socially responsible citizens. Thus, education actually resides at the core of all three dimensions of sustainable development. In other words, three pillars of sustainable development are very much inter-dependent and inter-related and education forms the very base of this pyramid (see figure 1).
Now let us explore the operational linkages between the three pillars of sustainable development and the significance of education in more details. The three channels through which education binds environment, society and economy together are technology, governance and culture. However, each of these three linkages and their functioning are based on education.

The first perspective of implementing sustainable development is through technology. According to Ashford and Hall (2011), technology is the medium through which an economy interacts with the environment. Technology actually determines the way labour and capital are combined in the production system, and in turn, it also determines the nature of work, the conditions of earning livelihood, distribution of earnings \textit{inter alia}. In the long run, the ability of an economy to deliver a decent level of material well-being to its citizens, thus, depend on technology. J.D. Bernal (1969), views a technique as ‘an individually acquired and socially secured way of doing something’.

However, there is indeed a gap between our understanding of doing something and actually making it work (Hirschman, 1967). Education plays a key role in narrowing this gap and making the work-force technologically advanced so that they can take part in the nation’s growth process by getting employed in a meaningful and productive work. The three different aspects of employment are (i) the income aspect, (ii) the production aspect and (iii) the recognition aspect (Sen, 1975). Employment yields an output, and also enables an individual having fair and adequate purchasing power by means of providing fair wages, thus help in possessing command over essential goods and services. It also gives a person the ‘recognition’ that he or she is engaged in a meaningful worthwhile job (Sen, 1975).

The current concept of development does not only focus on income as the only characteristic of development, employment remains at the core of any development process. Employment is that channel of economy, through which the benefits of an economic development accrues to the society and reduces inequality. At the same time, engagement in decent employment of a nation’s labour force reduces the dependence on
nature. Better knowledge about modern and safe technology can actually cause less harm to the environment and reduces the pollution. A shift towards an eco-friendly less-polluting production system through the adoption of new technologies, thus can only be possible with the involvement of educated minds who can absorb these new techniques efficiently and productively. Thus, technology is a very important factor in ensuring a responsible economy for a sustainable development process.

Governance, the other important aspect of sustainable development, links the institution to the people and environment. To improve the sustainability of an economy and an environment, three things are important: (1) role of government (2) democratic decision making or public opinion, and, (3) collaboration among stakeholders. Government intervention in areas like education, health, energy supply, environmental issues, employment and labour management, etc., is essential for ensuring an inclusive, environment friendly and sustainable development process. Participatory democracy and civic engagement in decision-making can strengthen the role of welfare state and ensure that the distribution of resources is fair and just.

Education generates immense externalities as mentioned in the last section. Apart from making individuals more productive and the nation to grow fast, education converts individuals into the responsible members of a civil society. Education enables an individual realizing the basic responsibilities, participating in the decision making process, and ensuing institutional mechanism to work in an efficient and just manner. Educationally trained minds can be engaged in the larger debates regarding justice, rights and responsibilities.

The third important channel is culture that influences the way individuals value the community, environment and the economic well-being. The role of ‘tolerance’ is imperative in order to address the cultural challenges of education for sustainable development. Culture and value-systems of a nation determine the way tensions between ‘global’ and ‘local’, ‘universal’ and ‘individual’, ‘tradition’ and ‘modernity’, ‘competition’ and ‘equality’, ‘spiritual’ and ‘material’, ‘expression of knowledge’ and ‘capacity to assimilate’, etc., are resolved (Scoullos, 2010).

Education inculcates values in individuals and thus helps in forming a distinct culture based on the value framework. It is fundamentally about the values and respect for past, present and future generations, for differences and diversity, and for the nature, environment and its resources (Scoullos, 2010). Education enables an individual in identifying her position with respect to the community, society and natural environment. In other words, education has the potentials of achieving a development process, which ensures a just, safe, healthy, environment-friendly and economically advanced society.

Summarizing the above discussion, it can be said that education is the base of the double sided pyramid whose upper facets are environment, economy and society. The three operational channels through which education helps in sustaining a development process are the lower facets of the pyramid, namely, technology, governance and culture.

Figure 2: Education for Sustainable Development and its Different Perspectives
Impacts of Globalization

It has already been said that the four channels through which globalization affects sustainable development are (i) the production of goods and services (ii) the mobility of knowledge and information (iii) mobility of capital and (iv) the international movement of labour and human resources, or migration (Ashford and Hall, 2011). Economy, environment, employment – the three main components of sustainable development actually get affected by technological innovation (Schumpeter, 1939) and globalized trade (Diwan and Walton, 1997; Etkins, Folke, et al., 1994) and eventually globalization poses new challenges for governance, especially vis-à-vis the roles of government, workers, and the citizens in the new economic order (Ashford and Hall, 2011). In the Capability Approach discussed above, it is argued that education, is at the centre of all basic capabilities and also it plays a crucial role in deciding the nature of the inter-linkages between three pillars of sustainable development. The role of education becomes more dynamic in the era of globalization where technology is a prime determinant of economic growth. This section discusses how education deals with the multi-dimensional challenges brought about by globalization and in ensuring a fair and just share of social and economic benefits to all (Carnoy and Castells, 2001; Green, 1997).

When the benefits emanating out of consumption transcend the international borders, the consumption does not remain confined to the territory marked by the international border of a nation. Education is no exception in this regard. Degrees obtained by cross-border foreign students, individualized status goods produced by nations are such examples. Foreign degrees are in a way could be classified as global goods as these are the degrees obtained in border crossing and degree credentials which can be utilized in more than one nation in management, IT and scientific research (Marginson, 2004). In the importing nations, commercial education implies extension of national educational capacity and individual student choice. Since foreign education is expensive, it reduces the ‘publicness’ by
narrowing the size of the population. Other public goods are cross cultural, communications and understanding.

Global public goods can be defined as being characterised by 1. Non-rivalry and non-excludability; 2. Goods that are made broadly available across population on a global scale. Broadly available within countries, they are inter-generational, with no possible trade-off across the generations. At the same time, public ‘bad’ is cross-border pollutions. Global externalities arise from cross-border relationships and flows between the nations, HE is extensively and intensively networked, through research collaborations, e-mails, etc. Examples are knowledge in different fields, cross-border facilitations of cross-border recognition of universities, qualifications and individuals. Global public ‘bads’ are brain drain and the downside of cultural homogenization. Two way flows of personnel in the global higher education environment may be unequal as it leads to brain circulation. It can be global public ‘bads’ for some nations as it subtracts from the capacity to create as indicated by the prevailing stock of human capital at the national level. In an open global sphere, some nations lose out as they suffer flight of brains, other nations gain precious capital without dedicating resources for the production of the same. The same can be true for networks as some nations get excluded and some nations, generally the advanced ones, get included. Further, it is culturally asymmetrical as English language dominates. Developed countries are well placed to retain skill and infrastructure to access knowledge and the underdeveloped and the developing countries are not (Marginson, ibid.).

There is no as such global policy space unlike a national economy as nations are autarkic and competing. However, global private goods are recognized. The overarching framework of WTO/GATS provides a negotiating framework for the participating nations. In this framework, higher education is treated as a tradable good as it is believed that nations would gain from trading of higher education as it is argued to be true for any other tradable good or service. Education, and in particular, higher education is treated as no different from any other tradable good or a service. As per the prevailing practice, there is hardly any consideration for free flow of knowledge across the borders and there is no need to align national recognition protocols, no consideration for public bads, gross unevenness between national educational systems.

**Governance in Education in a Globalized World**

The Indian state has to reconstitute itself in view of the neoliberal globalization and the development discourse being dominated by the concern for inclusiveness as argued by Chakrabarti and Dhar (2013). The state is under the dominance discourse of neoliberalism has been engaged in a critical introspection of its practices. Education sector is no exception. The primary and school education is plagued by poor governance whereas the higher education sector is grappling with the issue how much to regulate and how autonomy the higher learning institutions should enjoy. While neo-liberal globalization has tended to commodify education which is now tradable across the border, co-operations and collaborations among the universities and scholars have been on the rise. The emerging global order of knowledge continues to be tilted in favour of the developed nations as research scholars, faculty and students migrate from the developing to the developed nations.
Looking for a possible solution
Though, ideally the public sector should play a larger role to ensure inclusive growth the state has shown an increasing tendency to rely more on the private sector in the name of economic efficiency and fiscal sustainability. Given the burgeoning private sector, only if it is accepted by the government that the private sector has to play a larger role and market logic is applicable for designing reform strategies. Dreze and Sen (2013) argue that the focus of the debate regarding the role of public sector should be that the “people ‘need’ the need a well-run public sector rather than on exactly how the supposedly required public institutions should be run, and what would make the decision makers and operators involved accountable and responsible” (pp.82).

There are two ways of dealing with this. One, the government has to instill competition among the public sector institutions by changing the funding/subsidization pattern so that quality improves. Two, the government can also infuse competition within the HE institution through incentivisation of the pay structure and improve its governance while vested interests and political interference are kept in abeyance.

New Public Management and Governance Issues
There is a convergence among the higher education sectors world over in the adoption of NPM to reform the functioning of the HEIs. Infusion of corporate principles with increased thrust on outcome and accountability in governing the funding mechanism under the guise of new public management (NPM) (Marginson, 2010) which imagines business models in higher education, research, and creative arts has become the accepted norm world over. NPM is an example of policy synchrony in the global world of creation (ibid.). The adoption of NPM assumes that corporate managerial practices can be applied to the HEIs as the schools, colleges and universities are treated no differently from the factories. It is argued that service delivery in the public sector is inherently inefficient as neither the public sector employees face an incentivised pay structure nor do they operate in a competitive ambience.

Moreover, the public sector suffers from principle-agent problem (Ols
t
nen and Peters, 2005). One way to ensure that the public sector employees deliver, would be to incentivize their pay structure, measure and monitor their output and performance, and hold them accountable. The approach identifies goals, policies and strategies to achieve them. NPM emphasizes on surveillance, transparency of outcomes and performance management. The HEIs are supposed to be managed by professional staffs like executive managers and entrepreneurial staffs. It seeks to foster client style relation between the producers (i.e., the teachers) and the consumers (i.e., the students). Institutions are managed by a regulatory body through competition, and funding is based on incentives formula based agreements.

The self-regulatory mechanism in the world of knowledge creation has come under stress. It is not only that the public funding of science has declined, the mode of such funding has undergone change. NPM essentially relies on the efficacy of incentives to foster competition in order to achieve efficiency with emphasis on surveillance, relevance of the research area, transparency of outcomes and its ‘impact’ on research. The goal of improving national competitiveness in the global context is argued to be one reason behind the adoption of
NPM. A pertinent question however remains: how does NPM affect creativity in the world of science and technology as compared to a system governed by self-regulation with academic freedom? Competitive funding under NPM may promote more ad hoc and short term research where evaluation and incentive structures focus on quantifiable and immediate outputs. Since sustained funding is not guaranteed, the scientists may be more averse to risk taking in their endeavours with the eventual undermining of basic research (Marginson 2009; Stephen 2012).

When some universities and research organizations have delivered appreciable output in the past and they continue to do so even today, then on what basis is NPM being advocated? Possibly because a good number of universities have also failed to deliver despite being governed by self-regulation and these are generally down the pecking order. In general, infrastructural constraint, poor governance and non-conducive of academic culture do not augur well for the level of motivation the teachers and scientists in the universities down the order.

Global University Ranking
Policy makers seem to be concerned as to why the Indian universities are not amongst the best 200 in terms of the global ranking of the universities. Ranking of the universities globally seeks to map the world of knowledge production objectively albeit arguably. However, choice of indicators and parameters in assessing the output of the universities and opinions expressed by the academia with disregard for diversity in socio-economic contexts and above all, differences in mission and mandate of universities which makes the university-society linkages specific and contextual all contribute to dent the objectivity of the ranking methods as claimed by the proponents. Notwithstanding, global ranking of universities has gained legitimacy and credibility over the years and it has been able to effect significant transformation in the university’s role in knowledge production.

At the global level there exists a hierarchy in the field of knowledge production. The flow of skilled workers, students, researchers and the faculty across the globe has contributed to the perpetuation of the hierarchy as the best of them settle at the best of the universities and at the same time, the best of the universities select the most talented. This selection-based efficiency rather than the conventional X-efficiency marks the global market for higher education. This is a major reason as to why the top ranking universities continue to maintain their rankings at the top of the table. However, at the same time, it has also led to the segmentation in the higher education sector (Marginson, 2010).

Mobility of scientists and the skilled professionals across the globe have been steadily rising. Nearly 44 percent of PhDs in science and engineering are temporary residents in the USA, 60 percent post-docs are also so, and 35 percent faculty are foreign born (Stephan, 2012). As per evidence, foreign born scholars do better than their counterparts in the USA. Ranking provides crucial inputs to the university leaders and policy makers to make strategies depending on their modes of funding and mission, to build networks of researchers across the universities primarily for the objective of competing in the global arena. This is however exclusionary in nature which has further led to consolidation of the hierarchical nature of the ranking and categorization of the universities into good and bad ones (Marginson, 2010). Hegemony of the universities from the USA has remained almost unaltered over the
years. Nearly half of the universities in the top 200 are from the USA. However, universities from a few Asian nations like Korea, China and Singapore have now emerged to occupy space. In 2005, USA produced 2,05,320 papers in scientific journals, compared to 55471 from Japan, 45,572 from UK, Germany contributed 44125, China 41,596 and India 14,608 (Marginson, 2010).

USA spends relatively much more on higher education in relation to GDP than all others. English continues to dominate as the most important medium of communication in knowledge production and dissemination and this in turn, influences the direction of the flow of human capital across the nations. In conformity with this, USA accounts for more citations than share in papers in the global context. USA attracts creative talents globally and the focus is not on revenue earning but on talents. This asymmetrical global flow, mainly from the developing world to the developed ones, persists but the hegemony of USA is somewhat dented (Peters 2010: 258-260. Centres of science are also increasing in the world of science. The European Union, Japan, China and Russia as well as India and South Korea have gained strength. Contribution to scientific production from the developing countries has witnessed an increase from 7.5 percent of world papers in 1981 to 17.1 percent in 2000. This questions the global aspect of knowledge being defined as a global public good. The top countries account for a very high share of citations compared to the rest of the countries indicating disparity in impact of scientific output.

**Challenges before Indian Education System**

The school system is plagued by high drop-out rates and poor quality of education. If more than 40 percent of the students enrolled drop out by the time they class VIII and more than 60 percent drop out by Class XII, our education is not all inclusive. The problem is further aggravated by the fact that educational attainments is simply pathetic. These two problems have implications for the higher education system as well both in terms of quality and gross enrolment ratio. Rising private participation has contributed to the expansion of the higher education system and the expansion has not been inclusive. Though there are good quality institutions of higher learning both in the domains of public and private sectors. The majority of them are of substandard. Rising private participation has not helped in realizing objective of excellence as well.

The question is whether India is well equipped to participate in the global knowledge economy to contribute as well as to gain. India is already a part of the global knowledge economy in some sense if we go by the number of students who leave the country to study abroad, the MOUs signed and the contribution of the non-resident Indians in knowledge production abroad and some universities and research institutes are engaged in global collaborations. However, in the realm of innovation, R and D and the reputation of the research institutions and universities, there is nothing much that India can take pride in even in the context of the Asia-Pacific nations. One way to build up research capacity is to increase global connectedness. Research universities are generally more networked than other HEIs. The growth in such collaborations, student and faculty exchanges have risen in the recent years. Meaningful effective and long term participation in the global knowledge economy entails research capacity. Not only it will make India dependent on knowledge flows, India will not be able to contribute to the development of global science and culture. R & D spending in India was 1.03 percent in 2006 (Agarwal 2009) compared to 3.44 of
Japan, 1.49 of China, 3.47 of South Korea, Australia 2.01, 1.2 of New Zealand in terms of GDP.

With regard to higher education, the employability of the graduates is low as claimed by some studies. The Indian higher education institutions do not even feature in the ranking of the top 100 in the world despite the fact that IITs and IIMs are generally regarded as institutions par excellence. It is an irony that India has the third or fourth largest skilled manpower of the world and has the largest number of institutions (Agarwal, 2009). With very few universities of excellence, the research base at the universities is rather limited. State universities somehow maintain the day to day functioning with the state governments refusing to raise the budgetary allocations for the state funded universities. The quality of infrastructure for supporting the research activity is somehow better in the central universities, IITs and IIMs and some select government funded institutions. In the aggregate sense in a country with 400 plus universities, the production of knowledge is utterly inadequate by any international standard.

For a meaningful integration with the emerging knowledge economy, the higher education sector is confronted with many challenges. The government has of late emphasized upon the salience of knowledge and development of human resources and initiated many policy measures to overhaul the system. The question is how good are the policy measures in the context of the prevailing system, the issue of resistance and proper implementation of the programmes. This problem is aggravated by the stagnancy in the budgetary allocations by the governments. The existing ones are suffering from poor governance.

Concluding Remarks
Education plays a vital role in enhancing people's capabilities and ensuring sustainable development of a nation. However, this has two primary pre-requisites - first, availability of resources and second, utilization of these resources in a socially just and economically meaningful way. Governance is an extremely important factor in shaping the nature of the second factor. If we look into the existing the situation of educational governance in India, the multi-layered problems look different in case of school education and higher education, but they are related in some sense. While less accountability, teacher absenteeism, lack of resources and mal-functioning in the way of utilization of available resources etc. are the problems related with school education, higher education suffers from exclusivity and poor quality.

To do away with the problems of governance in education system, a new type of management system called New Public Management (NPM) is now being introduced which has its root in the corporate culture. The pressure of globalization on governance is also something worth noting. In the era of increased competition in education market (both internally and globally), there is no room for a nation lagging behind with its low quality education system which does not have any rank in the global league table. Even in the sustainable development paradigm, education would cease to act meaningfully if inclusion and quality are not achieved. However, using NPM as an instrument for achieving efficient governance in education system poses a threat for diluting the values education stands for.
If achieving sustainable development is the main goal at which the education system should aim, then value-education cannot be done away with. Motivation, compassion, care, along with proper infrastructure, resources and a good governance structure should be the characteristics of an education system which would make the students capable of utilizing their potentials. Without improving governance in both the school and higher education, it is difficult to achieve sustainable development for a nation like India. Market based private sector participation may not be the best way to achieve this as the very participation of the private sector will compromise with inclusiveness of the growth process and would weaken the linkages between economy and the society. Therefore, by policy design the ‘publicness’ of education has to be enhanced but it is not easy for the public sector to deliver quality education. The stress has to be more on cooperation at the global level which is to be posited as an alternative to the neo-liberal framework and strengthening of the school education system.

End-notes
1 It was originally Amartya Sen (1985) who introduced the new approach to view development in the form of expansion of capabilities.
2 We may note that the economics of the pure world of Science and its associated features cannot be treated at par with economics of the world of art. In Marginson’s analysis, the differences between the two worlds are glossed over.
3 NPM derives its rational from Buchanan’s public choice approach to the government. Given the self-interest employees and the hierarchical structure of a public sector organization, the principal agent problem becomes inevitable when the teachers shirk their responsibilities and the principal on behalf of the nation cannot monitor effectively. Some high ranking universities are motivated by the ‘prestige maximization’ objective which enable the faculty to rise above their narrow self-interest and deliver.
4 In USA, scientists earn much more compared to Europe which explains why USA has been a magnet for the productive European scientists. In addition, increased availability of fellowships, job opportunities and facilities all contribute to make USA a preferred destination. Over 90 percent of PhD scholars from China and 81 percent from India stay back in the USA (Stephan 2012: 191).
5 In 2003, USA spent 2.9 percent of GDP on higher education which was seven times as in material terms as did the next nation (Marginson 2010: 214). Around 0.3 to 0.4 percent of GDP is dedicated for research and development at universities and medical schools (Stephan 2012: p. 2).
6 In 2001, USA accounted for 44 percent citations in the scientific literature based on a less than a third of the output (ibid.).
7 As reported by the EXIM Bank of India (2007, page 21), a survey conducted by McKinsey Global Institute found that only 25% of the engineers, 15% of the finance professionals and 10% of the generalists are considered to be employable at the pass-out stage by the employers.
8 The IITs and the IIMs are not full-fledged universities and therefore in terms of the criteria for ranking, the IITs and the IIMs fail to qualify. Marginson (2010) that India has only one institution in the top 100.
9 Generally it is argued that because of the principal agent problem, the quality of service delivery in the government sector is poor as self-interest dominates the conduct of the
employees. The neo-liberals advocate for a public choice approach to reform the governance structure.

References


A Case for Revamping Global Development Paradigm

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Abstract
Globalisation is seen as the process of increasing the world wide integration through exchange of natural and cultural resources. Globalisation has helped in fetching acute issues that affect not only a nation but humanity at large. Human development pattern has been parasitic on nature. Man has been trying to improve his quality of life at the cost of environmental loss. There is an exigent need for sustainable development. Sustainable development is effective use of our assets so that their benefits may be availed by one and all. The essence of the concept of sustainable development is that it is away from ruthless desire of economic development. It is a holistic approach towards human development. Globalisation pays a vital role in implementing sustainable development. The world has shrunken into a single parish. One activity results into swarm of losses. Thus apt development plans at global level are vital for implementing sustainable development. The paper aims for unification of the global concern for development. The paper analysis the recent approach adopted at global level for sustainable development. It points out the flaws in our approach. Sustainable development has yet to be accomplished and requires nexuses in development strategies. The paper concludes by giving suggestions for overhauling global development pattern.

Keywords: Sustainable Development, Globalisation

Introduction
Human development has been parasitic on the natural resources. With the growth in the global standard of living, natural resources are getting depleted. All the elite persons of the past had always shown concern towards the loss of the natural resources. The quality of living has deteriorated. There has been a tussle between the uses of the resources and the natural environment. Mahatma Gandhi had said, “Earth provides enough for our needs but not for our greed.” Human have now become greedy. There has been overexploitation of the natural resources. This gave a call for sustainable development in this scenario. Sustainable development has various facets that are attached to it. It includes the political, social, environmental and economic sides. Sustainable development according to many is to preserve the resources by not using them. But in fact it is the use of the resources effectively. There has been hue and cry round the world for the lack of resources. Resources are abundantly provided to us by our motherland. The problem lies in the effective use of these resources.

Sustainable development is the use of the resources in such a manner that they are available for the present and future generations, without compromising the use of the future generation to meet their own need. Therefore sustainable development encompasses the use of resources for the present and the future generations. Sustainable
development is the processes of meeting the need of the now and the future human economic and social development within the limits of the life support system of the planet. This is a high time to get vigilant in our approach towards development otherwise it would get too late. There is danger of global warming, ozone depletion, rise in the sea level, loss of fertile soil and polluted environment. Resources are important not for fabricating life but for the very existence of life on this planet. Economic growth is not only about money, it is about how we live. Today poor are getting poor and the richer are getting richer. If money is the only tool to measure the economic growth of the world then the world has grown. But it is important to look that economic growth that we are getting is at a cost, the cost of our resources. There has to be a balance in the economic growth and development. Today we do not require economic development but we want sustainable development. The need of every being has to be met with not the demand. World has come together for the protection of the valuable resources. It is important that we work for the preservation of our environment. United nation has started calling minimum wage as living wage so as to give importance to importance of life. Use of bio fuels have started to prevent the loss of fossil fuels. Compressed Natural Gas (C.N.G.) has been used in a vehicle so as to reduce the amount of emission of greenhouse gases Planet earth has been accessed by human because of the valuable resources.

Through this paper I have try to through light upon the changes that are necessary in bringing about sustainable development in this world. The paper aims for unification of the global concern for development. The paper analysis the recent approach adopted at global level for sustainable development. It points out the flaws in our approach. Sustainable development has yet to be accomplished and requires nexuses in development strategies. The paper concludes by giving suggestions for overhauling global development pattern.

**Relationship between environment and development**

Environment and development are two sides of one coin. They cannot be separated. Environment is where one person lives whereas development is the way of improving the living standard of the being. Sustainable development does not aim at putting a bar at the use of the resources but use of these valuable resources with an intellect. The global development pattern has led to greenhouse effect, depletion of the ozone layer and other natural calamities. If we look at the standard of living of a person in past it was better. If a person is now getting abounds of money at the cost of health and environment then this development is of no use. Human development has to be in symbiosis with the natural resources. The waste has to generate in minimum quantity with the proper use of the resources. Mother earth should be able to absorb the output of our development process. Sustainable development is an approach that serves the nature and society. It acts like a bridge to fill the vacancy between the social and environmental approach towards development. Through the sustainable approach human can live with better standard of living on this planet.

There has been exponential growth in the population level in the recent times. The use of the energy resource has increased many folds. Human consumption has exceeded the carrying capacity of the planet. Development is the need of the hour. We cannot eliminate the use of the resources from our lives. Resources are part and parcel of the development process. Today there is a need for the development of new forms of energy resources which
can help in leveling the pressure from conventional sources. Economic development is important but at the same time the development in the entire sphere is important. In this era holistic development is the need of the hour.

Poverty and lack of education are the two barriers in the road of development. There is need for the upliftment of the educational level. Educational background is very important for the development of a civilized society. The development strategies have to be built on the strong foundation of education; people need clean water soil and air for their sustenance. Development of the being is the main motto of the policy of sustainable development. Policies can only be implemented when a person knows the rationale behind it. Education helps in understanding the effect of the policies on the person’s life.

Environmental Impact of the Policies
Technological development is very important in this time. Water management is important as the amount of drinkable water is getting less day by day. So it is important that we do not waste the valuable resource. Use of sprinklers instead of wasting water can help in the saving water. Bio fuels can help in the saving energy resources. There is need for the development of policies for preventing the waste of energy and power sources. Development and environment have to go hand in hand. Economic development can only be long lived if it exists with a living surrounding.

Importance of Sustainable Development
Sustainable development is the need of the hour. Sustainable development provides with the following benefits:-
- Helps in the eradication of poverty by providing food security.
- Helps in proper management of water resources.
- Reduces the climatic disaster.
- Reduces the burden of development.
- Helps in the distribution of technologies among nations at global level.
- Helps in improving the health standard of the person.
- Contributing towards the development of the renewable resources.

Global Approach
Globalization has helped a lot in giving air to the spark of sustainable development. Development pattern round the world has been under surveillance. People from varied fields have contributed towards the protection of the environmental resources. The steps that are taken by one part of the planet act as the footsteps for the other. Global concern for the devastating development pattern is shown by share of ideas. Development pattern of the being have brought us to this extent of extinction of various species of biosphere. So there is great participation at the global level to overhaul our development pattern and protect the survival of the person on this planet.

Sustainable development was viewed as a social movement. It is not now a social movement in which some people of the same ideologies have integrated for the protection of the life support system of the planet. In order to give a portico for all the people who demand for sustainable development the governmental agencies have started working at international levels.
International policies are very important for achieving sustainable development. UNCED has been instrumental in the implemental of the global policies for sustainable development. Earth summit have provided for the formulation of the strategies at global level. In these summits various NGOs have participated and shared their thoughts about the sustainable development. It was through these meeting at global level the world cane to know about sustainable development.

From time to time there have been meeting at international level for the protection of the environment. Environmental catastrophe affects every being. Loss of the resources effect the life of every being. Human is not the only living being on the planet. Loss of one specie disturbs the entire food chain. Decrease in the number of snakes have increased the number of rats and effected the grain production. In such meeting was the united nation conference for sustainable development which aimed at securing global political commitment for sustainable development. At these conferences the world agencies for the protection of the environment have worked for the development of sustainable development. Exchange of plans and technologies help in triggering sustainable development.

**Flaws in Our Approach**
The path of our development has not been sustainable. Resources are the part of the essential life support system on the planet. Meeting the fundamental needs of humanity and preserving the life support system of the planet have acted as a trigger to change the development pattern on to the road of sustainable development. Though the global approach towards sustainable development has begun but this road is full of thorns. Sustainable development cannot be achieved without the proper nexus of the social and political environment. Economic growth is not only kind of development. People have to understand that the resources are scare to meet the greed of everyone. Resources have to satisfy the need of all.

Global approach has to be operated in a smooth manner. There has to be a united approach. There is need for the development of newer technologies in this era. Newer types of non-conventional resources have to take place instead of conventional energy sources. Human have to adapt to changing environment Alternative have to be made and discovered. Technological advancement can be a way towards achieving the goal of sustainable development. The problem that lies with achieving sustainable development is changing the individual mind. Making new policies cannot help in achieving sustainable development. Global policies have to be implemented at individual levels. If one has to achieve sustainable development plans have to be implemented. People have to understand the acute problem. People find the way of sustainable development as threatening to their own values; they fear the effect of sustainable development on their own society.

The transition of the approach towards sustainable development has to be a continuous approach. Various halts have led to an uneven approach in which the policies are left to linger on. Policies die at earlier stages before they are implemented. Where these policies are put into action they loss their effect as they are often not scrutinized by proper follow ups. Regular checks and balances are very important. Surroundings change and so should our policies.
Suggestions and Conclusion

There is a need for the integration of the various systems of research and assessment. Decisions have to be implemented at a larger picture. Policies have to be put into action without any waste in time. People have to realize that it has to be a collective approach. People have to be enlightened to choose effectively. One has to be taught to segregate between need and want. Environmental education is important at every level. People have to be taught through environmental education the importance of environmental resources. Education is very important in the implementation of the approach of sustainable development. Rules have to be adhered to and people who violate laws should be punished. Parents have to guide their children onto the path of sustainable development.

Use of technologies such as electronic precipitators at the industries can help in checking the damaging factor of the waste generated. Skilled persons should be appointed to carry out the work of environmental impact assessment. Government at every level should strive towards attaining sustainable development. People should be encouraged to raise their voice to help in the protection of the natural gems. It is a high time for the implementation of comprehensive integrated policies. There policies require a humanitarian intention. There is a need for collaboration of the programs between nations. Close partnership can only help in achieving the goal of sustainable development at a global level. People are not poor because of the lack of money but because of the lack of resources to fulfill their needs. Loss of the resources is not due to the lack of availability, but due to the lack of management. Overexploitation of the resources should be banned.

Policies have not to be made on paper only they have to be implemented. Implementation of these policies is vital for the wellbeing of humanity on this planet. There is need of individual participation for their future. Sustainable development requires the participation of various stakeholders. There is a need for the change in the ideologies. Apposite values have to be coordinated and given directions. Coordination of the mutual actions can only achieve the goals of sustainable development. In the end of this odyssey of sustainable development I would like to point of that there cannot a single definition of sustainable development. Sustainable development encompasses various types of development processes in it. Sustainable development has to malleable to the changing environment. There is need for the participation of every one for the protection of the environment.

Development pattern has affected the global availability of resources. The need of the resources in the living of a human is vital. The world has now shrunken into a global village. People round the globe are striving hard for the development of newer technologies for the proper use of the resources. Global warming is increasing because of the rising level of greenhouse gases. Technologies have to be altered to meet the changing need of the people. There is the need for the integration of the trinity; economic, social and political background. Policies that are formulated have to be implemented and not left to linger on till they die. There is a grave need in changing people’s perspective. Man has to realize the importance of surrounding for his survival. In the end I would like to state that true development cannot be achieve till every mouth on this planet is fed with necessities of life.
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A Critical Review of the Right to Development: POSCO Land Acquisition Case

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Abstract
The Right to development was a significant contribution to the international human rights framework. Developing countries argued for a primary importance to their development needs, given their low levels of material well-being. This transformed the human rights discourse to legitimize multiple paths to development. This right to development of every State gains meaning only when the States themselves legitimize multiple versions of development within their jurisdiction. In the case of land acquisition in India, the State acquires land in order to cater to its developmental needs or ‘public purposes’. Different individual or group perspectives of development are not included within this notion of ‘public’. This contradicts the very idea of a right to development. Large scale land deals see an interaction of global capital flows and specific political, social structures. In the process of land acquisition and framing of ‘public purpose’, this global phenomenon becomes a contestation over right to development. This paper undertakes a critical review of the right to development framework using the lens of the land acquisition debate in the POSCO project.

Keywords: Land Acquisition, Human Rights, Development

Introduction: land ‘deals’ or land ‘grabs’?
Large scale land acquisitions are a global phenomenon today. The Indian State’s discourse on these acquisitions terms them as innocuous land ‘deals’ that do not suggest any power hierarchies embedded in the process of or in the concept of land acquisition. The alternate discourse of the ‘dispossessed’ is that of land ‘grabs’ on the other hand evokes a coercive logic to this process (Harvey, 2007). This paper situates itself precisely at the locus of these alternative spin of words in the context of the POSCO land acquisition in Odisha, India.

The individual’s right over land, or in this case, the tribal peoples’ rights over the land is situated within national laws like Forest Rights Act 2006 and the supporting international human rights frameworks. The exception to these entitlements is identified in the legitimacy of the State in acquiring land. The national legal discourse employed by the State through the Land Acquisition Act 1894 and its philosophical basis is understood. Its validity in a human rights context as sanctioned by the international human rights frameworks is then established. There is evidently a tension between the rights of the individual or groups of individuals and the rights of the State over and above these individuals.

The project undertaken by the author is to establish the basis upon which the tribal peoples whose lands are legally taken away can make claims upon the State. In this process, the paper questions the idea of development so evolved and tries to recast the role of the State.
International laws dealing with rights to property

To begin with, consider the broad area of rights to property. Right to property is enshrined within the Article 17 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN General Assembly, 1948). The International covenants on civil political rights and economic social rights however do not recognise this. One of the important reasons for its rejection from the covenants was over the issue of ‘expropriation’ of land by States and compensation (Fikre, 2009). This point is a significant indicator of the direction towards which international law veers. Since the case under consideration here is that of POSCO where the indigenous peoples’ right to land is examined, the relevant international laws examined are: United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) and ILO’s Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention No. 169.

The UNDRIP takes cognizance of the ‘historical injustice’ suffered by indigenous peoples in the light of colonization and ‘dispossession of their lands and resources’. It recognises the importance of inherent rights especially over the ‘lands, territories and resources’ and the right to development. The basis of these rights is located in the ‘political, economic and social structures and from their cultures, spiritual traditions, histories and philosophies’ (UN General Assembly, 2008). Therefore in this case, the rights established are two dimensional in nature: in part, they demand for recognition of culturally specific identity, and through such recognition they make the case for a development discourse that recognises these different paradigms of development based on identity.

The instance where the land can still be diverted for other use is when it is in public interest, according to Article 30 and so long as there is free, prior information and consent according to Article 10 (UN General Assembly, 2008). The ILO’s Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention No. 169 of 1989 is also considered a significant milestone in the development of land rights within international law (Convention concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries (ILO No. 169), 72 ILO Official Bull. 59, 1991). In recognition of the special nature of the relationship between indigenous people and their land, it makes a case for an affirmative action to uphold these rights. It lays down procedural rules to govern over any threat of arbitrary displacement of indigenous people from the land.

National Legal Frameworks

At the national level, the Forest Rights Act 2006 closely parallels the intent and provisions of these international laws. It firstly intends to ‘recognise and vest the forest. Rights and occupation in forest land in forest dwelling Scheduled Tribes and other traditional forest dwellers who have been residing in such forests for generations but whose rights could not be recorded’ (Forest Rights Act, 2006). A right over the forested land so established is primarily on the basis of the unique nature of their livelihood which is closely tied to the land itself. This is in effect recognition of their identity, manifested as a certain path of socio economic development.

This land can be diverted for other purposes according to some criteria. The clause most relevant to the case of POSCO is the condition that there should be a recommendation from the Gram Sabha in case of approval of developmental projects that require the land. The legal principle this clause espouses is that an alternative use of the land is legitimate only so long as it is made through free choice. Choice in this case is between the existing,
The two legal principles that can be abstracted therefore are those of recognition of identity of indigenous peoples and privileging their right to choose between alternating paths of development. To employ Nancy Fraser’s analytical categories, both the Forest Rights Act and these international laws try to make a case for ‘affirmative’ action by the State by recognizing and making provisions for the protection of forest rights. This is done on the grounds of cultural identity. At the same time, it makes the case for ‘transformative’ action in the realm of redefining economic development (Fraser, 1995). It is in the case of land acquisition that these rights covered by national and international frameworks most visibly fall apart. The international human rights discourse which revolves around the central tenet of territorial sovereignty and within even the provisions for land rights in national law, the State is entitled to take away any land in public interest. This was seen even within the exceptions to the laws examined above. A more explicit instance of this principle in the Indian context is the land acquisition act 1894.

**Eminent Domain**

The Land Acquisition Act 1894 allows the government to compulsorily acquire land for an indicative list of ‘public purpose’ projects. The definition of public purpose given in the law is vague and in the course of evolution of jurisprudence it has become a sole matter of executive determination (Desai, 2011). The central philosophy underlying this Act is the doctrine of eminent domain. The Land Acquisition Act not only enables the State to acquire land but also symbolizes ‘the absolute power of the state over all its territory’ (Ramanathan, 2010). This finds its origin in the definition given by Hugo Grotius, ‘The property of the subject is under the eminent domain of the state, so that the state or he who acts for it may even alienate and destroy such property, not only in cases of extreme necessity...but for ends of public utility, to which ends those who found civil society must be supposed to have intended that private ends should give way’ (Ramanathan, 2009).

In the case of POSCO, the development for which the land is taken is for targeted increase in the steel production given by the National Steel policy and the indirect effects of employment generation, foreign investment in the economy (NCAER, 2007). This notion of development is privileged over and above the uses the land is currently being put to— the betel farms, the revenue they bring, the livelihood they support, the unique nature of the ecosystem that is closely linked with the very sustenance of lives of the people.

One significant objection raised is the fact that the indigenous peoples are not significantly better off due to this project; in fact it worsens their well-being. This raises the question of who the real beneficiaries of development are or who are the public for whom the project is created. Importantly this objection refers solely to the lack of material resources and the consequent effect on well-being. This might be one attempt at establishing some grounds for individuals to erect claims over their land, by rendering the idea of intended public purpose inadequate. This however is in the realm of implementation. Moreover courts have clearly stated that the public purpose designed for is valid even if it is for the benefit for a small population (Desai, 2011). This view is based clearly on a utilitarian ethic of maximizing
happiness, where happiness in this case is defined in terms of the overall development of the nation.

On the other hand, even if the benefits of this development were to accrue to the indigenous people in the form of compensation and employment, the question still remains—what is the idea of development being privileged? In a sense the same concern of the development not improving well-being is defined here in terms of whether there is a recognition of well-being defined in their own terms; that is in terms of a different conception of development and hence well-being. As has been seen in the conception of Land Acquisition Act in India in general and in the case of POSCO where there are competing interests which define development differently, the State in the Lockean sense of the term adjudicates between these alternative conceptions of development only in so far as registering the ‘objections’ to public purpose land deals.

In sum, considering the Land Acquisition Act and the international laws reviewed above, it is to be noted that in a context of land acquisition in public interest, the scope of individual rights is limited to information, consent and compensation. Increasingly the debates and court judgments preoccupy themselves with these procedural aspects of the law instead of focusing on the very ‘concept’ of the law. Fairness is defined only procedurally and not substantively. Such allowance for States within international human rights law is given on the basis of interpretations of the right to development within the ICESCR. Developing countries have made the argument that development goal attainment is the immediate priority for them, drawing legitimacy from historical, structural experience of subordination. Human rights therefore can take a backseat according to this view (Sengupta, 2001). Therefore, a substantive relook of the Land Acquisition Act 1894 is situated squarely within the domain of definitions of development and situates possible defensible ground in the realm of the right to development.

Conclusion
Development is defined by Amartya Sen as the process of expanding real freedoms that people enjoy (Sen, 1999). From this perspective, the measure of a developmental project or a law like Land Acquisition Act that sanctions developmental projects is in terms of the extent to which it allows for the expansion of the real freedoms of people. Human rights, according to Sen also have a similar project of expanding the freedoms enjoyed by people and enabling them to lead a life that enhances their capabilities and well-being. The common project of expanding human freedoms therefore brings human rights and a freedom based definition of development together to the conceptual realm of right to development (Sen, 2005).

Right to development takes the view that every human being is entitled to expand his or her freedoms. This can occur through processes of social, economic and political development. Therefore every individual is entitled to a process of development that allows them to expand their freedoms. This entitlement to expand one’s freedoms is seen as a natural right. Therefore the State exists in order to recognize this natural right. This is expressed in Article 3 of the Declaration on Right to Development which states that the primary responsibility for the creation of national and international conditions favourable to the realization of the right to development" is of the states. Also, Article 2, clause 3 points out that "states have
the right and the duty to formulate appropriate national development policies” (as cited in, Sengupta, 2001). In the case of POSCO therefore it is arguable that there can be a substantive re-conceptualization of the very basis of land acquisition and the concept of the Land Acquisition Act1894 if the role of the State is cast thus.

Role of the State as identified is in maximizing the exercise of choice of individuals. The utilitarian principle of maximizing the greatest good of the greatest number is thus modified to mean maximizing greatest exercise of choice of the greatest number. The Lockean role of the state in adjudicating between competing interests is modified by the addition of a social justice dimension. The role of the State therefore lies in ensuring the adjudication between competing interests happens in a fair manner and fairness here is defined as the ability of the individual to exercise choice not only in the expression of interests but also have a representation of the same in the final solution adopted. Therefore it is not enough to allow for ‘recognition’ of the tribals in Odisha but also allow for their interests to get manifested in the choice of development.

Right to development by a Nation cannot be legitimate grounds to defend such projects. Within Sen’s framework of development there is no expansion of freedoms and capabilities and when development is defined in this way. Right to development to reiterate, adds strength to this idea of development as expansion of freedoms by adding a human rights element to it. It lays down that development is legitimate only so long there is expansion of freedoms and an improvement of well-being of every human person involved. Rule of law, challenging Land Acquisition in substantive terms are all possible when justice is defined thus and when the right to development can serve as the basis upon which to erect a defense.

Reference


Shipping Industry in India: Legal, Environmental and Policy Issues

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Abstract
Over 95% of the international trade happens by sea. The sustainable development of shipping industry is inevitable for international trade. Its development has an impact on marine environment, if unregulated, may lead to irreversible degradation of the ecosystem. There have been commendable efforts to promote quality shipping under the aegis of the International Maritime Organisation (IMO) and other international institutions. Unfortunately in India, the major concern is that the shipping operations are being carried out under substandard conditions raising crucial issues of pollution and safety in coastal waters. Unhindered access to sea ports is indispensable for economic progress in the current scenario of Globalisation. Equally important is to establish a balance between trade and environment. In the absence of proper access control and monitoring quality of ships, the topography of Indian ports and its navigable waters may not be environmentally secure in future. In the wake of massive port expansion programmes and globalization, this paper analyses the major legal, environmental and policy challenges connected with access and control of ships into Indian ports.

Keywords: Shipping Industry, Legal Framework, India

Introduction
Owing to globalization and the open port policy, there has been tremendous rise in maritime transport coupled with oil exploration along the Indian coastal line. In India, over 95% by volume and 70% by value of international trade happens by the sea. The country is also one among the major crude oil importers in the world. India has 13 major ports, over 197 minor ports, more than 250 fishing harbours and over 100 offshore platforms. Hence, shipping is a major industry in India and the industry is of great significance for the country’s economic development. The maritime policy of India adopts an all-inclusive approach for the port development, in order to meet the needs of dynamic shipping operations. While giving thrust to capacity building and technology infusion in maritime ports, the policy also aims for the sustainable development of ports and shipping industry. “…trade and environment are two facets of the same coin; both have to compliment mutually…at least in the sense that increasing world welfare can lead to citizen demands and governmental actions to improve protection for the environment”. In spite of these sound policy initiatives, shipping operations in India are reported to be carried out under substandard environmental and safety considerations. In the wake of massive port expansion programmes and globalization, this paper analyses the major legal, environmental and policy issues connected with shipping operations in India.
The Issue of Regulating Access to Ports

The purpose of maritime ports cannot be accomplished without facilitating free access and egress of vessels. States generally keep their ports open for foreign vessels based on reciprocity, courtesy and Port state co-operation. At the same time, the port state’s sovereignty to deny access to vessels is already established under the international law. Hence, regulating access can be used as a precautionary measure to control vessel sourced pollution. The denial of access if, not on legitimate grounds may provoke heated political arguments between the flag state and port state thereby running down the trade relations and economy.

The United States of America, the United Kingdom, and the European community of nations have made radical changes to their laws regulating access to ports. Even in the absence of specific regulations, the U.S Coast guard had denied access to foreign vessels on the ground of national security under the Special Interest Vessel Program (SIV). Similarly, if the events occurring on high seas had any ‘effects’ on the vessel of another flag state or on the territory of a state, no rule in international law would prevent those states from initiating legal proceedings against the transgressing vessels. No country other than the United States would have applied this ‘vital interest theory’ or ‘effects doctrine’, very intensely to secure its national interests.

In India, the Territorial Waters, Continental Shelf, Exclusive Economic Zone and other Maritime Zones Act, 1976 (here in after the MZA76), gives the central government sovereignty to deny access to all or any class of vessel, if the voyage is a threat to the peace, good order or security of India. Under this Act, all foreign ships except warships and submarines can enjoy innocent passage through the territorial waters, unless such passage is prejudicial to the peace, good order or security of the country. In spite of this wide power to restrict the entry of polluting vessels, many of them find easy access to our ports and navigate freely through the territorial waters of India. A prominent reason is that the MZA 76 and the rules thereunder set no clear criteria for denying the access. Hence, what constitutes a threat to peace, good order or security of India is often a political consideration rather than a question of law.

This legal crisis has been vehemently used by the Ship breaking industry for illegal benefits. This is a major industry giving employment opportunities to many millions and generating immense revenue for the governments. Yet, it operates under substandard conditions in India. If, the provisions of MZA 76 had clearly laid down the criteria for denying access to ports, India would not have become the junkyard of “ghost ships” of the western world. Consequently, judicial approaches on whether to allow access for these ships to Indian ports remain conflicting. For example, in the Clemenceau case, the French warship at the time of its phasing out had 130 tons of asbestos and other toxic wastes on board. It was not given access to ports worldwide subsequently. In December 2005, it left for Alang, in India for ship breaking. In January 2006, owing to huge public appraisal and media attention, a petition came up before the Supreme Court of India and the Court had issued a temporary order prohibiting the vessel’s entry to the Alang port. The court had expressed a strong view to strike a balance between economic development and environmental protection.
In the Blue Lady Case\textsuperscript{16}, the major issue in question was whether Alang had technological sophistication for safe ship dismantling. Ignoring the opinion of the High Level Expert Committee that Alang never had the technology sophistication to dismantle vessels in an eco-friendly manner, the Supreme Court of India ordered for the entry of the vessel into Alang and allowed its dismantling. According to court, sustainable development also means balancing ‘the priorities of economic development and environmental protection’.

**Indian Admiralty Law: Still in its infancy**

The Indian legislature has not taken notice of the day to day dynamism in maritime operations and the modernization of admiralty jurisdiction in other countries. The British Statute Repeal Act abolished over 250 British statutes but the Admiralty law remained untouched. The Government of India, following the Law Commission Reports\textsuperscript{17}, the Parveen Singh Committee\textsuperscript{18} and pressures from all stake holders in the industry had introduced the Admiralty Bill in 2005. No concrete efforts towards consolidating the admiralty law in India had happened after that. As such there are serious vacuums and ambiguities in Admiralty law especially on adjudication of maritime claims as to safety and pollution control in ports, wreck removal, salvage, planning, preparedness and response in case of maritime casualties, the Coast Guard’s powers to implement the contingency planning, surveillance and monitoring of vessels, civil liability in case of oil spills, giving access to vessels in distress etc.

**The Ambiguity of Admiralty Jurisdiction**

Yet another critical issue is that India is not having a consolidated law on admiralty jurisdiction. The admiralty jurisdiction in India is still governed by a few colonial legislations; the Admiralty Court Act, 1861, the Colonial Courts of Admiralty Act, 1890 and the Colonial Courts of Admiralty (India) Act, 1891. It can be said that the Admiralty jurisdiction of India is a consolidated effect of the Articles 372, 225, 226 & 227 of the Constitution of India, Section 443 of the Merchant Shipping Act and the decision in *M.V. Elizabeth’s case*\textsuperscript{19}. In that case, the Supreme Court of India had expressed its deep anguish over application of colonial laws to Indian cases of admiralty.

The vagueness in the substantive law has created a situation where judges are forced to rely on procedural rules. And, this has caused serious deterioration in the standards of adjudication of maritime disputes in India. A handful of shipping legislations confer civil and criminal jurisdiction in admiralty matters to the Magistrate courts thereunder and this has created issues of overlapping jurisdictions. Ultimately, Port State Jurisdiction and the enforcement regime of Indian Administration have become all bark and no bite. *The Enrica Lexie* is the latest case on this point.

**The Enrica Lexie**

The Indian Administration vide its circular dated 29\textsuperscript{th} August 2011, had issued guidelines on the deployment of armed security guards on its merchant ships as a deterrent counter-piracy measure. In *the Enrica Lexie case*\textsuperscript{20}, one of the prominent reasons for jurisdictional conflict between India and Italy may be the absence of global standards and strict Rules for the use of Armed Forces on Merchant ships. In the present scenario, the Coastal State’s law enforcement agencies and their security task forces will have to face serious legal and political repercussions when exercising jurisdiction over vessels deployed with armed forces.
In the United States of America and other developed countries, the Admiralty Jurisdiction is well developed and is actively supported by criminal laws of the land. This is not the case in India. Under section 361 of the Merchant Shipping Act 1958, a magistrate is required to make only a formal enquiry upon a maritime casualty and may forward the case to the proper court, if necessary. In the said case, the crime was primarily charged under the Indian Penal Code. Had the offence been charged also under the Admiralty law, the families of the deceased seamen could have claimed proper compensation? As long as the Admiralty law is not consolidated and ambiguity continues, it will be very difficult to adjudicate such cases and fix liability under the civil liability regime. Instead of addressing to these vital issues, the government has rather politicized the case.

Weak Port State Control Regime (PSC)
India is a member of the Indian Ocean Memorandum of Understanding on Port State Control (IMOU). The Port State Control Officers (PSCOs) inspect foreign ships in national ports to verify the compliance of international conventions on shipping. In the year 2012, out of the total 5051 inspections carried out by the member states, India had done around 634, out of which 518 inspections were identified with deficiencies. The total number of detentions was just 119. The number of detentions is less primarily because of the weak enforcement of environmental regulations in ports. There are neither dedicated department nor sufficient officers for PSC. Its functioning is included under the Mercantile Marine Department which has several other duties to perform under its wing, thereby unable to effectively perform its role as PSC Authority.

The far-reaching changes made in the international Conventions on vessel safety and pollution control are merely repeated in verbatim in the rules framed under the Merchant Shipping Act and by means of circulars issued by the Director General of Shipping in India. The Indian Ports Act 1908 is obsolete and does not incorporate these changes into the port regulations. Considering the urgency and critical nature of the issue, the Indian Ports Bill 2011 is under consideration. Once enacted this new Act will replace the Indian Ports Act 1908 and the Major Port Trust Act 1963. Hence, the Indian standards of PSC are very mediocre and the inspections conducted by Indian PSCOs are definitely below the target specified under the international law. This has facilitated the hassle free entry of unseaworthy vessels and increased pollution incidents in Ports.

Segregation of Enforcement Powers on various Ministries and Departments- Ambiguity as to the Powers of the Indian Coast Guard
In India, provisions to ensure sustainable shipping lay scattered in a handful of legislations making it difficult to co-ordinate the enforcement under a single agency, especially in cases of marine pollution. Chapter II, Section 4 of the Coast Guard Act, authorizes the Coast Guard of India, to ensure the security of maritime zones of India, which includes control of marine pollution. The Coast Guard has the responsibility to prevent and protect the marine environment of the Country and ensure safety in territorial waters.

Under the provisions of the Indian Ports Act 1908 and the Major Port Trust Act 1963, the Port Trust acting through the Conservator of Ports has to ensure safety and pollution control within the Port area. At present the Indian Coast Guard (ICG) is exercising its functional responsibilities such as surveillance, combating oil spills, central co-ordination of the
National Oil Spill Contingency Plan (NOS-DCP), inspection of vessels to ensure seaworthiness and detention of violators of anti-pollution provisions under section 356(g)(1) of the M.S. Act 1958, only beyond the port limits. Hence, the Port conservator should get sufficient information from the ICG before taking any action against the violators. Unless this process is well co-ordinated and fast, timely detentions and control measures may not be effective. The Ministry of Environment and Forest also has functional responsibility to monitor and take remedial action in the event of marine pollution along the coastal side or beaches.

By clearly defining the role and hierarchy of enforcement agencies and by streamlining their activities under a central agency, i.e. the ICG, the enforcement regime could be made more efficient. The Indian Coast Guard Act should be revised so as to confer definite powers to ICG as the nodal agency to monitor, survey, enforce and punish the offenders contributing to pollution in the Indian waters instead of demarcating the same under different laws upon a handful of bureaucratic agencies.

Conclusions and Suggestions
The Maritime Policy aims for sustainable development of the shipping industry. The Indian law on Admiralty is not in pace with the dynamism in shipping operations. Unless, the law is consolidated and well defined, India’s Ports state Jurisdiction will not be effective and in tune with the international regime. The Port State Control should be made an independent arm of the Port Authority which can solely dedicate its manpower and resources to control and monitor the vessels calling at Indian Waters thereby increasing its effectiveness. If the entries of inferior quality ships are not regulated judiciously, it may question the very existence of the ports; the trade and economic prospects of the country will be in turmoil.

End-notes
5 Jacson, World Trade Rules and Environmental Policies: Congruence or Conflict? 49 Wash & Lee. Rev.1227, P.1
7 Articles 25(2), 211(3), 218 and 219 of the United Nations Convention on Law of the Sea 1982 (UNCLOS III) & under the provisions of major IMO Conventions such as the SOLAS 74, MARPOL 73/78, STCW 78 etc.
8. The U.S. Ports and Waterways Safety Act and the Regulations under the Deep Water Ports Act, 1974 vests with the United States Government the power to deny entry to foreign vessels.


10. In U.S. v. Aluminium Co. of America 148 F.2d 416, the American court has made the classic statement: “any state may impose liabilities, even upon persons not within its allegiance, for conduct outside its borders that has consequences within its borders which the state reprehends”

11. Section 4 of MZA, 1976

12. Ibid, Cl.3


15. From the green peace fact sheet, Retrieved from http://www.greenpeace.org


17. Thirteenth Law Commission of India, in its 151st report dated August 1995, had expressed the view that “…legislation in admiralty law was imperative; both as a matter of prestige and a necessity”.

18. In 1986, the Ministry of Surface Transport had appointed the Parveen Singh committee under the chairmanship of the Director General shipping, Sri. Parveen Singh, to study about the prospective changes that are needed in admiralty law in India. The committee had recommended for the consolidation of Admiralty Courts Act.


20. Massimilano Latorre v. Union of India, (2012) 252 KLR 794; Republic of Italy thr. Ambassador and Ors. V.Union of India (UOI) and Ors. Special Leave Petition (Civil) No. 135 of 2012, reported in Manupatra.


24. Ibid, Section 14 (1) and (2), Cls. (a)- (f)


Globalization and Social Movements in North India: 
A Comparative Analysis of Select Agitations for Justice

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Abstract
This paper deals with globalization and social movements in India by undertaking a comparative analysis of three contrasting agitations for justice in north India, namely, anti-corruption and anti-rape agitations in Delhi and, pro-reservation agitations in Haryana and Rajasthan. It explains how globalization has come to inform the agendas of these three agitations. In so doing, an attempt is made to compare and contrast the nature of various contributing factors for the agitations such as ideology, leadership, organization, participation, and state responses. Following this, the paper points out commonalities in these agitations and then it tries to highlight the impact of globalization on them. Next, it submits a dialectical relationship between globalization and social movements in India. It suggests that this relationship is characterized by growing discontentment in civil society, which is contributing for changing trends of mass mobilization in north India. The paper ends with a concluding remark on new social movements in India. The paper is based on online and offline media reports and archival sources such as books, journals, various governmental and non-governmental research organizations’ reports etc.

Keywords: Globalization, Social Movement, Discontentment, Justice

Introduction
Scholars who justify plurality of human understanding rightly argue that in a diversified and rapidly globalizing human life, exclusive reliance upon a single and universally non-applicable conceptual framework involves the risk of missing out benefits of alternative conceptual frameworks. They also argue, in order to understand issues of diversity and difference, one need to take into account the context behind such alternative frameworks. Accordingly, one can hypothesize that the linkage between globalization, social movements, and justice is contextual and non-universal. This paper examines this hypothesis by illustrating three agitations in the light of Amartya Sen’s capability approach to justice against the backdrop of globalization.

The paper discusses anti-corruption and anti-rape agitations in Delhi and, pro-reservation agitations in Haryana and Rajasthan with the objective to highlight changing patterns of mass protests and shifting goals of justice—from welfare measures to capability building initiatives. It explains how globalization has come to inform their agendas, points out commonalities in them and, compares various factors such as ideology, leadership, organization, participation, and state responses. The main concern of this paper is to examine the question whether these agitations support a dialectical linkage between globalization and social movements. The paper is based on online and offline media reports
and archival sources such as books, journals, various governmental and non-governmental research organizations’ reports etc. It consists of three sections. The first section clarifies key concepts, next section discusses three agitations; and, the final section analyzes them. The paper ends with a concluding remark on globalization and social movements.

**Conceptual Aspects**

**Globalization:** Scholars such as D.L. Seth (2004) treat globalization as a discourse that entered on the political scene as a “triumphalist grand-narrative” with the capacity to undermine the discourse of alternative development—evolved by micro-movements against the centralized hegemonic model of development. This discourse of globalization was aimed at establishing a new global order in the form of one polity, one economy and one culture (p.46).

According to Seth, social movements in India have perceived this discourse as a challenge to the process of democratization because it acts as a force seeking to undermine and de-legitimize institutions of democratic governance and to undo India’s democratic revolution. He argues that this sort of perception (aimed at opposition to universalization of a centralized economic and political order) has brought many micro movements together at the provincial and national level (p. 45). He also suggests that this discourse is embedded in the process of globalization and that it has informed social movements’ nature and scope in India in many ways. One can interpret his views in terms of a suggestion pointing to dialectical linkage between globalization and social movements.

**Social Movements:** Scholars such as Ghanshyam Shah (1990), M.S.A Rao (1979), and many others have tried to interpret social movements for justice in India from various angles. For example, while dealing with conceptual aspect of social movements, Rao focuses on its sustainability aspect. For him, one of the necessary features of a social movement is an essentially sustained collective mobilization for bringing about either partial or total change in the existing system of relationships, values and norms in the light of an ideology through either formal or informal organization. Such type of collective mobilization is directly related to the nature of leadership and organization (pp.1-2, 7). Further, as Shah suggests, leadership and organization along with objectives, ideology, and programmes are interdependent components of social movements which influence each other (p.18).

According to Rao, leadership plays crucial role in formulating ideology and ideology in turn remains central to directing the course of a social movement. Leadership in its various forms helps not only in shaping organizational aspects such as structures of federal and local associations but also plays a significant role in evolving different levels of commitment to ideology of a social movement. Ideology engages leadership in establishing identity of a group in relation to other groups which involves recognition of the presence of opposition reference groups, for relative deprivation by its very definition indicates an unequal relationship among various groups. The situational perception of each other’s relative status determines the intensity of relative deprivation which decides the nature and direction of a social movement (pp. 7-10). The question of minimizing conditions of relative deprivation involves the idea of justice with its own demands.
Justice: The idea of justice, according to Amartya Sen (2009), involves at least three necessary demands: Justice must tell us the ways of reducing injustice and advancing justice; ways of reducing injustice must be based on reasoning and impartial scrutiny; and, remedial injustice needs to be seen in connection with behavioural transgressions rather than with institutional shortcomings because “justice is ultimately connected with the way people’s lives go, and not merely with the nature of the institutions surrounding them” (pp. vii, ix). While explaining the enlightenment philosophy’s progress in the two directions of transcendental institutionalism and realization—focused comparisons Sen identifies central significance of redressable injustice by citing the importance of long term implications of the focus on actual lives in the assessment of justice for its nature and extent. For him, practical concerns are not less important than theoretical reasoning in the analysis of justice (pp. xi, xii). Hence, Sen explicitly declares his departure from transcendental institutionalism and, with the help of realization-focused comparisons, arrives at capability approach.

Sen argues that capability approach is inescapably concerned with plurality of different features of our lives and concerns. As such it focuses on human life and proposes “a serious departure from concentrating on the means of living to the actual opportunities of living”, and points to “an informational focus in judging and comparing overall individual advantages, and does not, on its own, propose any specific formula about how that information may be used” (pp. 231-233). Capability approach, hence, views justice as a realizable task to enhancing the scope of opportunities available to individuals in the public sphere. Keeping this alternative conceptual framework of social movements and justice in view, I now briefly discuss anti-corruption, anti-rape, and pro-reservation agitations.

Three Agitations

Anti-Corruption Agitation: This agitation was formally started with Anna Hazare’s “indefinite fast” on 5th April 2011 in Delhi. “Team Anna” (Anna Hazare’s core advisory members and followers from middle class including Arvind Kejriwal, Kiran Bedi, Prashant Bhushan, Shanti Bhushan and Santosh Hegde) and yoga guru swami Ramdev supported it. During 2011-12, Delhi witnessed large scale mass protests against corruption. Initially the protest was limited to middle class in urban areas, latter on it spread to many rural areas of India. The new media, middle class and, to some extent, people from different walks of life played major role in this agitation (Harindranath and Khorana, 2013; Menon and Nigam, 2011; Sitapati, 2011).

The state response was full of confusion and dilemma—negotiation loaded with persuasion and coercion loaded with police action. The agitation initially did not entertain political parties, latter on Team Anna shared political platforms with some political party leaders. One important characteristic of this agitation has been the focus on Aam Admi (common man). However, critics such as Right to Information activist Aruna Roy and others claim that this agitation lacked demands of Aam Admi because it focused exclusively on elimination of corruption through a highly centralized and authoritarian mechanism of Jan Lokpal thereby ignoring diversified plurality of social life (The Hindu, April 17, 2011).
Anti-Rape Agitation: It all started when media in India highlighted a case of gang rape and murder of a 23 years old women that occurred on 16 December 2012 near Munirka in Delhi. According to media reports, the victim was born in Delhi and brought up in the city by her parents who had migrated there to ensure better life after selling their agricultural land in a small village of Ballia district in Uttar Pradesh. Within five days the case attracted urban middle class, many of whom protested in New Delhi at India Gate and Raisina Hills on 21st December. After the woman’s death, protests took place in many cities all over India including Hyderabad, Mumbai, Bangalore, Chennai, Kolkata, Kochi, Visakhapatnam, and Thiruvananthapuram. The state responded by constituting Justice Verma Committee on 22 December 2012 (The Criminal Law [Amendment] Ordinance, 2013 has incorporated many recommendations of this committee). On 13th September 2013, judiciary delivered final verdict on this case by sentencing four of the six criminals to death by hanging, with this the agitation got over.

Pro-Reservation Agitations: For many decades, Gujjars of Rajasthan have been persistently demanding Scheduled Tribe (ST) status which, if granted, will replace their current Other Backward Class status. Recently, Gujjars of Rajasthan raised this issue during the year 2003; it was transformed into a political demand during the then state electoral politics. Since then it has become a major political issue for both Gujjars and political parties. The issue caused violence in 2006-2007. The state government of Rajasthan, political parties and Gujjars under the leadership of Col. Bainsla (a retired army person from Karauli district of Rajasthan) tried to negotiate reservation criteria during the years 2008 to 2011. Recently, Gujjars got 5% reservation under a new category called Special Backward Classes (The Times of India, Nov 28, 2012). However, Gujjar leadership is dissatisfied with this categorization as it includes some other classes also. Their demands for justice are still focused on separate reservation within Scheduled Tribes (The Hindu, Nov 29, 2012).

Meanwhile, Jats of Haryana have been agitating for inclusion in the Other Backward Classes, they claim that it is unfair to include them in the General Category (While the Jats in Rajasthan [except in Bharatpur and Dhaulpur Districts] are included in the Central List of OBCs, the Jats of Haryana do not figure in the list). The demand of inclusion in the OBCs from jats of Haryana involves factors other than mere securing reservations in the public sphere on the ground of backwardness.

Interestingly, both the states have population belonging to Gujjars and Jats and, both the castes differ in their socio-economic profile in Rajasthan and Haryana. While Jats are influential in both the states Gujjars lack such influence in these states. Further, both the states differ in terms of their performance regarding development and participatory democracy. Yet, the main issue behind the agitations is the reservation policy. Given, the puzzle (why the two socially, economically, and politically varied sections of society from the two socially, economically, and politically varied states are demanding reservations?) needs to be understood against the backdrop of globalization.

Analysis
The three agitations discussed above are concerned with the idea of justice. There is a close linkage between media, middle class and globalization in these agitations. Despite this
similarity, they differ in terms of leadership, organization, demands of justice, and the local geographic landscape and segments of society they cover.

**Demands of Justice:** If one looks at these agitations from Sen’s capability approach, one notices substantial differences between the capabilities of “Team Anna” and their followers, of anti-rape protesters, and of pro-reservation agitators. Grounded in the strong middle class leadership and urban followers, the demands for justice coming from this agitation can be linked to what Sen has called transcendental institutionalism.

Sen (2009) argues that transcendental institutionalism (a) emphasizes abstraction in terms of perfect justice, (b) aims at “identifying the nature of ‘the just’, rather than finding some criteria for an alternative being ‘less unjust’ than another”, and (c) instead of directly focusing on “the actual societies that would ultimately emerge”, it “concentrates primarily on getting the institutions right” (pp. 5-6). The agenda of anti-corruption agitation (ensuring justice for all through legal measures such as Jan Lokpal Bill and promotion of participatory democracy with the help of active civil society in rural and urban India) seems to support transcendental institutionalism.

Anti-rape and pro-reservation agitations can be grounded in the realization-focused comparisons. Unlike transcendental institutionalism, realization-focused comparisons, as Sen would argue, view the actual differences in terms of abilities that are realizable but due to artificial constraints (such as caste, class, and gender based stereotypes) the concerned segments of society such as women, backwards etc feel disadvantaged and excluded from this process of realizing individual abilities. This approach demands minimization of injustice caused due to artificial constraints and maximization of justice to help capability building of these segments.

Anti-rape protesters and pro-reservation protesters’ demands for reshaping legal framework to enhancing capability of underprivileged segments of society are aimed at bringing about social transformation through development initiatives such as rationalization of reservation policy and strict anti-rape laws. Seen from legal angle, these agitations can be grounded in realizable legal reforms. They, however, cannot be easily delinked from the discourse of globalization.

**Leadership and Mobilization:** If one examines the nature of anti-corruption agitation, one notices absence of a strong leadership and organization in it. It emerged abruptly as a strong expression of existing discontent among youth in urban areas. It shows that urban basis of mass mobilization remains selective and non-sustainable partly because of changing profile of urban youth (many of whom are college/university students coming from rural areas in search of better employment opportunities, lower middle class people employed in private sector and so on).

The extent of anti-corruption agitation remained limited to urban areas—there was hardly any media report during the anti-rape agitation on similar protests in rural areas of India. Further, one rarely hears about such large scale agitations in urban areas when more tragic and inhuman crimes of rape and murder take place in rural areas of India (This apparent difference in the nature and extent of media coverage of rape and murder cases in rural and
urban areas of India, and subsequent reactions of civil society actors point to the existing gap between rural and urban India). One may, therefore, rightly claim that neither media takes them as a matter of public importance nor the enlightened middle class in rural and urban areas raise demands of justice in these cases.

Impact of Globalization: In the wake of market driven reforms and rolling back of the state, the problem of widening distances at community level has given rise to a non-sustainable pattern of urban society wherein urban population itself is struggling for a dignified human life, let alone the question of addressing problems of those rural migrants who have settled at the peripheries of rapidly growing mega cities. The political economy of rural areas and urban peripheries has become a means to the end of giant market players.

Unemployment is driving rural youth and disadvantaged families from draught affected and non-productive agricultural fields in rural areas to the peripheries of urban areas where they are confronted with the problem of integrating themselves with the urban population. Partly because of a centralized political economy, human relations at family and community levels are going through transitional phase in both urban and rural areas. It is against this impact of the discourse of globalization on rural economy that pro-reservation agitations have surfaced in a geographic landscape which is surrounded by reluctant state and powerful market players.

Further, pro-reservation agitations, driven by the demand for rationalization of reservation policy (based on cultural roots), negate the logic of universal reach of the benefits of popularly imagined safe and humane society propagated as one world by the discourse of globalization. It also negates the claim that technology driven and market dominated public spheres can be good measures of human happiness. On the other hand, anti-corruption agitation negates the logic of coextensive relationship between good or bad human behavior and material richness or poverty.

Conclusion
It becomes clear that the nature and extent of select agitations in terms of organization, leadership and mobilization seems to support contextual and non-universal nature of social movements in the context of globalization. Apparently, it also supports the assumption that plurality of human understanding in terms of diversity and difference can be analyzed better when the larger context behind social movements is taken into account. Seen in the light of this argument, one can say that globalization has contributed for the rise of localized or decentralized social movements; few social movements are demonstrating distance from the idea of a sustained collective mobilization against state.

Mobilization is being used by some contemporary social movements less as an instrument of upward social mobility in a hierarchical society like India and more as a vehicle of social transformation through capability building of individuals at local level; this shows that the goal of justice for such movements is not to fulfill the dream of perfect institutions, rather it is to realize available opportunities such as freedom of development and justice in an accessible and impartial democratic system by reducing obstacles in that process. Instead of acting as petitioners in a centralized representative democracy, agitations such as anti-corruption, anti-rape, and pro-reservation demonstrate characteristics of decentralized,
participatory and democratic voices against injustice. Instead of merely demanding a share in some state sponsored and regulated welfare measures, these social movements seem to have adopted capability approach to the idea of justice wherein assertive community participation in resource mobilization and policy framing is increasingly gaining ground.

To sum up, globalization has contributed, unwittingly, for the revival of alternative models of development as one of the central themes of protest in the wake of ever increasing crises of market economy, increasing emphasis on service economy and weakening tradition of community driven agrarian economy. One can ground the linkage between globalization and social movements in a dialectical relationship: Globalization is contributing for the changing nature and scope of social movements and social movements are contributing for the deepening of post-globalization discourse on justice—which is increasingly accommodating realizable plural thinking such as capability approach and participatory democracy.

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Globalization through the Ages:
Paradigm Shift in Social, Economic & Cultural Trends

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Abstract
Ever since the process of globalization has started it gives an impression of large scale changes. It appears as an integration of cultures, societies, market economy, technologies and nations. All the individuals groups, corporations have come closer in one sense. Scholars view globalization not as an inexorable process but as a deliberate, ideological project of economic liberalization. It conveys a message that something new is happening to the world. Historically globalization has been a process with highs and lows and there has been a rapid integration of the economies in terms of trade flows, movement of capital and migration of people. Globalization leads to loss of national sovereignty and imposes constraints on the pursuits of independent domestic policies. Globalization has become an expression of common usage and it refers to different things to different people. It appears as purely an economic concept but has repercussions in other fields also. If speaking broadly, globalization means integration of economies and societies through ideas, information technology, capital finance and people. The essence of globalization seems as connectivity but fear of cultural hegemony somewhere and some around haunts.

Keywords: Globalization, Society, Economy, Culture

Introduction
The term globalization is derived from the word globalize, which refers to the emergence of an international network of social and economic systems. The concept of globalization has inspired competing definitions and interpretations, with antecedents dating back to the great movements of trade and empire across Asia and the Indian Ocean but due to the complexity of the concept, it remain focused on a single aspect of globalization with various repercussions. Globalization is used to describe a wide range of things. It means integration of economies and societies through cross-country information, ideas, technologies, goods, capital and people. The essence is connectivity and cultural, social, economic and political integration. Globalization has become an expression of common usage. It connotes different things to different people. Countries find it increasingly difficult to follow independent domestic policies. It means globalization leads to a loss of national sovereignty and imposes constraints on the pursuits independent national policies.

The term globalization has been in increasing use since the mid-1980s and especially in 1990s. The depth of meanings seems to be getting bigger rather than narrowing over the years, taking into account political, cultural and other intonations in addition to the economic ones. Globalization processes affect and also get affected by social change, economies, culture and environment, workforce etc.
With regards to trade and transactions, developing countries increased their share of world trade, from 19 percent in 1971 to 29 percent in 1999. However, there is great variation among the major regions. Asia prospered, while African countries as a whole performed poorly. The makeup of a country's exports is an important indicator for success, commodities' share of total exports declined over the period of time. Trade, transaction, capital and investment movements can be highlighted as the basic aspect of globalization. The migration and movement of people can also be highlighted as a prominent feature of the globalization process. In the period between 1965–90, the proportion of the labor forces migrating approximately doubled.

Using economies of scale while rapid population growth created sustained demand for commodities. Globalization in this period was decisively shaped by nineteenth-century imperialism. An agreement by major governments to lay down the framework for international monetary policy, commerce and finance, and the founding of several international institutions intended to facilitate economic growth multiple rounds of trade opening simplified and lowered trade barriers. Initially, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), led to a series of agreements to remove trade restrictions. GATT's successor was the World Trade Organization (WTO), which created an institution to manage the trading system. In the late 19th century and early 20th century, the connectedness of the world's economies and cultures grew very quickly. This slowed down from the 1910s onward due to the World Wars and the Cold War. Trade and globalization have evolved tremendously today. Globalized society offers a complex web of forces and factors that bring people, cultures, markets, beliefs and practices into increasingly greater proximity to one another.

Cultural globalization has increased cross-cultural contacts but may be accompanied by a decrease in the uniqueness of once-isolated communities. Globalization's contribution to the alienation of individuals from their traditions. Globalization has expanded recreational opportunities by spreading pop culture, particularly via the Internet and satellite television, but drifting away from its own. Globalization was predominantly driven by the outward flow of culture and economic activity. The term globalization implies transformation. Cultural practices including traditional music can be lost or turned into a fusion of traditions. Globalization can lead performers to discard traditional instruments and this translated into the loss of local musical identity. These likes and tastes are greatly influenced by culture as this is the most basic cause for a person's wants and behavior. The concept of one's own culture is now in a period of change due to globalization. Globalization has increased the interdependency of political, personal, cultural, social and economic factors.

While multilingualism is common among individuals, globally the number of spoken languages is decreasing. Speakers of regional and minority languages are increasingly unable to compete with those who speak dominant languages. The main opposition consisted of socialists, environmental groups, and nationalists. Polarization increased dramatically after the establishment of the WTO in 1995; this event and subsequent protests led to a large-scale anti-globalization movement. Less educated workers, who were more likely to compete with immigrants and workers in developing countries, tended to be opponents.
Globalization may ultimately reduce the importance of nation states. Supranational institutions. Many in developing countries see globalization as a positive force that lifts them out of poverty, but those opposing globalization typically combine environmental concerns with nationalism. Opponents consider governments as agents of neo-colonialism that are subservient to multinational corporations. Much of this criticism comes from the middle class; this was due to the middle class perceived upwardly mobile low-income groups as threatening to their economic security.

Though there are economic advantages of Internet-enabled commerce, there is also evidence that some aspects of the internet such as maps and location-aware services may serve to reinforce economic inequality and the digital divide. Social scientists have warned of the possibility that global civilization is due for a period of contraction and economic re-localization due to a decline in fossil fuels and resulting crises in transportation and food production.

Human challenges to the natural environment, such as climate change, cross-boundary water and air pollution, over-fishing of the ocean, and the spread of invasive species require at least transnational and, often, global solutions. Since factories in developing countries increased global output and experienced less environmental regulation, globally there have been substantial increases in pollution and its impact on water resources. The time between distances is shrinking between continents and countries due to globalization, causing developing and developed countries to find new ways to solve problems on a global rather than regional scale. Agencies like the United Nations now must be the global regulators of pollution, whereas before, regional governance was enough. Action has been taken by the United Nations to monitor and reduce atmospheric pollutants through the Kyoto Protocol, the UN clean initiative of studies of air pollution and public policy. Global traffic, production, and consumption are causing increased global levels of air pollutants. The northern hemisphere has been the leading producer of carbon monoxide and sulfur oxides.

Reactions to processes contributing to globalization have varied widely with a history as long as extraterritorial contact and trade. Proponents of economic growth, expansion and development, in general, say that globalizing processes as desirable, while antagonists opine that one or more globalizing processes as detrimental to social well-being on a global or local scale leads to the social structural inequality and cultural misappropriation. Globalization oppose to capital market integration, social justice and inequality, anti-consumerism, anti-global governance and environmentalist opposition.

Critiques of globalization generally discuss about the surrounding and about the impact of such processes on the planet as well as the human costs. They target directly traditional metrics, point to a "multitude of interconnected fatal consequences—social disintegration, a breakdown of democracy, more rapid and extensive deterioration of the environment, the spread of new diseases, increasing poverty and alienation", which are claimed the unintended consequences of globalization.

Globalization is harming the diversity of cultures. As a dominating country's culture is introduced into a receiving country through globalization, it can become a threat to the diversity of local culture. Globalization may ultimately lead to Americanization of culture,
where the dominating cultural concepts of economically and politically powerful Western countries spread and cause harm on local cultures. The developed countries produce 90 percent of the hazardous wastes produced around the world every year. Global free trade has globalized this environmental destruction in an asymmetric pattern. The economy is controlled by Northern corporations and they are increasingly exploiting resources of less wealthy countries for their global activities while it is the South that is disproportionately bearing the environmental burden of the globalized economy. Globalization is thus leading to a type of environmental segregation.

In order to cut down costs, many firms in developed nations have outsourced their manufacturing and white-collar jobs to Third-World countries, where the cost of labor is low. argue that globalization has led to an increase in activities such as child labor and slavery. In countries with little or no accountability, corporations employing children can work smoothly by bribing the officials, which may be resulted in the increase in illegal activities. Critics opine that globalization has resulted in a fiercely-competitive global market, and unethical practices in business is a by-product of this. Globalization may have inadvertently helped terrorists and criminals. Globalization is an idea that humans, materials, food etc. be allowed to travel freely across the borders, making them vulnerable. Environmental degradation is an issue which has been debated ferociously in various international meetings, and it has to be accepted that globalization is one of the most important factors that has aggravated the situation. The amount of raw materials needed to run industries and factories is taking a toll on the natural reserves of planet earth, and pollution has severely impacted the quality of air that we need so very much for our survival.

Though Globalisation has brought in new opportunities to developing countries. Greater access to developed country markets and technology transfer hold out promise improved productivity and higher living standard. But globalisation has also thrown up new challenges like growing inequality across and within nations, volatility in financial market and environmental deteriorations. is to remind the academic world, and the world at large, of ways to proactively address economic and social transformation. Therefore, research paradigms get materialised and become accountable to academic inspection and introspection. Understanding the current status of globalisation is necessary for setting course for future. For all nations to reap the full benefits of globalisation it is essential to create a level playing field.

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Globalization & Identity Politics

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Abstract
Globalization and identity politics are the conflicting entities of the present day international politics. This paper will concentrate upon various aspects of globalization and identity politics. Globalization is not only another word for the growing transnational economy. It is true that it is largely driven by technology and economic interests, but it must be kept in mind that it encompasses a wide range of processes that are not in themselves technological or economic, for example, the human rights discourse that happened in the second half of the 20th century. On one hand we see the getting together of different societies and gradually transforming this world into a global village and, on the other hand, we find identity politics in the form of clash of civilizations, class struggle, fights among different ethnic groups, religions, cultures etc. The paper will extensively discuss about different aspects of identity politics and the role it plays in the global scenario. This paper will also contain some global theories of international importance and their relation with identity politics. The scenario of identity politics in India will also be concentrated upon in the research paper. The researcher believes that identity politics is the definite outcome of globalization and will examine this through various illustrations from the recent past. All the major viewpoints and discussions on this topic will be incorporated and then the researcher would like to draw a logical conclusion from it and will also suggest on how to overcome this longstanding conflict.

Keywords: Globalization, Identity, Politics

Introduction
Identity Politics is a political activity that revolves around a particular identity. Now, the question arises: What is identity? The identity of a person is unique and personal. A person usually has a lot of identities and this includes professional, linguistic, economic, physical, religious identities to name a few. All these taken together makes up the personal identity of an individual. But political identity simplifies personal identity and mobilizes people on the basis of the identity that he or she perceives to be the defining identity. Thus, identity politics looks at the society as a number of tiny little boxes having their own problems. The theorists of identity politics say that only the members of a particular identity can understand the oppression that it is undergoing and the problems that they have to face. Therefore, a ‘white’ who advocates for equal rights to be given to a ‘black’ cannot take part in their movement just because he is ‘white’. So, it divides the society on the basis of identity and discourages participation of people who would have, otherwise, participated in the movement. Globalization, on the other hand is a unifying force which tries to look at the whole world as a single place. Identity politics is to some extent an outcome of globalization as it took birth from the drawbacks of it. This is the era of globalization and we cannot afford to leave anyone behind because if we do so identity politics will take its place and
lead to divisions in the society. Globalization and identity politics cannot go together as the latter acts as a pulling force for the former.

Background
The second half of the twentieth century saw the emergence of large-scale political movements—second wave feminism, Black Civil Rights in the U.S., gay and lesbian liberation, and the American Indian movements, for example—based in claims about the injustices done to particular social groups. These social movements are undergirded by and foster a philosophical body of literature that takes up questions about the nature, origin and futures of the identities being defended. Identity politics as a mode of organizing is intimately connected to the idea that some social groups are oppressed; that is, that one's identity as a woman or as a Native American, for example, makes one peculiarly vulnerable to cultural imperialism (including stereotyping, erasure, or appropriation of one's group identity), violence, exploitation, marginalization, or powerlessness. Identity politics starts from analyses of oppression to recommend, variously, the reclaiming, redescription, or transformation of previously stigmatized accounts of group membership. Rather than accepting the negative scripts offered by a dominant culture about one's own inferiority, one transforms one's own sense of self and community, often through consciousness-raising. For example, in their germinal statement of Black feminist identity politics, the Combahee River Collective argued that “as children we realized that we were different from boys and that we were treated different—for example, when we were told in the same breath to be quiet both for the sake of being ‘ladylike’ and to make us less objectionable in the eyes of white people. In the process of consciousness-raising, actually life-sharing, we began to recognize the commonality of our experiences and, from the sharing and growing consciousness, to build a politics that will change our lives and inevitably end our oppression”.

Identity Politics
Identity is the answer to the question, “who am I?”. This is different from answering, “what kind of person am I?” Labels like “woman”, “white” and “heterosexual” tell us about someone’s position in various hierarchies. These positions, these identities, are significant to how a person thinks of themselves. But, they don’t answer the question, “who am I?” Each of us is unique, both similar and different to everyone else in various ways. Working to eliminate identity in the hierarchical sense isn’t the same as eliminating identity in the individual sense. When I talk about the problems with identity, I mean the “boxes” rather than individuals. Let me use “sexual orientation” as an example. Supposedly people can be put into three boxes, depending on whether they fancy women, men or both. While this is a popular idea, it seems to cause an awful lot of suffering. People worry a lot about their image, and try very hard to make sure that others realize “what” they are. We also worry about “what” other people are — are they like me or are they different? Some people are so unhappy and anxious about these things that they attack others, either physically or verbally. Out of this situation there emerged what has been called identity politics, a politics that stresses strong collective group identities as the basis of political analysis and action. Identity Politics is said to “signify a wide range of political activity and theorizing founded in the shared experiences of injustice of members of certain social groups”. As a political activity it is thus considered to signify a body of political projects that attempts a “recovery from exclusion and denigration” of groups hitherto marginalized on the basis of differences
based on their ‘selfhood’ determining characteristics like ethnicity, gender, sexual preferences, caste positions, etc. As political engagement with the society as a whole was increasingly perceived to have produced insufficient progress or solutions, and in the absence of a compelling model of a society worth struggling for, many progressives retreated into a focus on their own "self" and into specific cultural and ideological identity groups which made rights, status, and privilege claims on the basis of a victimized identity. Contrastingly placed, it is to imply that adherents of identity politics essentialize certain markers that fix the identities of social groups around an ensemble of definitional absolutes. These markers may be those of language, culture, ethnicity, gender, sexual preferences, caste positions, religion, tribe, race, etc. institutionalized in jargons, metaphors, stereotypes, and academic literature and reinforced through practices of positive discrimination or affirmative action. The proponents of identity politics thus, assign the primacy of some “essence” or a set of core features shared only by members of the collectivity and no others and accepts individual persons as singular, integral, altogether harmonious and unproblematic identities. These core markers are different from associational markers like those of the workers who are defined more by their common interests rather than by certain core essential naturally ‘given’ identity attributes of the groups engaged in identity politics. The adherents of identity politics utilize the power of myths, cultural symbolism and kinship relations to mould the feeling of shared community and subsequently politicize these aspects to claim recognition of their particular identities.3

It is true that various sections of society suffer from different types of social oppression. Identity politics seeks to mobilize such people basing upon their perceived oppression. However, it does so in a manner of excluding others and by inculcating the consciousness that the common basis for exploitation or oppression does not exist and their own identity and perceived oppression is the only reality. Identity politics hides the fact that even if in some types of oppression based on race and gender are solved or reforms are brought in, it does not lead to an end to exploitation for the whole society.

Features of Identity-based Movements around the World

- Identity divides people. It encourages us to believe that “we” are different from “others”. Identity can also encourage conformity. This construction of similarity and difference exists whether we are talking about traditional identity groups like “disabled people” or political identities like “environmentalists”. This separation of us from them has serious consequences for political movement.

- Identity reduces social phenomena to individuals. Concepts like anarchism and racism are social. They are not embodied by individuals as terms like “anarchist” and “racist” suggest. Rather, they exist as ideas, practices and relationships. In most societies, racism is inherent in our institutionalized relationships and ways of thinking. We can and should be critical of racism, but to attack people as “racists” can only further alienate them from our efforts. Besides, it is a dangerous fantasy to believe that “racists” can be separated from those of us who are non-racist. Likewise, anarchism exists throughout every society. Every time people co-operate without coercion to achieve shared goals it is anarchy. Every time someone thinks that people should be able to get along with each other without domination, it is anarchism. If we only see racism in “racists”, we will never effectively challenge
racism. If we only see anarchism in “anarchists”, we will miss out on several desperately needed sources of inspiration.

- Political identity simplifies personal identity. A related problem for feminist identity, for example, is that it demands us to focus on one aspect of our complex lives. Feminist movement has often been dominated by white middle-class women who have a particular perspective on what is a “women’s issue” and what is not. Many women have had to choose between involvement in a woman’s movement that fails to recognize ethnicity and class issues, or in black or working class politics that did not acknowledge gender. Likewise, if I describe myself as a feminist, an anarchist, and a sex radical, I am suddenly three different people. However, if I say I advocate feminism, anarchism and radical sexual politics I am one person with a variety of beliefs.

- Identity often imagines easily defined interests. Feminism is often presented as for women only; men are perceived to entirely benefit from the gender system. Many men are clearly beneficiaries from the gender system in terms of institutionalized domination. If we perceive interests as inherently stemming from current systems, we fail to recognize how people would be benefitting from alternative systems. If we want to encourage and inspire people to create a different form of society, we should share with each other what we see as beneficial. We must recognize that different value systems result in different interests.

- Identity creates opposition. By dividing the world up into opposing pairs (e.g. men and women, heterosexual and queers, ruling class and working class, whites and blacks), identity creates opposite types of people who perceive themselves as having opposing interests. This opposition means that people fail to recognize and acknowledge their common interests as human beings. The opposition of two forces pushing against each other means there is very little change.

- Similarity overrules equality ideologically. Ethnic nationalism, politicized religion and indigenous movements all depict the in-group as homogeneous, as people "of the same kind". Internal differences are glossed over, and for this reason, it can often be argued that identity politics serves the interests of the privileged segments of the group, even if the group as a whole is underprivileged, since it conceals internal class differences.

- Images of past suffering and injustice are invoked. To mention a few examples: Serbs bemoan the defeat at the hands of the Turks in Kosovo in 1389; leaders of the Hindu BJP have taken great pains to depict Mughal (Muslim) rule in India from the 1500s as bloody and authoritarian; and the African American movement draws extensively on the history of slavery.

- The political symbolism and rhetoric evokes personal experiences. This is perhaps the most important ideological feature of identity politics. Using myths, cultural symbols and kinship terminology in addressing their followers, promoters of identity politics try to downplay the difference between personal experiences and group history. The intimate experiences associated with locality and family is thereby brought in the national domain and projected as part of the group history.

Conclusion
Globalization is a forward force and identity politics acts as a frictional force to it. At any point in time the forward force should exceed the pulling force for the progress of the
society. Identity politics addresses the grievances of one particular group whose members share certain identity in common. But, this kind of politics will lead this world into several conflicting groups who cannot cohabit with each other. Each group will have their own leader and follow their own rules. The dream that one day this world will become a global village with people cohabiting with each other peacefully will be shattered. Identity politics will, in the course of time, lead to friction in the society and violence will follow this friction. According to me, this is regressive politics and will take the society backwards in time. Oppression needs to be addressed swiftly and strongly but politicizing this oppression and attaching it to a particular identity is undoubtedly not the best way to address it. The strong emotions associated with a tradition, a culture or a religion can never be mobilized unless people feel that it is under siege. Thus, one needs to understand that political identity simplifies personal identity and makes a person believe that his complexion, orientation, caste or race is his identity. Although identity politics tends to be dressed in traditional garb, beneath the surface it is a product of modernity. Globalization should start paying more heed to local phenomenon so as to leave no one ignored. In fact, the lacunae of globalization are the breeding ground for identity politics. This is a political evil that has started few decades back and has to be combated with strong hands. Politics and identity must be separated for the progress of the society, as a whole and the self, in particular.

End-notes
Globalization & Sustainability: An Indian Perspective

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Abstract
It is clear that globalization is something more than a purely economic phenomenon manifesting itself on a global scale. Among the visible manifestations of globalization are the greater international movement of goods and services, financial capital, information and people. This paper tries to capture how these economic changes brought about by globalization have affected India considering the rural and urban sectors separately. Market and Government are the pillars of economic growth which affect poverty and inequality since both involve reallocation of resources. The main aim of the paper is to study and analyse the overall view of globalization in India, considering the rural and urban dynamics which determine the relationship between economic growth and poverty.

Keywords: Globalization, Sustainability, India

Introduction
The process of globalization is popularly described as a gradual removal of barriers to trade and investment between nations. It aims to achieve economic efficiency through competitiveness, while seeking the broader objectives of economic and social development. At the same time, as we might expect, there are many misconceptions about globalization. It is not a new phenomenon since the process has been happening for ages. For example, the practice of sipping tea as an energising drink originated in China several centuries ago. Once tea-drinking became popular, the product spread to different parts of the world. This is a prime example of the process of globalization. Thus, the issue has to be studied in the context of its time and impact. Perhaps it is impossible to label globalization as either good or bad, since there is no easy readymade answer.

To start with, it is to be noted that India thought of globalization not out of herd mentality. India started its economic reforms in 1991 after pursuing an import substitution strategy for nearly forty years. Under this, the public sector was given the major role to gear the economy towards a high growth path. However, it did not work as effectively as expected. This is not to criticise past policies, as perhaps they were the needs of the day. Since 1991, India’s economic growth has been quite steady while other macroeconomic indicators are showing encouraging signs of progress. Yet, the predominant sense of India’s economic progress is one of ‘unease’ and ‘comparative failure’. Many countries in the past, especially East and South East Asian nations, have followed the path of export-led growth. South Korea’s rise to economic prosperity is worth mentioning here. Both India and South Korea became independent in 1947 with more or less similar economic conditions, having almost the same per capita income. Initially both started with an import substitution growth strategy, but in the 1960s, South Korea switched to an export-oriented path to boost its weak economy. Another example of the power of globalization is China’s economy. The
Chinese adopted a path of embracing the process of globalization in late 1970s by liberalising their economy. Today, China is about to enter the World Trade Organisation with the status of a developed country.

In the Indian context with wide regional variations in terms of socio-economic development, economic reforms have been initiated at different levels across states. Most of the economic reforms have been pursued in the industrial sector, the spread and growth of which show considerable regional variations. Availability of infrastructure, which is a strong determinant of industrial productivity and competitiveness on the one hand and occupation, mobility and earnings of the population on the other, also varies significantly across states.

As an outcome of this it is expected that economic growth would have wide regional variation, and further the changing income distribution in the process of growth would also be different across states. Hence, it would be interesting to delineate the effects of growth and inequality separately on poverty in different states. Population mobility across space is an outcome of economic growth too. In assessing the population shift affect the percentages of population residing in urban and rural areas are considered along with the macro-economic aggregates. Contrary to what is expected in the habitual mode of thought, the sets of data related to poverty levels across urban and rural areas as per the population of the states, the interrelationship between each states contribution to the total trade of the country as per their state domestic product and interrelationship between the states per capita income as per the states domestic product would reveal a different story from that of the headcount ratio as arrived at from the household consumption expenditure and help us determine the effect of the various determinants of economic growth on the poverty levels in rural as well urban sectors of the country considering 20 states respectively. The sectoral and urban-rural composition of growth has had an impact on the poverty reducing power of economic growth. Sustainable Development is very important aspect and needs the attention of all the stake-holders in this globalization era. This study has focused on all the important issues in this regard.

Structure of the Indian Economy
The dichotomy of modern urban versus traditional rural sectors in the economy has persisted in terms of actual investment choices and policy perspectives. Facilitating the mobility of productive factors, such as labor, is an important instrument to counter urban bias. Yet, although rural-to-urban migration has contributed to poverty reduction in rural areas, it continues to be hampered by policy barriers such as formal residency restrictions, or lack of education, access to information, and infrastructure.

The market also plays an important role in the economic development of India. The rural labor markets consist of farm and rural non-farm labor markets, which are linked with urban labor markets through inter-regional migration. If the poor are mostly concentrated in the agricultural sector, it is natural that agriculture-led growth would reduce poverty. The growth of the industrial sector or that of the overall commodity-producing sector plays an important role in reducing poverty. In other words, in the context of poverty reduction, the changing composition of growth does not imply a rise only in the share of industry, but
rather in industry, agricultural, rural non-farm, and urban labor markets are highly segmented in accordance with the skill requirements.

Poverty describes the situation of people or populations (individuals, households, social groups, regions or territories) who are poor for significant periods of their lives, who may pass their poverty on to their children, and for whom finding exit routes from poverty is difficult. The poverty in India can be defined on the basis of rural poverty as well as urban poverty. Rural and urban livelihoods are virtually interconnected. The globalization process has in turn been influential in concentrating the public resources in the urban sector, reinforcing the separateness of rural and urban areas, increasing the gap between them, and contributing to persistent rural poverty. In the process of economic growth in the initial stages, the positive effects of growth on poor tend to get offset by the adverse effects of inequality rising. Even when inequality rises, observed poverty may still decline if the growth effect dominates the inequality effect, that is, the extent of fall in poverty due to growth is larger than the rise in poverty due to a rise in inequality.

**Globalization will kill Small-Scale Industries in India**

Globalization is the metamorphosis of the individual nations into an integrated entity by means of their interconnection on an economic, social and cultural level, fuelled by easy transport and communication among them. It is the modern renaissance that makes ideas, goods, services, trade, technology and culture permeate into the entire geography of the world thus turning it into a global village.

While globalization is a large scale phenomenon, small scale enterprises are a local phenomenon but having effects of dimensions as large as it’s global ‘friend and foe’. Friend- because both globalization and small scale industries are the two wheels of the vehicle of economic growth and prosperity; foe- because some argue that given the developing nation that India is, Small Scale Industries(SSIs) can suffer and strangulate to death by the fierce competition put up by globalization. Let us observe and decide.

Micro and small scale enterprises have existed in India since ages in the form of traditional skills and knowledge based products made by people for the self sufficiency of rural India. Today as per the government definition, “An industrial undertaking in which the investment in fixed assets in plant and machinery whether held on ownership terms on lease or on hire purchase does not exceed Rs. 10 million, can be categorized as small scale undertaking”. After independence, the Indian government made various laws to help revive and flourish the SSI because of the employment potential it had at a low capital cost. It needed mediocre technical knowledge and minimal infrastructure to set up. Thus it was and is the most ideal form of employment opportunity for both the urban and rural population. It not only encourages entrepreneurship among people but also makes them self-reliant. Govt. funding, support and intensive promotion has aided people to participate more in this successful phenomenon making SSI the second largest employment sector after agriculture. It forms about 45-50% of our exports. The products also form a large percentage of our domestic market too with SSI producing a number of products like confectionaries, spices, beverages, natural essence oils, dyes, sports goods, wooden furniture, glass, ceramic and earthen wares, cotton and woolen knitted products, silk and synthetic wear, leather shoes, bags, garments and novelty items, plastic items,
survey instruments, auto parts, clocks and watches, musical instruments, lab chemicals, basic metallic and non-metallic mineral products. They are the dynamic sectors of our economy. It also leads to the preservation of many traditional and indigenous skills and products our country is famous for. It is the road to rural industrialization and ‘rural urbanization’ thus creating a regional balance.

India was self-reliant and self-sufficient but with the march of the world towards industrialization India found its closed policy of trade leading to an impending economic crisis. The main reason behind this was the focus of efforts on heavy industries and lack of it on the consumption goods. From 1991 India witnessed a major change as the govt. introduced liberalization, privatization and globalization reforms to pep up the economy. Soon the world realized what a big 1 billion population market India was. They brought their goods to India which were mass produced and therefore cheaper and of better quality than the local goods. They started challenging the SSI and thus posed an end to them. Further with the introduction of Special Economic Zones (SEZs), the MNCs were facilitated with areas with liberal economic and trade laws, round the clock facilities and concessions to enhance foreign investments and promote exports. This endangered the existence and survival of SSIs.

But this is not the complete picture. A lot of foreign entrepreneurs who do not have the time or funds to build the infrastructure for their own manufacturing unit in India engage a number of SSI owners to produce goods for them in a short span of time and sell them to cater to the international demand. In other words they outsource the manufacturing to the Indians. Thus it leads to more labour absorption and growth of SSIs. Many of the SSIs have turned into LSIs this way. Also the demand for SSI goods will never finish as a lot of their products are not lucrative options for the MNCs. For example, the incense sticks or agarbatties, bangles, pickles, etc. are not a catch for LSIs but have a constant demand and thus SSIs have a great opportunity in identifying such areas.

So it can be said that both globalization and SSIs are the essentials of Indian economy and India must make efforts to promote, sustain and aid both in a fair and unbiased way. A fruitful measure would be to reserve certain goods for production exclusively by the SSIs and their intelligent outsourcing by the govt. to ensure maximum benefits. Also the govt. should advertise the indigenous goods worldwide so that the foreign folk also go in for the ethnic items produced here like khadi, silk, wool, statues, gems, ornaments, etc. as these represent the traditional art form and culture of the region. As far as the financial aids are concerned, the govt. is doing good work to make things simple and possible for the interested individuals by funding and financial support. Also the setting up of institutes for technical training and skill enhancement of the workforce is helping in a big way.

While globalization has put us on the map of superpower countries, SSIs have empowered the common man to walk with the same stride as the big-wigs. For India to be a superpower, it is must make efforts to strengthen each and every thread of its economic fabric to make the flag of its success fly high.
Urbanisation of India: Huge Growth Opportunities

An inescapable and only too visible trend is the rapid urbanisation of India. Existing cities are growing rapidly (and haphazardly) in all directions, those that cannot (like Mumbai) are growing vertically, and many villages now resemble towns. Current estimates of “urban” population are in excess of 300 million, and likely to reach 600 million by 2030. As a share of total population, urban dwellers will comprise more than 40% of total population as against less than 30% today. You might quibble about whether it will be 590 m. or 600 m or 650 million, but the fact remains that urban population will close to double in less than two decades. Much has been written on this subject, largely focused on the issue as one of impending crisis. Infrastructure is already falling apart, cities have no funds of their own, we do not have the institutions nor capabilities to manage our cities, slums will dominate and lead to social unrest, and so on. No doubt this is all true, and we need to focus our immediate attention on how to create cities that are worth living in.

Having said that, abysmal infrastructure and miserable governance in our cities will not stop them from growing. There will not be near enough jobs in rural areas, and we will see millions of new (and young) residents in our cities and towns. Without detracting from the scale of the problem, let’s try to look at the brighter side. Regardless of the state of infrastructure, a doubling of urban dwellers will transform the Indian economy. Fundamentally, the reason cities attract migrants is that they provide jobs, which eventually lead to spending power. Further, the change in lifestyle (as compared to rural citizens) will drive demand for numerous products and services.

The biggest opportunity is likely to be in low-cost housing. These new urban Indians will need homes, but will be unable to afford the current (inflated) prices. If businesses can find a way to sell decent homes at affordable prices, there is a huge economic opportunity. Going along with this, construction related inputs – steel, cement, furniture, fittings, tiles, taps, electrical stuff like switches and wiring, and such like will enjoy an unparalleled boom. Following on from basic needs, people will then need durables, like geysers, cooking stoves, pressure cookers, fans, televisions, etc... leading eventually to higher end products like washing machines, refrigerators and air conditioners. Naturally, this will result in a surge of demand for electricity.

Transportation will be another big need, and given the dismal infrastructure, you can expect demand for two-wheelers and cars to soar (already happening). Never mind the lack of roads – traffic jams are better than not reaching work at all!

Consumer non-durable demand will also grow rapidly, as nuclear families and working women will drive demand for packaged foods, convenience goods, cosmetics, and a variety of household products.

Finally, services such as those provided by restaurants, retailers, laundries, plumbers, electricians, maids, schools, teachers, baby-sitters, beauty salons, gymnasiums, health spas, and many, many other such, will see an unparalleled boom. There is no doubt in my mind that this urbanisation will create huge economic demand and opportunity. The only question is whether all these consumer benefits will be enjoyed amidst squalor, or a relatively decent living environment.
Information Technology & Governance: A Review of E-Governance Models in Kerala

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Abstract
The change from mere governance to e-governance has glorified the true rapport between globally feasible governance and vibrant version of globalization. The recent development and successful implementation of different ITES by the government in a state like Kerala, termed as an economic miracle, is a good indicator for tremendous upliftment of the ordinary man in time with the increasing pace of globalization. Even though various initiatives have been taken and some among them were effectively implemented, like the AkshayaKendras and Friends service centers e-governance to its real sense lacks much in the number of service extensions. The paper tries to bring into light some unexplored as well as complicated areas where the services of e-governance can be extended and its present impact derived from the service beneficiaries. The data is collected from primary as well as secondary sources with the help of questionnaires and detailed interviews with the government officials and the general public. This reveals different areas along with the unbiased view of respondents and a guideline to the concerned authorities for further improvisation in this regard. This work will also serve as a model for the successful implementation of governance in other states with the help of ITES.

Keywords: Information Technology Enabled Services, e-governance, Kerala

e-Governance in India
Government and governance are two inevitable elements and complimentary terms in democracy. These together with communication systems and information technology reflect the life of citizens to a certain extent especially in a democratic country like India. Various governments had implemented various policies and made amendments in governance from time to time among which the implementation of e-governance for the improvement of the existing communication between the government and the public by means of ITES (IT enabled services) by the government seems to be satisfactory and received by the people. The sole aim behind this electronic shift was to combine and provide all possible services that could be delivered to citizens by “electronic means” through a single delivery platform under the Kerala State Right to Service Act 2012(www.kerala.gov.in/index). It also envisages that all interactions between citizens (G 2 C), Business and Government (B 2 G) shall be digital effective and transparent through an integrated e-governance frame work that help the government to deliver friendly citizen centric services.(Dasaraju, 2008). The major footstep regarding IT infrastructure development and IT Enabled Services was undertaken by ICT with the help of KSITM (Kerala state information and technology mission) with its main focus on e-governance. Numerous missions and projects put forward by KSITM, includes AkshayaKendras, Friends service
centers, Janamythri police station, JanasevaKendras etc. (http://www.itmission.kerala.gov.in/) Even though all the above mentioned services are provided, the number of beneficiaries availing these services seems to be reducing. Almost all e-service centers are multipurpose service centers, but these centers are not utilized to their maximum which is evident from the closure of some of these centers. This paper is focused on the various e-government models initiated through ITES. The paper also tries to bring in light the statistics relating to usage of these services and suggestions put forward by the people regarding these services.

The study area
The study was conducted in the state of Kerala, located at the southernmost tip of India. With a total of 978 panchayats in the villages followed by 152 in the block levels and 14 in the district levels, 60 municipalities, 5 corporations and 1209 self-government institutions (http://www.kerala.gov.in). The state of Kerala is regarded as a threshold of development and literacy. Here a deep rooted development inquest in the minds of people has resulted towards establishment of self-governments. Moreover various local governments are entrusted with the responsibility of progressive development in their related arena. All these government bodies were brought under one roof on the basis of their accessibility, with the help of IT enabled services. The major ITES are described below.

Akshaya
Akshaya is an IT initiative originated to address the backwardness of Malappuram district, and currently aims at providing IT literacy to at least one person in a family. Being one of the largest known Internet Protocol (IP) based wireless networks in the world, AkshayaCentres are set up within a maximum of 2 kilometers for any household. Akshayaproject’s deliverables include creating and expanding economic opportunities, awareness about e-learning, e-transaction, e-governance, rural empowerment of individuals and communities through enhanced access to information (Krishna, 2010).

FRIENDS (Fast Reliable Instant Efficient Network for Disbursement of Services)
Friends is a single window remittance center where the citizens can pay all taxes and other dues to the Government under one roof at no extra cost. A token management system along a special help-desk eliminates the need for queue and delays in making remittances. Pilot at Thiruvananthapuram in June 2000, this centre has now earned the benchmark ISO 9001: 2000 certification. A recent launch named FREES'(FRIENDS Re-engineered and enterprise enabled software) is an enterprise enabled 'any-where any-payment system’ in which payment can be done on any FRIENDS or Akshaya all over Kerala with a single user interface. Railway reservations can also be made in the three centres at Wayanad, Pathanamthitta and Malappuram.(ICT, 2012).

Aadhaar/UID
Aadhaar is a 12-digit individual identification number issued by the Unique Identification Authority of India as a proof of identity, anywhere in India. Any individual, irrespective of age and gender, who is a resident in India and satisfies the verification process laid down by the UIDAI can enroll for Aadhaar.
e-krishi and e-procurement

e-krishi is an agricultural initiative through IT enabled agro business centers to help the farmers. Revamping of the existing e-krishi portal and making a bilingual (Malayalam/English) is in-progress, which includes the features of mobile based posting and Google Map integration, and the application will incorporate registration, requirement and advertisement posting of buyers and sellers, user and product rating, administration, report generation. e-procurement mission mode project, was formulated under the National e-Governance Plan (NeGP) of KSiTM – with the Technical Support of NIC, Where 2 separate workshops for bidders are conducted covering all Districts and various departments. (chapter 12 ICT: a strategy lever for building a knowledge ICT -2012)

SuthaaryaKeralam and video conferencing

Video Conferencing was done at 19 sites including 14 collectorates for immediate online conferences and discussions in order to bring the complaints and grievances of citizens directly to the notice of the Chief Minister through the call centre for the transparency in the function of Government and for the speedy disposal of public grievances. The program has recently gained fame at an international level.

MESSAGE, IDEAS and SPARK

MESSAGE (Paperless File flow system for Government offices), objective is to use digital workflow as the norm of operation within Government and thereby realizing benefits of efficiency, productivity, speedier transactions and service delivery at lower costs. This digital document management system allows the citizens to know the status of their files through web and mobile interface. IDEAS (Information and Data Exchange Advanced System) is a file tracking system for Government offices in which online status check of files/petitions through Internet or touch screen Kiosks, is made possible anywhere, All Government orders will be mandatorily uploaded. SPARK (Service and Personnel Payroll and Accounts information system) for the Government employees of the state of Kerala is an attempt to bring the payroll and finance related activities of these employees in a single application. The system allots PEN (permanent employee number) that helps to trace service by tracking the records, bills and orders.

SSDG, State Data Centre and KSWAN

State Service Delivery Gateway (SSDG) project, was formulated under the National e-Governance Plan (NeGP), for providing easy and convenient services to the citizens providing seamless interoperability and exchange of data across departments through remote access primarily through Common Service Centers (CSCs). Under national e-Governance plan (NeGP), State Data Centre (SDC) has been branded as one of the core infrastructure components to consolidate services, applications and infrastructure to provide proficient electronic delivery of G2G, G2C and G2B services. The services are extended to Government agencies, citizens and businesses through the connectivity infrastructure being rolled out such as State Wide Area network (SWAN) and Common Service Centers (CSC). Kerala State Wide Area Network (KSWAN) network connect 1500 offices of Government Departments through Wireless and a larger number through Leased Lines and LAN. The infrastructure will support integration of a large number of G2G, G2C services in hand with the applications hosted in the State (ICT, 2012).
Other services
A number of other services provided are e-Vidhya, IT@school, SPEED IT, MASS HR & PG Program in E-Governance, Malayalam computing, Citizen Call Centre (CCC), FOSS finishing school is an attempt to make-up for the deficiencies of students at low-tier colleges/institutes by providing specialized training in hard skills and soft skills with a vision to make individuals more employable. Red Hat training is a free training for faculty members, INSIGHT is a training program for visually challenged persons, M governance mobile policy provides Dr. SMS (a medical and health information system for people in Kerala. Centralised allotment of professional courses, Kerala University degree online application, Higher secondary Centralised Allotment Process (hsCAP), PSC online application and various job oriented course packages are developed with the support of DOEACC, and IGNOU.

Current projects
E-DISTRICT
E-district is a state mission mode project under the national e-governance plan with KSITM as the implementation agency aims at delivering seamless, and online delivery of citizen services at the district level through automation of work flow, backend digitization, integration and process redesign through akshayacentres. The pilot phase of the project started in 2008 decided to constitute a district e-Governance Society (DeGS) in all districts for monitoring the development of e-District project under DIT guidelines. Potential e-services are provided to various departments through e-district.

State MMPs – Health
An EOI (Expression of Interest) was floated on 29th April 2013 regarding the e-health project to be implemented in Phase I – Trivandrum District, Phase II – Kollam, Mallapuram, Kasargod, Alappuzha, Idukki, Ernakulam Districts, Phase III – Kannur, Wayanad, Kozhikode, Palakkad, Thrissur, Kottayam, Pathanamthitta Districts.

Civil Supplies Department – e-PDS, Kerala state Spatial Data Infrastructure (KSDI) and Computer Emergency Response Team-Kerala (CERT-Kerala or CERT-K)
e-PDS involves an End to End Computerisation for Cleansing and Digitization of Ration Card Database. Supply Chain Management from FCI to ARDs. KSDI enables appropriate decisions at the local/state level planning, implementation of state action plans, infrastructure development, disaster management support, business development, etc. CERT-K is concerned with Auditing of all Kerala Government web applications, Ethical hacking, Analysis of critical Government web applications, Security alerts to website administrators, Training and awareness creation.

Data Collection
The data was collected so as to ensure that all the fourteen districts are represented in the study. The data collected mainly comprises of primary as well as secondary data. The primary data were collected through direct and telephonic interviews and discussions with Akshya entrepreneurs, parties who owe these centers, government officials and the service beneficiaries. A Questionnaire was also used to serve the purpose which reflects the usage and awareness of the various ITES provided by ICTs. The questionnaire was provided to 50 people selected at random from the age group of 20-50 years considering the fact that they
are the main service beneficiaries. The secondary data was collected from published as well as unpublished sources, reports and websites.

Results and Discussion
The data collected from the questionnaire were categorized into different groups and analyzed. The respondents included employees, unemployed and students. Among the respondents, 30 percent were male and 20 were female, 18 percent were students, 64 percent were employed and 18 percent unemployed.

Awareness regarding some of the major projects/services by KSITM seems to be satisfactory because cent percent of the respondents are aware about e-Aadhar services and SutharyaKeralam. This may be because of the widespread awareness about the benefits of time consumption through e-filing and the ease of paperless money transfer among the respondents. Only 10 percent are aware about e-kral and this may be because most of the people are not having agriculture as their occupation. Kerala, which was once an agricultural state, is being transformed into a consumeristic state where the majority of the people prefer non-agricultural jobs. Only 8 percent are aware of e-courts and only 4 percent are aware about e-post. More than 50 percent of the respondents has availed e-payment services so far which indicates that e-payment is a popular e-service and 42 percent are yet to avail the service due to lack of confidence and lack of awareness (Figure1).

Among the respondents who had availed the services, more than 50 percent had recently started availing the services, while 10.54 percent of respondents have been availing the service for more than 5 years. This reveals a steep increase in the number of users, while more than 90 percent respondents has availed Aadhaar card / pan card services, none among them has availed banking services. Only 4 percent of the respondents has availed e-vidya. More than 70 percent has not availed e-tickets, around a 6 percentage of the respondents has availed the benefit of e-krishi and only 4 percent are aware about micro insurance and merely 2 percent is aware about e-consignments. Whereas 72 percent of the respondents are aware of e-grievances and 21 percent among them has availed the same. Only 10 percent respondents are aware about IDEAS, SPARK and INSIGHT projects and 18 percentage regarding Citizen Call Centers. 8 percent of the respondents are not satisfied with the successful delivering of services of Janamythri Police stations.

More than 96 percent of the respondents find it easy to cope up with the functioning of e-centers. 78 percent of the respondents believe that intervention of ICTS in PDS will help in controlling illegal activities and employment opportunities in employment exchanges. Majority of the respondents like to include e-medical consulting and money exchange services and also single window allotment for university courses by various ICTS centers. 56 percent of the respondents have the opinion that highest benefit is derived by the employees and senior citizens are least benefitted by these. Regarding need for further advertisement 60 percentage have the opinion that there is no need. 74 percent of the respondents agree that KSITM projects are beneficial to common man. Among the respondents 52 percent agree that the government was able to achieve the e-governance. In general people who are employed are more aware and are using various ITES, whereas students and unemployed ones are not availing these services to their fullest. Prominent services utilized are related to payment and id enrollments, whereas majority of the
respondents are unaware of e-Manal or e-Grants. Even though people are not fully satisfied with some of the services they accept that all these initiatives by the government had resulted in development and are changing the life of common man in a positive manner.

The study reveals that even though numerous ITES are provided by the government through ICTS and new services are emerging day by day, a good number of people are not aware of many of the main services provided by the government as a part of e-governance. Moreover these centers are not fully utilized for the purpose meant for their establishment and the owners of these centers derive benefit from other sources which are not regarded as their main function. Even though a large number of service centers were opened, a good number among them has shut down due to lack of profits. And in many of the service centers all the necessary services are also not provided which create a lack of interest among the common man to approach these centers. This should be seriously considered by the government and corrective action should be initiated to make the e-centers to glow with their full fame.

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Figure 1 Awareness regarding projects/services by KSITM

Figure 2 Time period for which e-payment services have been availed
Figure 3 Reasons for not availing e-payment services

Figure 4 Services availed from AkshayaKendras
Governance of Non-Profit Organizations in India: Issues and Challenges

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Abstract
The paper assesses the problem and current scholarship on the topic. It portrays theoretical and normative understanding of non-profits. It affirms that withdrawal of state has facilitated the growth of non-profits in the era of liberalisation. It neatly draws the evolutionary profile of NPOs in India and its relationship with the contemporary state. Study reveals that 1860 and 1991 are watershed years in the history of evolution of NPOs in current forms. Glancing through institutional and functional framework of NPOs in India, it pleads why governance of non-profit is needed at all. It introduces different levels of interactions between state, market and civil society. It justifies the need of accountability mechanisms for NPOs in particular and third sector in general. Accordingly, it argues, why it is ethically important to adopt accountability and transparency mechanisms for NPOs before they ask for the same from government. In addition, it also unravels accountability mechanisms used by NPOs in India.

Keywords: Non-Profit Organizations, Governance, Transparency, Accountability

Introduction
NPOs have come to stay in governance even though they are much criticized for their loose and elastic performance and spending. They are like islands of governance as they are working with and within every government department as trainers, skill developers, consultants, implementers, participatory and motivational agents, social auditors and evaluators without much control over their activities. As complementary force of the state sector, NPOs have made great contributions to public welfare, in many cases becoming national and international models which are being replicated in many parts of the world. The non-profit sector is now worth over $1 trillion a year globally employing 19 million fully paid employees and constitutes world’s eighth largest economy. As a result, it attracts growing attention of academicians, administrators and bureaucrats. Non-governmental organizations that once largely opposed and operated outside the system are becoming integral part of the system. Hence, there has been growing interest on NPO’s accountability and governance world over. The Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, in a first ever official study of the not-for-profit institutions in India, found that there were at least 3.3 million active NPOs operating in the country by the end of 2009. Unofficial estimates suggest that the NPO economy in the country is thriving with around Rs 80,000 crore raised in funds every year. The majority of these funds have been coming from institutions such as the government, private corporations, foreign grants and aids from global agencies. Additionally, the government funding to NPOs have increased from Rs 150 crore in Seventh Five Year Plan (FYP) to Rs 21,000 crore in Eleventh FYP.
Evolution of Non-Profit Sector in India
Non-profit organizations (NPOs) in India originated from voluntary sector; however, voluntary sector owed its origin to obligations and philanthropy associated with religion. Although, welfare of poor and downtrodden has been historically co-shared between the state and religion together with social institutions; however, evolution and organization of voluntary organizations is comparatively a recent phenomenon. Voluntary work has been integral part of the Indian society and it has been largely influenced by the religious, social and cultural values of the contemporary era.

Evolution and emergence of voluntary work in India can be broadly divided into: (1) Traditional, (2) Modern. Traditional voluntary work largely revolves around religion and religious charities; whereas modern voluntary work with multifarious character gained momentum only after advent of colonialism in 18th century. It is Societies Registration Act, 1860, which for the first time provided legal basis to current form of NGOs. This particular act is modelled on the English Literary and Scientific Institutions Act, 1854 of UK, which coincided with mutiny of 1857. The said law was enacted partly to give organizations a legal status and partly to enable colonial government to keep tab on organizations and collectives (ARC, 2008). However, plethora of organizations was established on contemporary issues of politics, literature and science.

In addition, modern era is sub-divided into pre-independence and post-independence periods. Further, post-independence phase is broadly divided into: Nehruvian Phase (1947-1964), Indira Gandhi Phase (1964-84), Rajeev Gandhi Phase (1984-1989), and Post liberalisation Phase (1991 and after).

Interaction between NPOs, State and Market
Nature of state-NPO interaction directly depends on dominant strategy (of confrontation and cooperation) prevailing between duo. Meaning thereby, NPO-state interaction is product of space created by the state. As NPOs are not insulated from outer world and have to respond socio-political and economic environment hence they deploy multiple strategies (of confrontation and cooperation) while maintaining their relevance. Role of the state is of enabler and in turn provides basis for institutionalisation and legitimization of NPOs. Additionally, state-NPO relationship is also negotiated through ideological affiliation of the political parties in power. In a federal system like ours, scope for NPOs to survive and operate becomes more difficult when ruling party at provincial level is different from federal level. With changing paradigm of state, development organizations have been responding to socio-economic agenda of the state. Inasmuch as when state shifted its focus from capital-oriented growth to anti-poverty programmes, NPOs made direct shift from welfare and service delivery intervention to direct attack on poverty (Kumar, 2010).

Cooperation between market and NPOs is characterised by mutual influence and willingness to negotiate the agreements that takes the concerns and capabilities of both parties. There are many issues on which business and civil societies can go alone without engaging with each other. Nevertheless, there are common issues on which business and NPOs seek to influence each other. However, schism in interest and perspectives of both sectors has been
manufactured in such a manner that conflict seems very common and natural between them.

Issues and Challenges of NPO Sector in India

Traditionally, non-profits have been trustworthy and had enjoyed the mass support of the people. However, the turbulent phase of emergency saw a complete governmental backlash and in this phase voluntary sector was controlled and regulated heavily. Complaints about corruption came into light in 1980s; however voices of dissent regarding corruption were coming from civil society sector only. Consequently, voluntary organizations were losing their social capital, radical edge; moreover slowly they lost their ability to mobilize people on relevant issues (Jenkins, 2011, pp. 409-426). Ironically, voices of corruption in voluntary organizations were coming from civil society sector. Consequently, Prakash Karat of Communist Party of India-Marxist (CPI-M) raised the issue of foreign funding in his article “Action Groups/Voluntary Organizations: A Factor in Imperialist Strategy” which was published in CPI-M journal The Marxist and subsequently appeared in book form entitled “Foreign Funding and the Philosophy of Voluntary Organizations: A Factor in Imperialist Strategy” (Karat, 1988). He pleaded, imperialist forces are trying to harness the potential of voluntary organizations/action groups to penetrate the Indian society and influence the course of development through voluntary funding agencies. In such chaotic context, civil society groups took an alternative measure and avoided direct contact with foreign funders. Accordingly, there was emergence of intermediary funding organizations, which later on crystallised as contemporary definition of NGOs. Event marked departure in the history of voluntary sector in India and invoked NGO-movement dichotomy (Jenkins, 2011). Where movement works at grass-roots while NGOs are office based, movements are radical, NGOs are reformist. Movements seek empowerment of people and NGOs made them dependent to charity and last but not least, movements are political and NGOs are depoliticizing.

After long hiatus, a response to Karat’s article appeared in Seminar 2002 entitled “Environmentalism and Political Economy” by Dunu Roy and he asserted that Karat’s stands against voluntary sector came in such a year, which is also a hallmark in evolution of environmental activism in India. Roy (2002) contended, it were environmental NGOs which were directly attacked by Karat’s article for being part of imperialist design of pitting environmental concern against working class interests (Roy, 2002). Roy considers it as watershed moment in the history of movements, which provoked schism between political and apolitical environmentalists and thereupon dualism appeared between action group/movement.

Markedly, there have been various examples where NGOs supported the movement however in most of the cases support was informal. In most of the cases, local people were not able to distinguish between work of NGOs and people’s struggle/movement. Accordingly, hybrid form organization emerged as conceivable trend among civil society organizations. In Rajasthan, the movement oriented Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangthan (MKSS) became closely linked to Social Work & Research Centre (SWRC). Correspondingly, movement like activities of Anna Hazare in Maharashtra through an NGO, ‘Hind Swaraj
Trust’ provides another form of hybrid organization. In Mumbai, the famous movement for accountability of Public Distribution System (PDS), the Rationing Kruti Samiti has close inter-connection with well-established NGO Apanalaya (Jenkins, 2011).

Accordingly, another trend has also been witnessed where social movement started first and then ended up with creation of NGO. Example in this regard is Shramajeevi Sangthana, an activist group which engendered front NGO called Vidhayak Sansad. The trend of spawning NGO from movement has been termed as ‘NGO-ization’ by Kamat in her work “Development Hegemony: NGO and the State in India”. She asserted that it was establishment of Vidhayak Sansad that de-radicalised the work of Sharmajeevi Sangthana. She concluded that it was Sangthana’s engagement with Council for Advancement of People’s Action and Rural Technology (CAPART) through its front NGO Vidhayak Sansad that brought tragic demise of movement (Kamat, 2002). Kamat quotes another example of Bhoomi Sena (Land Army) one of the earliest militant tribal organizations in Maharashtra, which started as movement and transitioned with establishment of front NGO and saw the tragic end of the movement ultimately.

Jenkins (2011) observes establishment of hybrid organization as blurring boundary between NGO and movement in recent times. He affirmed that trend since mid-1990s has been towards creation of hybrid forms of organizations where structural and functional features of both NGOs and movements have been incorporated pragmatically. He cites Bharat Gyan Vigyan Samiti (BGVS) as successful example of organizational cross breeding. It is a classic NGO in many respects which disburses funds to grass-roots organizations and undertakes various conventional programmes together with initiative like Total Literacy Mission which resembles movements. Remarkably, it adopted the reverse process than what was adopted by Sharmajeevi Sangthana and Bhoomi Sena. Sharmajeevi Sangthana and Bhoomi Sena were started as movement and saw the tragic end with establishment of NGO whereas Bharat Gyan Vigyan Samiti (BGVS) started as NGO and spawned movement.

Another form of successful trend in NGO structure is Ekta Parishad (EP) based in Madhya Pradesh. Ekta Parishad (EP) like BGVS employs hybrid structure of both NGOs and social movements (Jenkins, 2011). It claims itself to be a movement based on Gandhian principle but essentially it is a coalition of NGOs which have common agenda of devolving livelihood resources in the hand of common people.

**Accountability Mechanisms for NPOs**

Apart from democratic accountability, the accountability in NPOs resonates between two broad mechanisms: process and tool. Process mechanism of accountability in NPOs consists of participation and self-regulation. Processes of accountability are more broad and multi-dimensional than tools and in ensuring accountability they themselves employ various tools. Like Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) is a tool which is used to ensure the participation of various constituencies. Whereas tools refers to discrete devices and techniques used to ensure the accountability. They are often applied over a period of time and can be tangible and verifiable.
Mechanisms to ensure accountability usually used in Indian context is depicted in figure below.

Figure 1: Mechanisms for NPOs Accountability

(a) Reports and Disclosure Statements
In case of reports and disclosures there is no uniform pattern among Indian voluntary sector. Despite this fact, most of the functioning NGOs in India place their annual report voluntarily online or otherwise. Such extra-legal disclosures by these organizations enable some degree of accountability to donors, clients and general public. Although, it has been found that these reports serve the purpose of both donor and non-profit organizations but it has been failed in inculcating inquisitiveness among public at large.

(b) Performance Assessment and Evaluations
Performance Assessment and Evaluations are widely used tools to diffuse accountability in NPOs. Evaluation can be external and internal, external evaluations are generally carried out by donor organizations whereas internal evaluations usually carried out by internal officials of organizations to assess their achievement towards their goal, mission and vision. Moreover, there is also third type which is referred as Hybrid form of evaluation which includes both donors as well as staffs of NPO. However, process of performance assessment and evaluation has been critiqued for often using objective approach.

(c) Participation
Participation as a process mechanism of accountability maintains profound distinctiveness from evaluation, assessment, reporting and disclosure which are tools. Participation is a part of ongoing activities of the organizations. However, participation is not discrete; it has various forms which depend on degree and level of participation of stakeholders. Alnoor Ebrahim (2003) in his scholarly writing mentioned four different types of participation which is based on varying degree of participation of stakeholders.
First level of participation is largely based on information sharing about a planned project. Second level of participation aims to involve general public in actual project related activities and it may be in the form of community contribution by means of fund and labour. Third form of participation empowers citizens to bargain and negotiate with state and voluntary organizations and even hold veto powers over the decisions. Fourth and most empowered form of participation consists of people’s initiatives which occur independently of state and NGOs like Chipko Movement in 1970s in Himalayan region against commercial logging and Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA) against large dam projects over river Narmada.

(d) Self-Regulation
Self-Regulation refers to the endeavour by NPOs and NPO network to set benchmark and norm of their own performance and accountability altogether with ethical standard. Concept of self-regulation emerged in the backdrop of numerous malpractices reported in the sector and partly as a response to forestall the potential government regulation. Self-Regulation efforts in India have been precipitated in various forms and organizations. Some of the notable efforts in the area of self-regulation are:

GivelIndia (www.GivelIndia.org): It is India’s first online giving portal founded in the year 2000. The initiative uses internet to create the platform for philanthropy and aims to connect the potential donor with credible recipient NPO. It showcases the works of NPO that meets the stringent criteria of transparency and accountability in public domain and facilitates the individuals to choose best among them to donate resources with a guarantee to give feedback within 6 to 8 months.

Credibility Alliance (www.credibilityalliance.org): It is a consortium of voluntary organizations committed towards ensuring accountability and transparency in voluntary sector. It is an initiative emerged in 2001 and registered in 2004 after a long negotiations process among various voluntary organizations of India. It is a registered non-profit member-driven organization which aims at promoting good governance among Indian voluntary organizations. Besides, it has also developed
accreditation system and peer review model based on negotiated norms and standard.

GuideStar India (www.guidestarindia.org): It is an initiative of Civil Society Information Services (CSIS), India started in September 2010. It is partner organization of GuideStar, UK and TechSoup Global which are leader in non-profit data and technology. It is an online platform where voluntary organizations can showcase their work, articulate their needs and make their information to public, donor, policy makers and academia. User of the website will be able to search for NPOs information on audited accounts, annual reports, registration certificates and other details of NPOs

Joy of Giving Week (www.joyofgivingweek.org): It is an annual event started in 2009 and coordinated by GiveIndia. It provides an inclusive ecosystem to NPOs willing to commit itself to basic public disclosure to promote charity among common people and transparency and accountability in NPOs. It rewards those NPOs which are accountable and discloses as much information as required to garner the confidence of philanthropists.

CSO Partners’ outstanding Annual Reports Awards (www.annualreportawards.org): It is an initiative of CSO partners in collaboration with like-minded organizations to promote transparency and accountability in sector and standardising the norms of financial reporting.

Social Audit:
Another mechanism of accountability is social auditing which refers to the process through which organization assesses and improves its social performances through stakeholder participation. It is a complex process that integrates various processes and tools of verification. Its merit lies in the fact that it is conceptual integration of tools and processes of accountability. There are various models of social audit however; there are some indicators which are acceptable to all models. Some of these are:

- Stakeholder Identification
- Stakeholder Dialogue
- Use of Indicators and Benchmarks
- Continuous Improvement
- Public Discourse

Figure 3: Various steps involved in Social Audit
There are numerous benefits to adopt social audit by NPOs in ensuring their both downward and upward accountability. It provides framework to directly engage with beneficiary. Through the process of social auditing, beneficiaries not only rate the work of organization but also the impact of donor agencies. It also ensures the participation of different stakeholders in assessing the program of both NPOs and funding agencies. Regardless of apparent benefit most important deficiency of social audit is its time consuming nature.

Conclusion
Institutional reorganization of state in the era of globalization has spawned various forms of organizations. Non-profit organizations (NPOs) are one among them. These organizations exist between the cusps of state and market and are legally not mandated to distribute the profits accrued, if any. Meaning thereby, non-profit organizations in India (a) exist independently of state, (b) are self-governed by the board of trustees or managing committee, comprising individuals who generally serve in fiduciary capacity, (c) produce benefit for others, generally outside the membership of the organization, (d) are non-profit making, inasmuch as they are prohibited from distributing the monetary residual to their own members. However, challenges and implications for governance of NPOs are to regulate them maintaining their autonomous character.

End-notes
3 http://guidestarindia.org/About.aspx#WhatIs

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Impact of Globalization on NAKA Workers

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Abstract
This paper is an attempt to look into the impact of globalization on workers of the unorganised sector. From the vast pool of the unorganised sector workers, Naka Workers have been chosen for this paper and a comparative analysis has been done of the Naka Workers of Chembur Naka, Mumbai. The process of globalization in developing economies has provided a vast arena of challenges as well as opportunities. It has expanded opportunities for the highly skilled but there has been vanishing of opportunities for the less skilled labour. The employment opportunities, no doubt have increased but due to flexibility in labour norms during the process of globalization and liberalization of the economy, the share of informal sector in total employment has tremendously expanded. This informalisation of work has led to the development of a new group of called the ‘Naka Workers’. These are workers who gather on the cross roads, streets of the city, railway station, parking lots, or at places where they can be easily spotted by their prospective employer. They work on contract basis. The Naka workers are characterised by low level of economic activity, low level of income, no access to capital.

Keywords: Naka Workers, Globalization, Informal Sector

Introduction
The process of globalization in developing economies has provided a vast arena of challenges as well as opportunities. It has expanded opportunities for the highly skilled but has vanished opportunities for the less skilled. Since economic reforms that started two decades ago the general job situation in the country has worsened. There is retrenchment of employees in almost all sectors. It has been noticed that over a period of time there has been reduction in public spending and the rate of privatisation has increased significantly. All this has created a situation of job loss in the country.

Nearly 93% of the workforce in India is in the unorganized sector. This sector is not protected by comprehensive labour laws. Legislation like the Industrial Disputes Act, Trade Union Act, and Contract Labour Act although apply to this sector but are not followed here. There are unfair dismissals, trade union rights are violated, working conditions are bad and health and safety of the workers are ignored. All progressive legislations which have been formulated for the betterment of the employees are dishonoured. On the other hand their counterparts, the workers in the organized sector are well unionized and have access to all these facilities. In the informal or unorganized sector the legal protection is minimal. Occasionally they are supported through activism of NGOs or volunteer interest groups. Despite the heavy odds against them, some workers in the informal sector have succeeded in forming unions.
‘Moreover, the era of global integration has been associated with far reaching changes in the structure of employment, including pressures for increased flexibility, episodes of jobless growth and growing informaliﬁcation’ (Heintz, 2006). India, too, has been going through this process of globalization for the last two decades. The employment opportunities, no doubt have increased but due to ﬂexibility in labour norms during the process of globalization and liberalization of the economy, the share of informal sector in total employment has tremendously increased. Indeed, a signiﬁcant part of the incremental employment generated during this period is in the unorganized sector, both within manufacturing and tertiary activities. The declining trends in organised sector employment and the corresponding expansion of Casualisation of employment point towards the worsening conditions of the workers (Kannan & N, 2007). The workers in the unorganised sector neither have employment and income security nor the security against the contingencies of life due to their meagre income. They face the problem of ‘deﬁciency’ or capability deprivation (of basic needs) as well as the problem of ‘adversity’ (arising out of such contingencies as sickness and accidents) (Report on Social Security for Unorganised Workers, 2006).

**Naka Workers in Mumbai**

The present study is the study of the Mumbai Naka Workers. The main objective of this baseline study is to understand the life, working conditions and the socio-economic position of the Naka workers. This study also aims to ﬁnd the ways to improve the working and living conditions of the workers. For the purpose of understanding the lives of these workers we ﬁrst need to understand the concept of Nakas.

What is a Naka? The word ‘Naka’ has been derived from the Hindi script which means a junction of roads or crossroads. These are places where the daily wage labourers amass every morning in search of employment. The ‘Naka Labour Market’ are not only limited to a particular country or state, but such markets have existed throughout the world. In Greece a place was kept separate for daily workers to come and seek jobs. In London in the 19th century the construction workers had a separate place where they could gather and get employment. Even in New York unemployed men and women would gather on the street for being employed. The term Naka Labour Market is famous only in two countries, one is India and the other is Japan. But the word “Naka Labour Market is famous” only on Mumbai in India. In Delhi they are called “Naka Mandi” and in Gujarat they are known as “Kadiya Naka”. In other states these spaces are known by other names.

Naka workers are workers who gather on the cross roads, streets of the city, railway station, parking lots, or at places where they can be easily spotted by their prospective employer. They are generally hired for a short term period. They are engaged in works like doing cleaning work, construction work, painting, mason, carpenter and plumber. The Nakas are a male dominated workforce area; very few women come to look in for this form of employment. An interesting feature of this market is that these workers can be found only in the morning hours between 6 AM to 8 AM. The workers reach the Nakas and wait for the contractor who comes and hires them on a daily basis. There is no direct contact with the actual employer and these workers. The contractor who comes and hires them is the only middleman in this process and all problems relating to labour are to be solved only through
him. But a new phenomenon of agents has also emerged in this sector. The agents help them find the contractor and take their commission for the job so provided.

The Naka workers are characterised by low level of economic activity, low level of income, no access to capital. All most all these workers live in slums, in the most unhygienic conditions. They at times they manage to get only one square meal. They are paid low wages, wages which are below the minimum wage fixed by the State. Their earning is so less that they are unable to sustain a decent standard of living. They earn very less money and due to this shortage of money they at times are unable to send their children to schools. It has been seen that as these labourers are migrants they generally stay away from their family. They live in shared houses with two or more workers. The places where they live are so unhygienic that if a disease spreads in that area everyone gets affected. Meeting medical expenses is just out of reach for them.

Due to their migrant nature, they find it difficult to avail benefits from the government schemes. They do not have identity cards which would show that they are a part of the state in which they are now, no residential proof and as a result they are kept out of the pool of benefits. Political parties do not view them as vote banks and as a result they are left to survive on their own without any form on help from the state.

**A Baseline Study of Chembur Naka**

Chembur Naka is the biggest Naka square in Mumbai and approximately 1500 workers gather here every morning in search of employment. They wait for their prospective employers from 6 AM in the morning to 11 AM. In general they can be found in large numbers in the morning in the globalized era it has been seen that due to the competition in this sector for jobs many of the workers fail to find a job and for this purpose they wait at the Naka for long hours in the hope that some contractor would come and hire them for the day. They generally are employed for 15 to 20 days in a month.

The workers are mainly migrant workers from Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and from rural areas of Maharashtra. They live in slums and zhoparpattis. These workers have been living since long and they do not migrate easily to any other place in search of jobs. The living conditions are unhygienic in these areas. Majority of them live in rented houses. The survey reveals the fact that skilled workers have their own houses. They at times depend for work on the agents. These agents charge them commission for providing them work. They generally charge them 10% to 20% as their commission fee.

Most of the workers are uneducated. A small proportion of them have done primary education and the majority of the women are illiterate. The women, who come to this Naka, come with their spouse. Many a time’s children also come with their parents to the Naka. The proportion of male higher and women constitute only a small proportion of the workforce. The age group of the workers range between 16 years to 45 years. Marathi is the most widely spoken language among these people. The majority of the workers belong to Schedule Caste category. Schedule Tribe population is negligible in this Naka. The maximum number of the workers in this Naka is married men. Hinduism is the most widely followed religion among the workers.
This Naka consists of skilled, unskilled and semi-skilled workers. The skilled workers earn more than the semi-skilled workers and unskilled workers. The skilled workers earn around Rs 6000 a month. On an average the semi-skilled workers get about Rs125 a day. The unskilled workers are paid the least. The skilled workers generally do the work of mistry, electrician, plumber, mansory, and painter. Unskilled and the semi-skilled workers do works like helper’s job, supervisor and ward boy. The time for the payment of wages and work vary according to the convenience of the employers.

Most of the workers who do not get any job, return back home and spend their day without any work. A very negligible number of workers search for alternative jobs. Most of the workers are unaware of any NGOs working in this area. They were eager to join any formal organisation, if they had to pay no fee to become a member. They felt a need to have formal organisations which would help them find jobs, provide them with financial assistance and loans.

No adequate facilities are provided to them at the Naka. There is shortage of place, even for standing at peak hours. Nirmaan Mazdoor Sanghatana has been working with these workers. They have been able to unionise these workers. But the unionisation rate is very less. Most of the workers are not ready to become a part of this union as they have to pay a fee for it. They are not willing to spend any amount of money as the registration fee. They don’t think that the union is going to help them to such an extent that they need to part away with their money. The union at present is helping the workers in recovering their wages, if it is not paid from the employer. They also help the workers in case of any injury case that takes place at their work destination.

The majority of the workers in this Naka are skilled migrant workers and they had some idea about the Naka concept before they came to Mumbai. Women are paid less in all Nakas and the same thing continues even in this Naka. These workers stick only to one Naka and they don’t like going to any other Naka in search of job. They prefer staying in their own Naka. The other thing is that the migration is not that easy between the Nakas. Due to high population pressures on the Naka, the workers restrict the workers from coming from another Naka to come and look for job at their Naka.

The problems of the Nakas are same as the problem of the unorganised sector. There is always an issue about the social security. They are not provided with any kind of support by the government and they are very comfortably kept out of all the decision making process. People who are talking about them are unaware of their problems. Groups like SEWA have actively participated in organising the unorganised workers of our country. But the efforts taken by them are not sufficient enough to benefit these people. In Maharashtra an organisation named Nirmaan Construction Union has taken steps to unionise the Naka workers. But this is a long process. The workers are not willing to become a part of a union. They do not understand the importance of being a part of a union. They are satisfied in what they are getting but at the same time they want the government to take some effective steps for their upliftment and prosperity.
Conclusion
Bringing the unorganised sector to the organised sector is a big task. The majority of the population is a part of the unorganised sector. Welfare funds can be a step to provide these workers with some kind of financial support. The government should not ignore the unorganised sector and they should consider them as a part of the economy and design policies for their benefit. One also has to look into the caste dimension of these workers. The research shows that the major population is from the Schedule Caste category. The wages paid to the workers in this sector are less but the research has not been able to see that there is a inter-wage difference in the Nakas depending on the caste profile of the workers. To get a real picture of the exploitation of the workers we cannot ignore caste as a factor. It has been believed that globalization would open up the market and the old forms of discrimination that existed in the labour market would be removed, but as the workers of lower caste are paid less only due to their caste for the same amount of work, then we need to look into the exclusion pattern in the labour market from a new perspective and challenge the new form of unseen discrimination.

References
Globalization and Universal Notion of Human Rights

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Abstract
This paper attempts to study the idea of a universal notion of human rights, such as that outlined by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) in the light of the globalization debate. I will attempt to understand the processes of globalization as they play out in the arena of the human rights debate. Like Arjun Appadurai said, “The central problem of today’s global interactions is the tension between cultural homogenization and cultural heterogenization.” (Appadurai, 2009) The focus of this paper will be the homogenization-heterogenization, universal-particular, essentialist-relativist debates that are central to the study of both globalization and the human rights discourse.

Keywords: Globalization, Human Rights, Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Introduction
There never were in the world two opinions alike, no more than two hairs or two grains; the most universal quality is diversity. – Michel de Montaigne

A central and perennial problem facing humanity is the question of its own nature. Is there such a thing as a fundamental human nature? Is there anything apart from biology and membership to the same species that is common to all human beings? Throughout human history, the diversity of mankind has been fairly obvious to everyone – in our interaction with people from other lands, different languages, different food, different clothing, diversity is obvious to our immediate senses. What has not been obvious however, is the idea of the universality of the human condition, the universality of human morality. Has human intellectual thought been able to develop a framework that can find this elusive idea of universality, while maintaining the diversity within this universality? Who develops this notion of the universal and on what basis?

This paper attempts to study the idea of a universal notion of human rights, such as that outlined by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) in the light of the globalization debate. I will attempt to understand the processes of globalization as they play out in the arena of the human rights debate. Like Arjun Appadurai said, “The central problem of today’s global interactions is the tension between cultural homogenization and cultural heterogenization.” (Appadurai, 2009) The focus of this paper will be the homogenization-heterogenization, universal-particular, essentialist-relativist debates that are central to the study of both globalization and the human rights discourse.

For the first time in human history, globalization processes are creating the detailed social infrastructure of a potentially single unified humanity, a universal human community bound together in a network of mutual human interdependence and of worldwide involvement in
one another’s fates. (Kessler, 2000) In the light of this, it is natural that the conflicting ideas of ethics and morality and basic human rights as they are seen across the world come under scrutiny. The UDHR is seen both as a consequence of early globalizing processes and an actor in more recent globalization. The need for a transnational body to come up with a “universal” conception of human rights was created by the globalizing process of increased trade, connectivity, interaction, mobility and exchange across borders. The UDHR itself is a globalizing agent within the discourse of human rights – ideas of morality and rights are exchanged across regions, power dynamics determine the direction of flow of ideas in human rights, as they do the direction of flow of capital in economic globalization.

In this paper, we limit ourselves to the question of the concept of human rights, rather than what these rights are or what they ought to be. It is important to make a distinction between concept and conception at this point. Ronald Dworkin says that a concept is "what something means" and a conception is a more particular and concrete specification of that concept. Donnelly cites the example of the constitutional prohibition of cruel and unusual punishment. While this concept is universal, its conception isn’t. What is construed as cruel and unusual is specific to time and culture (Donnelly, 1982).

The term “human rights” suggests universality in that these rights belong to all human beings everywhere. Human rights, as understood by the United Nations’ definition are inalienable and indivisible – they derive from the inherent dignity of the human person. The universality of human rights has been challenged on several grounds. It is argued that human rights are an essentially Western notion that lack applicability or even relevance in specific local, cultural contexts. Penna and Campbell argue that all symbolism used in the human rights discourse is Western (Campbell & Penna, 1996). Furedi speaks of the similarity of the human rights discourse to the “intertwining discourses of stewardship and civilization” which legitimized a ‘moral intrusion’ – “The right of the West to intervene has become a moral imperative”. (Furedi, 1997) Evans argues that rights are usually discussed in legal or philosophical terms which serve as masks to political and economic interests. He says that universal human rights offer a coherent claim to authority over the sovereign state. (Evans, 1995) This is of particular interest to globalization scholars because the question of the sovereignty of the nation-state and its changing nature is integral to the study of globalization.

Donnelly sees human rights as simply a means to realize and protect human dignity. While human dignity is an idea that is common to most societies, human rights are peculiar to Western cultural and political traditions. He suggests that most non-Western traditions lack not only the practice of human rights, but the very concept. (Donnelly, 1982) It is sometimes argued that “universal” human rights are designed for the cosmopolitan individual, removed from a particular cultural or social context – human rights need to be locally grounded to be relevant instruments of social change. (Dahre, 2010)

Formulating a definition or a set of human rights that is universal and yet flexible enough to be customized to local circumstances is no simple task. In fact, we cannot take it as given that it is even possible to achieve such a task. It isn’t quite the same as the McDonald’s chain operating under a single, identical organizational logic across the world, customizing its menu in small ways to adapt to local social and cultural environments (Ritzer, 2004). The
fundamental reason for this is that the challenges to the universality of the UDHR are not merely concerned with form; they are of a deeply substantive nature.

This is however, not to advocate a radically cultural relativist perspective of human rights. Cultural relativism in its most extreme form holds that culture is the sole source of the validity of a moral or rule (Donnelly, 1984). In the context of the human rights debate, this would mean that the moral, practical, substantive validity of a right is determined exclusively by culture. There is a constant tension in human rights discourse between a universal set of values and a multiplicity of embedded local practices (Campbell & Penna, 1996). The ideas of both ‘universalism’ and ‘tradition’ have been debated in great detail – they are both tied to distinct social and political visions. As a consequence of power relations in a globalized world, the universalist argument can conceal western hegemony. On the other hand, unscrupulous regimes and local peoples persist with inhumane behaviour and resist external scrutiny while arguing for traditionalism. (Mohan & Holland, 2001)

Another line of argument, supported by scholars like Donnelly and Booth, is that it is much too early in human history to answer the question of whether human rights are universal. (Dahre, 2010) If even the supposedly “universal” human rights outlined in the UDHR are constantly challenged and have evolved over time to include various other aspects of human rights, with the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples coming into existence as recently as 2007, what does that mean for the UDHR’s claims to universality? To claim universality is to claim absoluteness. To claim universality is to claim ahistoricity. To claim universality is to claim uniformity across time, space and cultures.

Donnelly raises a question about cultural relativism that is pertinent at this point. He wonders if a cultural relativist account of human rights is guilty of a logical contradiction. If human rights are based in human nature, on the simple fact that one is a human being, and if human nature is universal, then how can human rights be relative in any fundamental way? (Donnelly, 1984) The idea that “human nature” itself is universal, independent of cultural, geographical, historical context is an unexamined assumption which forms the basis of the Western human rights discourse.

A significant problem with the notion of universal human rights is that any endeavour to define them always arises out of the “perspectives of some unexamined assumptions about the way life or human nature is or ought to be”. One widely accepted definition of human rights is that it is equivalent to equal opportunity. However, human rights can also be defined as equal preconditions. (Dahre, 2010) This is a significant epistemological shift from the former notion – although equally valid and equally unexamined. This highlights the deeply political aspect to the human rights debate. Perhaps there only exist rights and freedoms that are informed by the politically substantive content to which they are formally opposed. (Dahre, 2010). Any idea of equality which is defined without a context, even if it is philosophically acceptable (this is itself highly questionable) to all cultures is of no real value as an instrument of social change.

One way of looking at the human rights discourse is to follow its development as a series of responses to human rights abuses. It is in confrontation with the other that the self is
defined. Ken Booth spoke of how the content and meaning of human rights can only be drawn out by human wrongs. Human wrongs are universal in a way that human rights are not; human rights are responses to human wrongs. This helps shift the focus to the victims, ensuring that a bottom-up approach is adopted while addressing the human rights question. (Booth, 1995) This re-emphasizes the idea that human rights are historically contingent. What is perceived as wrong by any society varies over time. Even in the United States of America, which was a very significant influence on the formulation of the UDHR, slavery and the political suppression of women were considered perfectly normal until less than a century ago. "Morally upright" people would treat their slaves well and not abuse the women in their families. They didn’t for a very long time, speak out against the very practice of slavery or gender discrimination. It is important to bear in mind that any society at any given point in history operates within a framework that is widely accepted as normal. True progress and change happens when flaws are recognized and corrected in what is commonly accepted as “normal”. It is only when status quo is recognized as fundamentally flawed that change happens. To insist that the world’s currently accepted, at least formally, notion of human rights is timeless and universal is to suggest that we have reached a terminal stage in the evolution of moral and political philosophy.

Donnelly argues that the historical contingency and particularity of human rights is compatible with a conception of human rights as universal rights. (Donnelly, 2003) However, I propose that the UDHR’s conception of human rights is incongruous with those accepted in other socio-cultural contexts on a very fundamental philosophical, epistemological level.

**Philosophical Incongruities**

What the UDHR has achieved is a formal and political, if hypocritical, acceptance of its prescribed notion of human rights. Over three quarters of the world’s nations have legally ratified the International Human Rights Conventions and almost all other nations have expressed a commitment to their content. (Donnelly, 2003) Even if this acceptance is merely rhetorical, Henkin believes that it is still a commitment, at least in principle, to which the state can be held accountable. He says "I have been sometimes tempted to offer two cheers for hypocrisy in human rights. Two cheers- though not three - recognize that "hypocrisy is the homage that vice pays to virtue". It is important, he believes that human rights be the virtue to which vice pays homage in our time. (Henkin, 1989) While the UDHR does have what Donnelly calls an *international normative universality*, it is virtually impossible to imagine reconciliation among the fundamentally different notions of human rights that exist across the world.

One significant fundamental difference that exists between the UDHR’s idea of human rights and several African or Asian or South American perspectives is the source of moral authority that validates these rights. The UDHR’s notion is largely informed by a brand of Western liberalism, most prominently advocated by John Locke. Prior to Locke, what is now studied as the human rights discourse was dominated by St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas’ ideas which combined the Roman legal tradition of natural rights and Christian theology. The point of divergence of Locke from these earlier ideas was in the relatively secular nature of his idea of natural rights. In the United States Declaration of Independence, which was very influential in the formulation of the UDHR, Thomas Jefferson included a phrase that was almost a direct quote by Locke; that all men are created equal and have certain
inalienable rights among which are “Life, Liberty and the pursuit of happiness.” The sanctity of the accepted Western notion of human rights is derived from its grounding in the idea of a “human nature” – they are fundamentally inalienable rights. To violate another’s human rights would be to destroy one’s own humanity, to denture oneself and become less of a human being (Donnelly, 1982).

However in Islam, for instance, there exists a notion of human rights that is essentially different from this. In Islam, human rights are a benevolence granted by Allah. They are not rights that human beings claim simply by virtue of being human, but privileges granted by God. (Khadduri, 1946) There are two other considerable grounds on which the Islamic notion differs from the UDHR’s. One is that in Islam, “human rights” are the privilege only of persons of full legal status – free, male Moslems of mature age (Khadduri, 1946). They are not granted to all human beings and are hence radically different from what we understand to be human rights. The second is that in Islam, “rights” have to be earned. The framework of Islamic morality and ethics is such that it is grounded in duties. What is usually seen as a right to freedom of speech for instance, is seen in Islam as an obligation to speak the truth at all times. When one does one’s duty, one is rewarded by divinity with certain freedoms or rights. We can see that human rights are granted on the basis of a person’s actions or status, not a universal “human nature”. (Donnelly, 1982)

In the Soviet philosophy too, a person’s worth or significance and hence, degree of claim to rights is measured by how well he performs his duties (Donnelly, 1982). There are several other examples that could be cited at this point, but it would be beyond the scope of this paper to outline them all. While it might eventually become accepted that granting human rights on the basis of gender or religious faith is a human wrong that I earlier spoke of, the view that rights and duties are two sides of the same coin cannot be declared morally indefensible with the same ease. My objective here is to point out there are certain irreconcilable differences between the UDHR’s and other cultural notions of human rights. To claim universality when there exist such basic incompatibilities with other non-Western notions would be erroneous.

One significant source of these issues is the philosophical inheritance of the human rights discourse. Locke’s liberalism, which clearly informs the UDHR’s notion of human rights to a great extent, is deeply grounded in individualism. The consideration of the individual human being as a distinct rights-bearing entity, an ideological emphasis on the moral sanctity of the individual above all else is Western in origin; it is a post-Cartesian concept. However from African, Islamic or Hindu perspectives, to name a few, a more communitarian version of human rights might emerge. Dominant philosophies in each of these regions give us some indication of where these disparate notions of human rights come from. Indian philosophy, particularly the Advaita Vedanta philosophy emphasizes the idea of a single unity of existence. Liberation comes from the recognition and understanding of the fact that the self and the other are not distinct, mutually exclusive entities – they are parts of the same whole. However, since Descartes, modern Western philosophy has been increasingly individualistic – Nietzsche, Kant, the French existentialists, almost to the point of pitting the individual against the rest of the world like in Sartre’s works or in the rather radical Nihilist philosophy.
Another major element of the UDHR’s notion that is incompatible with Asian or African perspectives is the distinction between civic and political rights (CPR) and economic and social rights (ESCR). A genuine globalization of human rights means completely eliminating the ideological distinction that exists between civil and political rights on the one hand, and economic and social rights on the other (Sklair, 2009) This separation allows states to focus on either one or the other, despite the UDHR’s claims to indivisibility. The human rights discourse has generally privileged civil and political rights over socio-economic rights. This helps keep the human rights discourse within the theoretical, abstract realm and saves it the trouble of having to address the issues raised by the harsh, cruel realities of an unrestricted economic globalization. The emphasis on CPR has sidelined critical discussions about economic rights. Unless political and economic interests are threatened, the project of global capitalism ignores the victims of rights abuses. (Evans, 1995)

Globalization, the Nation-State and the question of agency

Human rights are a socio-legal construct designed to protect individuals from threats to their human dignity. Despite the international proclamation of universality, the institutions which oversee international law are relatively weak. This means that the onus for defending human rights claims falls largely on states. (An-Na'im). The idea here is that citizenship guarantees the “right to rights”. This means that although transnational mechanisms are in place, the quality of human rights depends upon the nature of the state that a person belongs to. Here we see another assumption arising out of Western notions of modernity – the implicit assumption that the nation-state system functions without trouble everywhere. It is often the state itself that is the perpetrator of human rights abuses. When the UDHR makes the state the institution through which human rights grievances should be addressed, this problem is further compounded. For instance, a recent report from the Human Rights Watch shows that while many regimes have established Human Rights Commissions in order to secure donor support they are largely ineffective and turn a blind eye to rights abuses (The Guardian, 23 February 2001)

The assumption that the boundaries of the nation-state coincide with social and cultural boundaries is deeply flawed, particularly in the context of African and Asian nations. These are regions with a multiplicity of cultures, races and ethnicities co-existing, whether or not peacefully. Post-colonial nation-state boundaries do not effectively take into account the notion of ‘peoples’. What is staggeringly difficult to arrive at however, is a clear definition of “people”, if it can be something other than the entire population of a state. (Mohan & Holland, 2001) If a “people” feel oppressed by the state, like the Kantangese of Congo, the Casamance of Senegal or the Tamils of Sri Lanka, whom do they claim their rights from? The nation is not a primary source of identity for several Southern cultures. Globalization, in terms of increased interconnectivity, easier translocation and more permeable boundaries, has further reduced the primacy of the nation-state. This further complicates the human rights issue – the question of refugees, diasporic communities, etc. Do they turn to their countries of origin to address their human rights violations or can they claim their rights from their countries of residence? When it comes to refugees, the case often is that they have been driven out of their home countries due to seriously unfavourable conditions and human rights abuse perpetrated or supported by the home country itself. To the countries refugees flee to, they are an unwanted burden, they are illegal immigrants and the state...
does not take it upon itself to guarantee refugees their basic rights. It is clearly absurd to make the state the sole guarantor of human rights in such situations.

The central globalization debate - Homogenization versus Heterogenization
While counter-homogenization reinforces heterogeneity on a macro level, it often leads to homogenization on a micro level. An example of this can be found in cultural globalization. Appadurai speaks of how the globalization of culture, although distinct from homogenization, often employs the instruments of homogenization to advance its project - advertising, clothing styles, language hegemonies, etc. These are absorbed into local cultures and are then repatriated as heterogeneous dialogues of national sovereignty, fundamentalism etc. The state thus becomes the arbiter of the “repatriation of difference” - however, this aggravates internal politics of homogenization by the local majority. (Appadurai, 2009)

When we study inequality on a global level, a distinction is made between equality between nations and equality among nations. Some globalization theorists hypothesize that even if globalization has reduced inequality between nations, this perpetuates inequality within nations. This is attributed to various reasons from the fact that the economic gains of international trade accrue primarily to the elite capitalist class in any nation to the fact that the new emerging global economy is information and knowledge based.

Not entirely different from this is the idea that when notions of human rights and human dignity of non-Western origin are studied in academic literature, it is difficult to take into account every single philosophical tradition in the world. Regions are normally considered units of analysis in human rights literature. When massive continents such as Asia or Africa are considered homogenous units, power relations within these continents come into play.

Just as in the power dynamics that lead to “universal” notions privileging philosophical traditions emerging from certain parts of the world over others, even within these regions, in a Foucauldian reproduction of the interplay of power, what is said and who has the authority to say it is shaped by discursive power structures. Globalization has not changed this politics of invisibility or super-visibility. The human rights discourse continues to be shaped by the powers for whom maintaining a political and social status quo is of interest (Dahre, 2010). At the risk of an oversimplification, these units which get progressively smaller – from the global to the international to the national to the local are like Russian dolls which fit into each other. Each doll relates to the doll that is just bigger than it and the doll that is just smaller than it in an almost identical manner. As the local relates to the national, the national relates to the regional and the regional to the global.

For instance, in a paper titled “An Analytic Critique of Non-Western Conceptions of Human Rights” that appeared in the prestigious American Political Science Review, leading human rights theorist Jack Donnelly advocates that human rights are an essentially Western notion, but “an approach particularly suited to contemporary social, political, and economic conditions, and thus of widespread contemporary relevance both in the West and the Third World” (Donnelly, 1982). Donnelly dismisses the idea of Indian philosophy even engaging with the, or even a notion of human rights in about three superficial paragraphs about the Hindu caste system implying strongly that there are fundamental, unchanging differences
and inequalities between different castes. There is absolutely no mention of the distinction between the varna and the jati systems where the former speaks of caste as being based on profession and not vice-versa. There is also no engagement with non-Hindu philosophical traditions emerging from the sub-continent. Ellen Messer adopts a similar approach of clubbing together vast and diverse traditions under convenient umbrella classifications. Even when we speak of Western conceptions of human rights in general, we are ignoring several philosophers like Bentham, Burke and Marx who had views on human rights that differ from what is expressed in the UDHR or Locke’s ideas of liberalism.

My intention here is not to criticize or denounce these approaches, merely to point out the constant dialectic tension between homogenization and heterogenization, which is fundamental to the study of globalization and the difficulty of developing a truly universal notion of anything. It is obviously beyond the scope of any research paper, or even a researcher’s entire oeuvre to delve deeply into every single philosophical tradition in the world. It is imperative however, to recognize and acknowledge these limitations.

References


Governance in a Globalizing World

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Abstract
The world today is diversified and complex and a number of small nations find it hard to deal with major issues. On the other hand, some countries are too big to tackle minor matters. To adapt to globalization, an objective requirement is to diversify the forms of social management in the global scope while continuing to heighten the role of national governments and international institutions, non-governmental organizations, social movements and transnational forces on the basis of bilateral and mutually beneficial cooperation. There are two sides of globalization a Subjective and Objective. Subjective looks at globalization from an individual’s perspective (what can be called the worm’s eye) while objective looks at the global perspective. (bird’s eye view). Global governance is the part of this objectivity. There is no universally accepted definition of governance, but this term is often used to refer to interpretations of order, stability and politico-economic management.

Keywords: Globalization, Governance, Politico-economic Management

Introduction
Globalization today is not working for many in the world. To some, the answer is, Abandon Globalization. However, realistically this is neither feasible nor desirable. Globalization has brought huge profits as well as huge implications. Reversing globalization, even if it could be done, would be an enormous setback. It must be understood that the major problem is not with Globalization but with how it is managed. As some part of the problem lies with the international economic institutions, with the IMF, World Bank and WTO, which basically hold the strings? They do so in many ways often serving the interests of advanced industrialized countries rather than those of the developing countries.

Globalization has to be reshaped, reformed to allow it to realize its true potential. This requires a review of interests and ideology, the need for stronger International Public Institutions which focus on issues of collective action, transparency in decision making, and finally general reform. However, the most fundamental and crucial change that is required that will enable globalization to be a force for good, is a change in governance.

This concern has given rise to a now-fashionable interest in "global governance," or the design of institutions that authoritatively manage and regulate actions, processes, and problems of global scope or effect. While some believe such governance is desirable but lacking, others think it is in fact emerging in the work of various international organizations and groups active in civil society. Though advocates of global governance portray it as enhancing democracy, defenders of traditional democratic values and state interests have questioned such claims.
The Nature of Global governance

The study of Globalization appears rather abstract and ‘out there’ rather than part of our daily lives. This is not surprising and, indeed is one of the fundamental problems of globalization. There are two sides to globalization a subjective and an objective. Subjective looks at globalization from an individual’s perspective (what can be called the ‘worm’s eye’ view) while objective looks at the global perspective (‘bird’s eye’ view). Global governance is part of this objectivity. There is no universally accepted definition of ‘governance’, but this term is often used to refer to interpretations of order, stability and politico-economic management. The Commission on Global Governance has, for instance, defined governance as ‘the sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs’. It has posited that governance is ‘a continuing process through which conflicting and diverse interests may be accommodated and cooperative action may be taken’. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, on the other hand, use ‘good governance’ to refer to a particular type of political and economic order. For them, ‘good governance’ is associated with the spread of democracy and transparency in governments and free markets. ‘Good governance’ is the opposite of arbitrary and self-seeking rule, corruption and cronyism, which have been endemic in some Third World societies. However, the World Bank and IMF’s version of ‘good governance’ has been costly to Third World peoples. Although the World Bank and the IMF started to emphasize different priorities following the crises in East Asia in the late 1990s, their ‘good governance’ is still associated with reduction in public expenditures, emphasis on exports and charges in hospitals and schools.

The concept of global governance, as distinct from ‘good governance’, refers to formal and informal sets of arrangements in global politics. It implies that states alone cannot manage global affairs, and therefore it accords roles to international governmental organizations (IGOs), non-governmental organizations (NGO’s) and multinational corporations (MNC’s). Global governance refers to transnational networks, institution building, norm entrepreneurship, regime creation and the management of global change. It covers many issues, such as women’s rights, human rights, development, democratization, the environment, security and investments. Its recent achievements include the treaty banning landmines, the Kyoto climate convention, the international criminal court, the World Trade Organization, and the ‘new generation’ UN Peacekeeping operations. In a nutshell, global governance describes regimes or systems of rules, embracing both formal and informal regulatory mechanisms.

Underlying global governance is tolerance and a willingness to manage differences and reconcile self/other, us/them and inside/outside. This can take place only where there is a common set of values, norms, beliefs, ideas and institutions. As these values evolve, the nature of global governance has necessarily to change. Indeed, global governance ‘is a broad, dynamic, complex process that is constantly evolving and responding to changing circumstances.

The Need for Global Governance and Globalization

Contemporary policy challenges commonly require co-operative international approaches to transnational policy challenges that have a direct impact on individual states, requiring both the strengthening of global governance mechanisms and also its continuous extension.
to address new policy challenges. Globalization brings with it both new opportunities and many challenges. Pollution does not respect international boundaries while terrorism, drugs, the proliferation of small arms, and other transnational problems not only dominate the political agendas of individual states, but require international co-operation if they are to be dealt with effectively.

These new global policy challenges share several common features:

a. They are often transnational and have direct domestic impacts.
b. No one can successfully control them.
c. Solutions therefore require a multilateral approach which accounts for, and where possible incorporates the interests and inputs of key stakeholders.
d. Decisions have an effect and it is impossible to isolate policy options and outcomes from each other.
e. Policy development must be holistic to the maximum possible.
f. Multilateral institutions must adapt to accommodate these challenges. States must therefore work to strengthen and where necessary create the processes needed for effective global governance.

The individual processes which, in aggregate represent globalization can to a certain extent be regulated and shaped, though imperfectly. Successful regulation of these trends requires multilateral co-operation and domestic institutions capable of managing international governance in the absence of government.

Given the complexity of global governance it is helpful to think in terms of increasingly interdependent levels of governance. Decisions at the international level have direct impacts on both states and their citizens, conversely individuals acting through a variety of channels are increasingly able to influence the international system, whether mobilized in favour of policy by an NGO or other group or by appealing directly to multinational legal bodies instead of domestic legal systems. Thus policy challenges cut across these different levels as transnational trends, the governance challenge are for institutions at all levels is to co-operate. States must balance the sovereignty they are required to sacrifice in order to achieve the benefits of a global governance model.

The Challenge of Global Issues and the need for Global Governance

Since 1980s, economic globalization has been gaining momentum. More and more countries have integrated themselves into the world market in order to gain more welfare and interests, no matter willingly or reluctantly. Interdependence among nations all over the world has reached to an unprecedented level. One country's domestic policy making is increasingly constrained or influenced by external and international situations and vice versa. More and more domestic social and economic issues emerged with international impacts. So national governments can no longer overlook the international impacts and background when they deal with domestic social, economic and even political issues. They need international cooperation and coordination to solve domestic problems with international source and backgrounds. Sometimes, a national government will seek international coordination only for more efficient results of its domestic policy because of increasing interdependence.
At the same time, globalization brought numerous challenges in today's world with many worldwide-scaled issues, which is impossible to be solved by individual countries. These so-called global issues are the issues not only faced by individual country, but by many and the world as a whole. The feature of these issues lies in the indivisibility of the issues, for example, transborder pollution and crimes. The damaged result of these issues is impossible to be contained and divided by the border. All these global issues call for international cooperation and coordination. As these global issues become worse and more serious, the need for international cooperation will be increasing.

The global issues can be mainly categorized into three kinds: the first, political and security issues such as nuclear weapon spreads and international terrorism; the second, economic issues such as energy shortage, financial crisis and poverty relief; the third environmental issues such as pollution and global warming. All of above mentioned issues need international efforts to deal with. However, in the first category, the question is mainly to strengthen the international cooperation among nations through negotiations and common actions. It is not yet a matter of global governance as the political sensitivity and state sovereignty usually involves in this regard. Differences among nations usually are more than consensuses if politics and state sovereignty are involved. Although international organization plays a role in dealing with these issues, for example, the United Nations, especially the UN Security Council is the principal body in dealing with international political and security issues, common interests are mainly reached through negotiations and compromise among conflicting parties and nations. The international organizations usually cannot "govern" the issues. So it is not recommended to strengthen and improve the international organizations to deal with the first category issues.

The second and the third category issues are somewhat different from the first category. There are more common interests for global action. If the world society neglects the issues and takes less action to deal with them, there will be damages to almost all countries. Thus we believe there is an increasing need for global governance in this regard and international organizations should play an increasing important role to deal these global issues.

That the global issues brought challenges to all countries and raised the urgent need for global actions does not necessarily mean that the international cooperation will take place automatically. However, the development of global governance evolves very slowly. Narrow national interests, traditional perceptions and unilateral hegemonism all checked the development of international cooperation. All countries in the world should realize the urgent need, adopt a principle of mutual benefit and win-win cooperation and establish a fair, reasonable and acceptable-by- all-party mechanism of global governance.

The greatest challenge we face today is to ensure that globalization becomes a positive force for the entire world's people, instead of leaving billions of them behind in squalor. Inclusive globalization must be built on the great enabling force of the market, but market forces alone will not achieve it. It requires a broader effort to create a shared future, based upon our common humanity in all its diversity.
Impact of Power politics on Global Governance

Power in world politics clearly matters; new realities have changed the nature of power necessary to affect policy as well as the forums in which that power is exercised. Some continue to argue that power remains the key and the search for security, the inescapable purpose of international relations. It can be said that there is an increasing ability shown by states to work with non-state actors. The nature and exercise of power has, in short changed. States exercise power not only when they influence a decision, but perhaps more importantly when they shape the context, framework and norms by and within which any decisions are arrived at.

Recent trends such as the growth of treaty law, human rights declarations and other similar institutions and organizations suggest this. The state still plays a central role both in aggregating domestic influence and as a primary participant in a multilateral process. The sovereign functions of the state have therefore been transformed and not simply been eroded. However, it cannot be denied that it is power that determines whose interests, rules and standards become ‘global’. The development discourse has crystallized in practices that contribute to regulating the everyday goings and comings of people in the third world. How is its power exercised in the daily social and economic life of countries and communities? How does it produce its effect on the way people think and act?

Thus, while global governance requires tolerance and accommodation of conflicting interests across national, racial, class, gender and ethnic boundaries, it is often the preferences of the most powerful actors that are accommodated. This is and will be a fundamental challenge to the concept of global governance. By using the optics of power, we transform the image of global governance. No longer is it solely concerned with the creation and maintenance of institutional arrangements though consensual relations and voluntary choice. It now becomes a question of how global life is organized, structures, and regulated. Such a re-visioning of global governance not only reshapes understanding of global governance. It also forces us to consider basic normative issues of international relations theory. The concern with power, after all, brings attention to global structures, process, and institutions that shape the fates and life chances of actors around the world. We become concerned with the legitimacy of particular governing arrangements, who gets to participate, whose voice matters, and whose vote counts. An examination of international institutions, accordingly, concerns not only whether they are efficient but also whether they are fair and legitimate. The focus on power, in short, compels us to engage the analytics, the empirics, and the ethics of global governance.

Conclusions

We are aware that Globalization brought numerous challenges in today’s world, most of them are worldwide scaled and impossible to be solved by individual countries. We believe that there is a need of international cooperation and international mechanism to deal with them. Big players in the world society, no matter rich or poor should have an urgent missionary sense to take cooperative measures to meet the challenge. All global issues and challenges are deeply rooted from increasing divergence between rich and poor nations and between social strata. Therefore, we consider that most of the global challenges should be dealt with the international efforts to the poverty relief. Rich countries that benefit the
most from globalization need to take initiative and contribute more resources to deal with all these challenges.

What should be the strategy for better global governance? There are several recommendations that have been proposed but five perspectives can be said to be the most fundamental to make globalization a workable force. The First is effective, representative national governments are essential for democratizing global institutions - The international system does not weaken national governments; rather, it relies on them. This perspective is very important considering the debate on the erosion of state sovereignty by global governance. Weak states are threats to themselves and to global governance. The efficiency of the state is increasingly threatened where legitimacy is weak (‘rogue states’, semi-authoritarian regimes, facade democracies), but enhanced where the freedom and effectiveness of civil society are high. Second, an ethical and accountable structure is required - Global governance will succeed if there is a global acceptance that ethics and accountability are fundamental pillars in its structure. This has to be cultivated. Thirdly, effective regional governance is needed for infrastructure development and management of natural resources - The emergence of strong regional governance is often seen as hostile to global governance. But as long as they do not restrict trade, effective regional arrangements act as the building blocks of global governance by facilitating the movement of people, development of trade and infrastructure, and natural resource management.

Fourthly, reform - There should be reform, de-bureaucratization, and democratization of global organizations such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the World Trade Organization, and the United Nations system so that proposals, programs, and agreements can be made viable. These should conform with and strengthen institutionalism and mechanisms for global governance responding to present and future challenges. Reform of the United Nations system should reflect the new world geopolitical reality; the Security Council should be expanded, and the right of veto enjoyed by certain States to sanction issues of global interest should be eliminated. Finally, strengthen International law and international juridical arrangements. This is required in the context of a new reality in which relations have globalized rapidly and surpass the territorial dimension of laws currently in effect. The International Courts should be strengthened like the ICJ, ICC etc.

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Abstract
Emerging economies like China and India with their substantial GDP growth rate has transpired them to become donors and investors worldwide and especially in Africa. Western nations have injected an estimated $1.8 Trillion of aid and investment (A&I) money into Africa since 1950s but poverty has only increased with no positive effect on growth. Various questions hounding the world is whether Africa is a black hole where the A&I money vanish? How and why it will be very contemptuous on any country’s part to treat Africa as a pariah continent? and why the principle of triage is unwarranted to put an end to their involvement in the continent. A paternalistic approach is evident in these aid handouts where no consideration is paid to the needs of the recipients. A request driven A&I is the need of Africa which must be met by its donors. Emerging economies have come up as attractive development partners for many African countries with a view that they understand Africa’s development aspirations. They veritably abstain from the use of the term aid as it carries colonial connotations and prefer themselves as development partners.

This paper will discuss the role of China and India as development partners to Africa and their portrayal as investment powerhouses. The intention of this paper is to dissuade the idea of neo-colonialism and contribute a balanced view to various controversies associated with China’s and India’s presence in Africa.

Keywords: Aid, Development, Neo-colonialism

Introduction
Africa, since a long time has been attributed to as the Dark Continent, not in reference to its colored inhabitants but in reference to how little knowledge the Westerners had of it. The audacity of the West was perplexing as it branded Africa dark, only because they were unaware of the vast continent. It initiated the patronizing and paternalistic view with which the Westerners have viewed Africa since then to this very day. Western countries since 1950s have disbursed a trillion US$ as aid money to Africa but its effects have been far from constructive. There is no dearth of empirical examples substantiating this point. Just a few in cases may be – With an average per capita income of roughly US$1 a day, sub-Saharan Africa remains the poorest region in the world. Africa’s real per capita income today is lower than in 1970s, leaving many African countries at least as poor as they were forty years ago, life expectancy has stagnated with Africa being the only continent where life expectancy is less than sixty years, and in some countries it has fallen back to what it was in the 1950s, adult literacy across Africa has plummeted below pre-1980 levels. (Dambisa Moyo, 2010)

The conundrum and politics of aid by the Western nations, coupled along with China’s and India’s own economic rise has resulted in higher footprint of these countries in Africa which
have provided an alternative growth pattern for many African countries. This paper will discuss as to what actually aid is and how it has been politicized to keep the growth of the continent in leash. The second part of the paper will discuss the rise of China and India in Africa and various controversies associated with it.

Aid – A Conceptual Framework
Aid can be classified in three distinct forms. First is the humanitarian or emergency based aid, which is mobilized and apportioned in wake of natural disasters and calamities, for example in Asian Tsunami of 2004 and for Myanmar cyclones of 2008. Second is the charity-based aid where the donation by rich people, for example, to Africa results in a girl child attaining education but it does not allow a meaningful growth to take place. It is a makeshift arrangement or a band aid solution to the graver underlying problem. Third is the systematic aid that is made directly to the governments either through government-to-government transfer (bilateral aid) or transferred via institutions such as World Bank (multilateral aid). Large systematic aid from Western nations to African governments has tended to be in form of concessional loans and grants.

Concessional loan is the money that is lent at below market interest rates and often for much longer lending periods than ordinary commercial markets whereas grants is the money that is given for nothing in return. The prospect of repayment of loans is seen as the source of funding various infrastructural projects by the governments which will mobilize tax collection and maintain the current levels of revenue collection. However, this has resulted in default in debt repayment and increase in burden of many African governments as most of the infrastructure projects have a large gestation period. Thus, the vicious cycle of loan and default continues to plague the nations. This problem has led many donors to push for a policy of grants, which are free resources and could perfectly substitute the government’s domestic revenue. However, this has brought about the problems of transparency and accountability to the fore where leaders of grant recipient countries involve themselves in corruption, embezzlement and rent seeking habits. This choice between concession loans and grants has been termed as Samaritan’s dilemma. (Gibson C.C, 2005) The donee country must be independent in order to reap the maximum benefits of these aid allocations. Economic autonomy of various African countries has always been dubious.

Africa, A quasi-independent space
African nations did achieve independence in 1950s and 1960s but it was pseudo-independence as the countries were never economically freed from the clutches of their colonial masters (George T.Yu, 1966) African countries did strive for attaining Positive sovereignty. (Robert Jackson, 1993) Positive sovereignty is where the government not only enjoys the rights of non-intervention and other institutional immunities but also possesses the clout to provide public and political goods for its citizens which includes educational facility, health facilities and national security. The African nations till 1990s had achieved only Negative sovereignty or Juridical sovereignty (Michael Barnett, 1995) which can be defined as the freedom from outside interference and most of the African countries acquired this from their former colonizers as a consequence of the international enfranchisement movement. Further, the paper will elucidate how aid has played active role
in the continuation of such a space in Africa and how China and India are providing a hope for change.

**Why aid does not work?**
The aid culture is directly related to the estrangement of African governments and African people. Aid emergence and its encapsulation of the continent can be attributed to chiefly three reasons. Firstly the decolonization process of Africa coincided with the emergence of the economic literature in Western countries which empirically stated that savings equal investment equals growth. But, as these countries were newly independent and were poor, they lacked savings. Western policy makers propounded that aid can be a substitute for savings which will get converted to investment and growth, ultimately alleviating poverty. Secondly, the success of the Marshall plan through which Western Europe came on strong economic footing after the Second World War gave an impetuous and confidence to policy makers for the replication of similar aid programs in Africa. Thirdly, the battle for the world hegemony during the Cold War was played extensively in Africa with the weapon of aid. Aid became a key tool in the contest to turn the world capitalist or communist. If Soviets supported Patrice Lumumba in Congo and Mengistu Mariam in Ethiopia then US backed Mobutu in Zaire. (Dambisa Moyo, 2010) These all scenarios culminated in donor recipient governments to disregard, ignore and ill maintain the democratic credentials and indices which are expected out of any democratic nation. They somehow absolved itself of its responsibilities which it had towards its citizens in terms of providing the public goods. This responsibility was very conveniently handed over to the donors. The African leaders have understood that aid will perennially keep flowing and has thus shied away from its democratic contract and political imperatives. US and European countries are equally to be blamed for this.

**Diverse Africa: Why no single policy initiative is advisable?**
A paternalistic aid dispensation to Africa is another reason as to why A&I by Western countries have failed in Africa. Western nations never explored the needs and aspirations of the African people instead they imposed their own idea and knowledge on Africans. Africa, the continent in itself is not monolithic space but is highly diverse. As a former French colony with Arab influences and mainly Muslim population, Senegal is quite different from Malawi, a former British colony with predominantly Christian population. Lusophone Angola and Mozambique are different from Anglophone Kenya and Tanzania and both are different from Francophone Algiers and Senegal; just to make things interesting, all are different from Ethiopia which was never colonized. Even economically, tea exporting Kenya is structurally quite different from ex-Belgian colony of Democratic Republic of Congo, which remains a large mineral exporter. (Dambisa Moyo, 2010) Thus, a single policy will not suffice for the entire continent; leave alone a non-localized policy being framed in a faraway Western country. A&I catering to the need of the recipient country will go a long way in bolstering the confidence and trust between both the donor and recipient nations. This is where emergence of China and India has been interesting and contentious in equal measures.

**China and India as aid donor in Africa: An analysis**

**Historical and Political presence**
The presence of China and India in Africa is not a contemporary phenomenon; in fact Indian presence predates that of the Chinese. However, the reason for their present ubiquity in
Africa is different. Indian presence is historical and cultural in nature whereas Chinese deluge has political origins. Indian traders and businessmen have made countries like Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda and South Africa their home since eighteenth century. Indian manual workers brought in by their British colonizers were instrumental in the laying of the railway track connecting Mombasa in Kenya to Kampala in Uganda in the early twentieth century. The rupee was then East Africa’s main currency. (The Indian Express) China has a very different rationale of its presence in Africa. Chinese nation building coincided with the decolonization process of Africa. 1950s was a period when Western nations were having reservations in recognizing People’s Republic of China (PRC). In order to legitimize it existence and garner support of the international community, PRC backed the decolonization process and was at the forefront of criticizing the Western tactics in trying to hold on to their African colonies even after granting them independence. (George T. Yu, 1966) Fostering of such anti-colonial and post-colonial solidarity was repaid through African states’ recognition of the PRC. (Barry Sautman and Yan Hairong, 2007)

Present Scenario
In present times, emerging countries like China and India have conquered Africa not through the barrel of the gun but, through the muscle of their money. In April 2008, New Delhi launched its own Africa summit- the Indian-African Summit- promising, like China, lines of credit (LOC) and duty free access to Africa. India plans to double its credit lines to Africa from US$2.15 billion in 2003-04 to US$5.4 billion in 2008-09. (Dambisa Moyo, 2010) During the second India-Africa Summit held in the Ethiopian capital in 2011, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh pledged another $5 billion to African countries for their economic development. (Business Standard) This included US$300 million LOC to help revive Ethiopia-Djibouti rail route and US$710 million in LOC to help rural electrification and revival of sugar industry of lower Oma region in Ethiopia. Apart from pledging money directly, India through its Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation program has agreed to build human resources capacity and training arrangement for Ethiopian diplomats and trade negotiators. China is of course far ahead in Africa in terms of money pumped in owing to its obvious large size of economy. China has invested US$900 million in Africa in 2004 and between 2000 and 2005 Chinese Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) to Africa totalled US$30 billion. As of mid-2007, stocks of China’s FDI to Africa were US$100 billion. There is no inadequacy of such statistics for both the countries however; representing the numerical figures is not the motive of this paper. Instead, it is desirable to critically analyze the controversy that these countries have stirred up in the media and in Western countries.

These settings raise an important issue whether China and India are competing. Both the sides play such comparisons down and see their presence more on strategic terms than based on short term economic gains. They do sparingly compete for the same resources and infrastructure projects and Chinese are ahead in some of them. But, the wins for Chinese come at a cost. Indian business houses have encountered fewer hostilities as compared to the Chinese owing not only to former’s smaller presence but also the kind of business sector it involves itself in. The charge is led by private sector firms such as Bharti Enterprises, Essar, Tatas. Rather than focusing on trading goods, they increasingly invest in the continent. Bharti Airtel bought an Africa-wide mobile phone network in 2010 for US$10.7 billion. The Asian behemoths do compete for selling turbines and mineral ores, but when it comes to setting up hospitals or telecom infrastructure, Indian firms have little to fear from the
Chinese as their firms are still state owned. Thus, the strength and opportunities of both the countries are quite diverse at the moment and both of them are enjoying their positions in Africa. It is very prudent here to share Mahatma Gandhi’s lines “The commerce between India and Africa will be of ideas and services, not of manufactured goods against raw materials after the fashions of Western exploiters”. (Indian Express)

Controversial presence of Asian Giants
China’s and India’s charm offensive has not gone unnoticed. Criticisms from the countries that currently rule the roost in determining Africa’s destiny think in most paternalistic manner, that it is their moral responsibility to look after Africa. (Dambisa Moyo, 2010) Emerging countries have come to Africa with a positive attitude of doing business and they treat Africa and Africans as equal partners unlike the Westerners who have dealt with Africa with the premonition of goodwill, guilt and pity and continue to do so. Both China and India have had bitter colonial experiences in the past hence, are ever so cautious of their interactions with Africa. India, for example, is reticent in using the word ‘Aid’ and instead addresses the African nations as ‘Development Partners’ due to colonial connotations of the former term. Clamour of allegations and objections have been leveled against China’s record on governance and human rights and against India’s land grabs throughout the continent.

Chinese anxiety
One of the most prominent allegations against China is its support to corrupt leaders of Africa. However, history has a different story to narrate. It was Western aid regime that gave rise to Africa’s most notorious plunderers and despots in form of client leaders of Zaire’s Mobutu, Uganda’s Idi Amin and CAR’s Bokassa to name just a few. 2005 visit of Chinese premier Hu Jintao to Robert Mugabe’s Zimbabwe created a lot of flutter in the Western media who congenially ignored the fact that both US and UK have maintained diplomatic ties with Zimbabwe and as recently as 2006 has granted a combined aid package of US$300 million. There are some tangible concerns of lax safety standards around hazardous jobs like in mining and mining related industries, problems of underbidding local firms and not hiring local Africans. This may well be the case and this is where the African governments should step in and not the Western powers. Similarly it would be intellectually dishonest and wrong on world community’s part to try and stop Africans from doing business with the Chinese on the issue of human rights and governance. The entire world community must jointly tackle these issues with China as such problems are prevalent in all geographical spaces wherever China does its business.

Indian unease
A lot of bad press was generated regarding the issue of land grabs by India’s private sector companies with an investment of over US$5 billion and leases over 600,000 hectares. In 2008, Karuturi Global made international headlines when it leased 300,000 hectares of land in southern Ethiopia with the stated aim of becoming the world’s largest food producer. It was written extensively that much of the production was meant for export and local food grains which are the staple diet of the area will not be grown. However, the firm through its forward linkages can easily supply the production of sugarcane as raw material for the sugar factories for which the Exim bank has pledged US$710 million. The company is not contractually obligated to hire local people and the Ethiopian government has been
prodded to reassess its leasing policy. (The Hindu) and moreover it would not make any economic sense to export Indian laborers to Ethiopia when Ethiopia itself has cheap labor. Through the focus of Growth and Transformation Plan, the focus is given to raise the level of contribution of extensive and mechanized farming which will help extricate the country out of poverty. Moreover, similar land leasing exercises in Latin America hardly creates news as most of the firms involved there are from Western nations. Various Malaysian firms and private equity hedge funds originating from US and Europe have rushed to Africa to invest in the farm land. The noise of land grabs in Africa has everything to do with the paternalism of some of the activists as well as with the identity of the investors who are currently benefitting from the deals.

Conclusion
Western nations have for long exploited, plundered and pulverized Africa and criticizing the emerging nations like China and India of their presence in Africa only showcases their hypocrisy and double standards. Local needs and aspirations are considered by China and India in their interactions with African nations and their A&I are need based unlike that of Westerners, whose abject disregard of local needs have been well documented. These countries are also not intrusive and interventionist in the day to day working of the African governments. The whole concept of aid is to keep the holistic development of any country in a limbo and not to allow the nations to grow on its own; it doesn’t allow a country to mature by arresting them in a prolonged childish phase. China and India through their technology transfer and various training modules have been constantly trying to empower the African people. Branding Chinese and Indian presence in Africa as Neo-Colonialism will be utterly disdainful on part of Western nations.

References
Table 1: Top 10 Official Development Assistance by Development Assistance Committee (Bilateral Aid)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>3-year average</th>
<th>% of DAC countries</th>
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<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>7672</td>
<td>7763</td>
<td>9423</td>
<td>8286</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>4093</td>
<td>4187</td>
<td>4641</td>
<td>4307</td>
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<tr>
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<td>3075</td>
<td>3409</td>
<td>3093</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>2084</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>2575</td>
<td>2202</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>1499</td>
<td>1888</td>
<td>1708</td>
<td>1698</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>1342</td>
<td>1535</td>
<td>1545</td>
<td>1474</td>
<td>5%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>1216</td>
<td>1369</td>
<td>979</td>
<td>1188</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
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<td>1245</td>
<td>742</td>
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<td>4%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>914</td>
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<td>1351</td>
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<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
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<td>1080</td>
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<td>5158</td>
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<td>29346</td>
<td>32611</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>3-year average</td>
<td>% of all multilaterals</td>
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<td><strong>EU Institutions</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>IDA</td>
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<td>4934</td>
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<td>1918</td>
<td>2272</td>
<td>2313</td>
<td>13%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Global Fund</td>
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<td>1914</td>
<td>1534</td>
<td>1618</td>
<td>9%</td>
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<td>IMF (Concessional</td>
<td>2075</td>
<td>1194</td>
<td>1057</td>
<td>1442</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
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<td>484</td>
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<td>517</td>
<td>351</td>
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<tr>
<td>ARAB Funds (AFESD)</td>
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<td>285</td>
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<td>2%</td>
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<td>UNDP</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>277</td>
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<td>264</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>221</td>
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<td>205</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1110</td>
<td>1098</td>
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<tr>
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<td>19358</td>
<td>18252</td>
<td>17900</td>
<td>18503</td>
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Global Ethics and Integrity in MNCs: 
A Reality Check in Indian Context

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Abstract
Ethics and integrity issues are at the centre of management process of the Multinational Corporations (MNC). They have accelerated a significant development for the regulation and governance of trade, business and investment. As different management strategies are adopted including a monolith and standardized global approach to suit the social responsibility it becomes quite imperative to establish a corporate wide code of conduct by engaging global employees in ethics and compliance with respect to the world at large. This paper will examine the case of Infosys Industries Limited in India and explain how a globally ethical Company will stand at the forefront in the arena of generating advanced performance level, clarifying any problems that arise, playing by international rules while raising standards in the global scenario and taking the levels of performance to great heights. Finally, the author recommends that a global set of ethics would surely boost the confidence of all the stakeholders in any MNC and would lead to the development of national economies.

Keywords: Globalization, Ethics, MNCs

Introduction
With the rapid pace globalization is gaining momentum, global ethics and Integrity form a cornerstone for an MNC to work efficiently. Ethics and Integrity in the context of Globalization refer to a commitment to moral thought and action in all aspects of how an organization is governed and run. They describe the ‘ought’s’ of how organizations relate to their stakeholders and not the ‘musts’. According to Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary the word ‘ethics can be defined as “moral principle that control or influence a person’s behavior”. In a nutshell it acts as a benchmark of human comportment. On the other hand the term Integrity is a word that major corporations are apperceiving as the best betokens of describing the fundamental vigor and focus of the value-driven corporation. For instance General Motors tells all of its employees and partners about "Winning with Integrity;" Enron proclaims that a core corporate value is integrity, which means: "We work with customers and prospects openly, honestly and sincerely. When we say we will do something, we will do it; when we say we cannot or will not do something, then we won't do it." The GE Annual Report (2000) proclaims: "Integrity - It's the first and most paramount of our values. Integrity denotes always abiding by the law, both the letter and the spirit. But it's not just about laws; it is at the core of every relationship we have."1
Ethics and Morality in MNC’s- Fundamental Need
Owing to the recent corporate scandals that took a toll upon the image of the Multinational Corporations for instance the Harshad Mehta Stock Scam (1992), it becomes quite imperative to set up a corporate wide code of conduct in such a scenario. The explosive magnification of MNC’s has set the stage for global business ethics to be one of the highest priorities over the coming decades. Taking into account the convivial and cultural environment in consideration the MNC’s should formulate core ethical goals and responsibilities.

The process of Globalization brings countries more proximate on essential issues which in turn make core values for many ethical issues kindred including fairness, integrity and raising industry norms. Presence of ethical leadership will foster and sustain corporate culture which in turn will govern corporate values thereby setting forth a code of conduct which will meet the highest standards and make the business sustainable. In the current competitive scenario it is paramount to apply ethical values in practical form.

Implementing Global Ethics- A Challenge for MNCs
Owing to the mushrooming of MNC’s and the increasing competition in the global scenario MNC’s are facing various challenges. Thus ethical and moral grounds should be taken into consideration in order to foster their growth at a fast pace in the social milieu.
A) Self-Control:-One of the major challenges companies face when it comes to ethical issues is the self-control of its employees. Whether it’s an ethical issue that is monetary or the one that revolves around adherence to company policy, the reason this is an arduous issue for many companies is because it is out of management's hands. While a company can give its employees rules, policies and other directions, it cannot guarantee that employees will exercise self-control when it comes to ethical decisions.
B) Being an Open Book:-There is a fine line between being open with staff and interfering with any vicissitudes taking place within a company. Sometimes, despite the desire to tell employees everything that's going on, the Company simply may not be able to do so until a certain point in the process. Ethically verbalizing, when changes will affect the staff directly and have an impact on their ability to do their jobs, it's best to verbalize up and verbally express so. However, companies struggle with this because relinquishing an exorbitant amount of information too soon could compromise the process of change.

Resolution- One way to resolve ethical issues is to edify staff on your particular code of ethics and give them examples on how to resolve mundane ethical dilemmas; such as , you might verbalize "if this transpires, then we expect you to do xyz" to give them a clear picture of what ethical demeanor is in your ocular perceivers. Additionally, tell employees what you expect and then give them the chance to show what they can do. Reward those who make sound ethical culls and mete out fair and swift consequences for those who tarnish your company ethically.

Supplemental Considerations-There are many other ethical challenges a company may face throughout its subsistence, from how to handle laying off employees to what to do if you find that the company's financial processes and/or accounts are being illicitly accessed or used. The best way to decide how to approach each challenge is to consider the source of the quandary and how your staff and company operations are affected as a result; the more
rigorous the effect, the more rigorous the penalization should be.

Theoretical Framework
Sundry ethical theories lay the substructure stone for an MNC with regard to its operation in particular. According to Aristotle’s virtue Ethics, the fundamental principle laid down is the orientation of man with regard to pursuing excellence and bliss which further depends on character. Since the transcendental legislator (God) has not imposed any laws on us nor has he dictated us by a reason so virtue ethics is not predicated on divine obligations. According to Aristotle veracity, adhesion, stoutheartedness, altruism, justice and equity, goodness and perseverance make a person virtuous. Virtue Ethics thus prove altruism and love not out of moral obligation but out of the motivation innate to the character of good and virtuous people.

According to Utilitarian Ethics, we should do what increases ecstasy for the greatest amount of people. At the ethical level, the utility concept is utilized with the purport of incrementing the salubrity of the greatest possible number. Actions and daily rules of conduct are a way to procure a purport: the incrementation in salubrity. Since the final aim is what authentically is consequential, it justifies all designates. But in the current scenario Utilitarian Ethics is predicated on two set of rules: 1) Firstly, the ones that guide daily living and are more intuitive and less elaborate. 2) Secondly, the philosophical dimension that analyses which preferential treatments may resist the impartiality criteria.

According to the theory of Contractual Ethics the principle of reciprocity is quite paramount. Rules need to be complied with whether they are selfish or altruistic. It has been subjected to several criticisms owing to the fact that there is no formal social contract in a society. Affection Ethics on the other hand favors intimacy, affection, family and amicable cognations. That is, they fixate on privacy. It is quite homogeneous to virtue ethics because both optically discern people through their character traits.

Global Ethics Vis-à-vis Corporate Governance and CSR(Corporate Social Responsibility)
The Pyramid of Global Corporate Social Responsibility suggests that the MNC should strive to meet the following features:-

- Make a profit consistent with expectations for international businesses;
- Obey the law of host countries as well as international law;
- Be ethical in its practices, taking host-country and global standards into consideration;
- Be a good corporate citizen, especially as defined by the host country’s expectations.

The Global Pyramid of CSR and Performance will avail managers cerebrate through in a systematic way the different stakeholder prospects placed on their organizations. It should be apperceived that responsibility implicatively insinuates performance. Anterior research does fortify the contention that managers optically discern the consequentiality of their responsibilities as following this sequence of priorities: economic, licit, ethical and philanthropic.²

Case Study of MNC’s in India: Infosys
Infosys one of the pioneers in IT Industry in India is a Corporation which has always stood for ethical approach to business. It has been consistently viewed as the most transparent
and ethical organization by the customers, employees, society and the investor community. Infosys's founder and Chairman Emeritus, N.R.Narayana Murthy, has always been a great adherent and advocate of ethics in business. Forbes Magazine has indited “Infosys is a model of transparency, not just for corporate India, but for companies everywhere...” Infosys's top management always championed the case of ethics in each and every one of its actions and messages, both within the company and outside as well. Quoting Narayana Murthy “Professionalism and ethics are becoming more and more relevant in our quest to become better professionals, in our quest to make this country a better place and this world a better place. And that exactly is the background that we have set out with”. Following the ethical code of conduct Narayana Murthy, he stepped down as the Executive Chairman of the Board in the year 1992. Albeit he was invited to join the NDA Ministry around the period 1999-2004, he abnegated the offer because he wanted to go in accordance with the principles of Ethics and Morality.

The Honest and Ethical Conduct of Infosys enumerates that it expects its workers to act in accordance with the highest standards of personal and professional integrity, honesty and ethical conduct, while working on the Company’s premises, at offsite locations where the Company’s business is being conducted, at Company sponsored business and social events, or at any other place where you are representing the Company. They also consider honest conduct to be conduct that is free from fraud or deception and consider ethical conduct to be conduct in conformance with accepted professional standards of conduct and compliance with all applicable laws whereas according to the Corporation Ethical conduct includes the ethical handling of actual or apparent conflicts of interest between personal and professional relationships.

Thus it portrays that Infosys Technologies is a globally venerated corporation that provides best-of-breed business solutions, leveraging technology, distributed by best-in-class people and achieves its objectives in an environment of fairness, veracity, and courtesy towards its clients, employees, vendors and society at immensely colossal. Ethical Values of Infosys Technologies are: Customer Delight; Leadership; Integrity and Transparency; Fairness; and Pursuit of Excellence. Infosys Group engendered perhaps the world’s most ethical organization in the world with an incredible ascent on transparency, responsible demeanor and ethical conduct. This has engendered an organization with a distinctive value system and culture fixated on integrity, transparency and responsible approach while pursuing excellence. In integration to complying to the laws of the land where ever it operates, Infosys ascertains transparency and accountability through the adoption of a Code of Conduct and Ethics and a Whistle-blower policy.

**Future of Global Ethics and Recommendations**

The author recommends the following ethical conduct to be taken into consideration for a Multinational Corporation to foster its growth in the Global Economy:-

1. Management must lead by example. Good ethics should be most noticeable at the top. Every employee must be accountable to the same rules.
2. A corporate values or ethics initiative must be “sold” and “marketed” aggressively throughout a company. Every forum and medium should be used to spread the good message. Of course, it will only be credible if the company is practicing what it preaches.
3. Training must be provided to get everyone on the same page. It’s easy to ignore a
motivational speech or pass by a poster, but spending time learning about the issues will have a lasting impact.

(4) Both you and the company must be in it for the long haul. The ethics fervor should extend to the next generation of employees. The longer it lasts, the more ingrained the principles will become.\(^4\)

Thus in order to bolster Global Ethics in future a control should be imposed on the practice of lobbying, the practice of veracity should be enheartened, cost efficacious strategies should be implemented for a more enlightened world. A theme that should reverberate throughout should be the desideratum of more preponderant decision making. Since global intricacy is outrunning the capacity of our current management systems, then incipient decision-making systems may be needed in the future. In order to ameliorate the quality of global decisions there is a desideratum for formalized ethics and decision training for the decision-makers.

End-notes

1 Mr. Welch also noted in the 2000 General Electric Annual report: "Integrity - It's the first and most important of our values. Integrity means always abiding by the law, both the letter and the spirit. But it's not just about laws; it is at the core of every relationship we have. Inside the Company, integrity establishes the trust that is so critical to the human relationships that make our values work. With that trust, employees can take risks and believe us when we say a 'miss' doesn't mean career damage. With trust, employees can set stretch performance goals and can believe us when we promise that falling short is not a punishable offense. Integrity and trust are at the heart of the informality we cherish. There are no witnesses needed to conversations, nor the need to "put it in writing." None of that-- our word is enough. In our external dealings, with our unions and governments, we are free to represent our positions vigorously, in a constructive fashion, to agree or disagree on the issues, knowing that our integrity itself is never an issue. A period of transition is a period of change, and some of our values will be modified to adapt to what the future brings. One will not: our commitment to integrity, which, beyond doing everything right, means always doing the right thing.


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New Media as a Weapon of American Statecraft: 
Decoding Nuances of Public Diplomacy in a Globalized World

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Abstract
Public Diplomacy is a vital component of the foreign policy of the United States. America, especially after the attacks of 2001 has come to realize that the world has changed and if it does not change the way it interacts with the people around the world it risks becoming obsolete and marginalised. The U.S. in the present times understands that stand alone government to government diplomacy is no longer enough in this globalized world and hence is not as naïve as to believe that the traditional methods of public diplomacy are enough. Hence, it is using “New Media” as its latest weapon. Whether it is the social networking sites or the internet or mobile communication, they all are being used by the USA in increasing both accessibility and transparency. This paper aims to focus on the evolution of American public diplomacy in the current globalized world. It will explore in detail the various programmes of American Public Diplomacy used with special reference to New Media. In the end the paper aims to evaluate the usefulness of the various methods used in public diplomacy and gauge the American influence over today’s globalized world.

Keywords: United States, Public Diplomacy, New Media

Introduction
Uncle Sam has a problem- his image is tarnished all around the world!! Hence, it becomes essential in the present scenario that the United States’ State Department work towards improving America’s image all over the world. In order to achieve this aim the state department is heavily relying on public diplomacy. After 2001, the United States’ image had suffered a severe blow specially due to the various stringent steps taken by it in combating terrorism not only inside the country but also by deploying its forces in fighting the Taliban in Afghanistan and then in Iraq. Citizens of a number of nations around the world since America emerged as a super power after the cold war have been of the view that the US tries to interfere in the national matters of other countries and views itself as the messiah of world peace. The US has been accused of instigating rebels, supporting civil wars and even attacking other nations on the slightest pretexts and false allegations in order to maintain its hegemony and clout of being a super power. Due to this battered image US has finally realised that in order to remain powerful nation even in this modern age “new media” is the latest public diplomacy tool that should be thoroughly used. In order to not become obsolete and marginalised in the eyes of people around the world and also in world politics the United States is trying to increase both accessibility and transparency through new media and carve out a new image for itself in this era of globalization.
Public Diplomacy
Before moving on it becomes essential that we get a clear idea as to what is public diplomacy? When it comes to defining public diplomacy it has been defined differently and repeatedly by so many actors that to define it by a singular statement has become impossible. Still generally it can be defined broadly Kennon H. Nakamura in his edited book called U.S. Public Diplomacy: Background and Current Issues as “a term used to describe a government’s efforts to conduct foreign policy and promote national interests through direct outreach and communication with the population of a foreign country”. The term public diplomacy was first coined in the mid-1960s by the former American diplomat and Dean of the Edward R. Murrow, Centre of Public Diplomacy at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, Edmund Gullion after his retirement in 1964. He had defined it as “Public Diplomacy….. deals with the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies” as has been mentioned by James Pamment in his book New Public Diplomacy in the 21st Century: A Comparative Study of Policy and Practice. The main purpose for the development of public diplomacy was “to distance overseas governmental information activities from the term propaganda, which had acquired pejorative connotations”.  

American Public Diplomacy
Public Diplomacy is a cardinal element of the national security of the United States. It requires strategic long-term planning. The reason as to why it plays such an important part in the national security is that listening to citizens of other countries around the world allows the United States to craft its policy and messaging in a much more credible manner, thus targeting the right audience, which eventually helps it in achieving its strategic objectives. In the present globalized world, more than ever before, the populations of other countries have started playing a greater role in the international discourse. Due to the ever dynamic nature of the world, the physical differences have been reduced in size due to the huge advances made in transportation, communications technology and economics. This means that the otherwise disparate populations in the present scenario share a number of common interests. Hence, the US has realized that their foreign policy affects the lives of populations living overseas and further that its success is now dependent on the cooperation of these foreign populations. Over the past decade or so, it is the American armed forces which have taken a large share of the responsibility for communicating the American foreign policy overseas especially in areas where the American image faces the toughest challenges. Therefore, a number of tools are being utilized by the US government under public diplomacy of which “new media” will be given special mention in this paper.

Various programs of American Public Diplomacy
There have been a number of traditional tools which are basically a number of American government offices through which the US has tried to carry forward its public policy over the years. These are:

1. Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (ECA): The ECA operates DoS’s educational and cultural exchange programs, as well as leadership programs.

2. Bureau of International Information Programs (IIP): The role of IIP is to convey information about US "policy, society, and values" to foreign audiences through a
speaker program and various publications, which it translates into local languages to best reach its target audience.

3. Bureau of Public Affairs (PA): The Bureau of Public Affairs focuses on informing American about the US’s foreign policy and efforts around the world.

4. Office of Policy, Planning and Resources (R/PPR): The Office of Policy, Planning and Resources, which includes the Evaluation and Measurement Unit (EMU), works to evaluate DoS’s public diplomacy efforts and advises DoS on how best to allocate its resources to meet its objectives.

5. Office of Private Sector Outreach (R/PSO): The Office of Private Sector Outreach works with US private enterprises, such as companies, universities, and foundations that have an international presence.

In addition to the above traditional programmes run by the Department of State of the United States, new media is a new emerging tool that is now widely being used by the state in order to promote its public diplomacy work.

**Meaning of New Media**

The term “new media” in general refers “to those digital media that are interactive, incorporate two-way communication, and involve some form of computing as opposed to “old media” such as the telephone, radio and TV” as laid down in the book The Handbbook of New Media: Updated Student Edition, edited by Leah A. Lievroun and Sonia Livingstone. Bailey Socha and Barbara Eber-Schmid further define it as “New Media is a 21st Century catchall term used to define all that is related to the internet and the interplay between technology, images and sound” in their article What is New Media? : Defining New Media isn’t easy. Hence, in a layman’s term we can decipher from the above definitions that new media is basically information being provided on computers such as blogs, facebook, twitter, etc. It is the latest weapon in the American statecraft and as the country with one of the largest populations in the world with access to internet there is no doubt that US is using new media as a tool to influence the foreign populations.

**New Media**

The public diplomacy tool that we are going to discuss in detail in this paper is the new media. The term new media has already been defined in detail above. In today’s globalized world it becomes essential to understand that the personal communications technology or the new media such as facebook, twitter, etc. are not only expanding rapidly but they this technology is relatively inexpensive and readily available to a large number of the foreign populations around the world. The internet has been able to bring about an age of communication where the so called “many-to-many” communications media is playing a very important role. This type of communication has made it possible to influence a large number of users by letting the foreign populations choose the sources that they deem to be the most resourceful or authentic. Though the new media has made access to information much more easier and transparent, it has eventually complicated the work of the US public policy as the US no longer has the same number of guaranteed audience which it used to enjoy before the surge of the new media. Though the number of information sources
available to the foreign population has increased but it has also become easier for the foreign populations to block such new media or believe the wrong sources of information on the internet.

**Issues with New Media**
Public policy makers should not over rely on the new media for achieving their objectives for a variety of reasons:
• The internet is easily censored or shut off: Many countries around the world like China have very strict censorship over the internet.
• Governments aren’t very good at tapping the internet’s viral potential: Many governments around the world due to lack of funds or poor technological support are not able to use the internet to its utmost potential.
• There are often more appropriate technologies: Regardless of the fact that new media is a very efficient technology but one cannot do away with the importance that other technologies like radio or television can be done away with.
• Huge portions of many foreign populations have little or no access: Most of the foreign populations around the world do not have access to internet even sporadically.
• Users must be literate: To access new media it is very essential that the users should be literate but most of the foreign populations are not in devoid of even basic education.
• New media often reaches a very specific sect of society while ignoring those who are unable or unwilling to use it: The target audience of the new media is not able to hit a large number of the foreign population as a huge part of the population are either not interested in using new media or are unwilling to use it due to their personal biased attitudes.

**Conclusion**
In the present world there is no iota of doubt that American public diplomacy is at the crossroads. The US is well aware of its strengths but is not so confident and aware as to how to use them to its maximum in the current information age. Due to the modern technology and its impressive qualities the focus on the medium is making it loose its concentration on the message to be delivered to the foreign populations Yes, New Media is new but it still has not been able to revolutionize the core elements of good public diplomacy. Yes, it has become essential that the United States should be communicating through twitter and facebook in today’s techno savvy world but ultimately the new media can only be an effective smaller part of the much larger public diplomacy. One should remember that action speak louder than words and hence no words on the internet or other modes of communication change the image of United States in the eyes of the foreign populations until the US gives credibility to its words through similar supportive actions.

**End-notes**
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Assessing Humanitarian Intervention 
in the Context of Global Governance: A Case Study of Syria

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Abstract
Research focuses on the concept of human Intervention and its virtues and vices. The contemporary idea of humanitarian intervention is entirely based on the “right intention” criterion, which is a requirement of disinterestedness or selflessness of the intervening state. But as theory of realism and history tell us, states are never totally disinterested. The question now arises that what should be the level of selflessness and disinterestedness shown by various state nations. Paper will discuss whether a human Intervention is a deed of selflessness or a strategic plan to achieve profitable or egoistic motives. Taking in account the current happenings in International Relations, Syria is taken as a case analysis for this paper. Syria is suffering from a civil war and has created a lot of buzz among various states, who are taking their stands in the civil war. A comparison will be drawn between present situations in Syria to various previous efforts of Humanitarian Intervention with a large focus on NATOs Intervention in Balkan region (Kosovo). In conclusion various future possible outcome of Humanitarian Intervention in Syria will be discussed in detail.

Keywords: Human Rights, Assessment, Syria

Introduction
International law and the UN charter generally prohibit the use of force in international relations although Security Council has an authority to authorize an intervention. To understand Humanitarian Intervention as whole this research has been divided into two sections. First section talks about Humanitarian Intervention, its classification, cost of such intervention and assessing legality of an intervention. Second section of the paper is case theory of Syria where possibility of an intervention will be assessed under political and legal lens

Definition
Humanitarian Intervention has not been defined in the UN Charter but can be legally summed up by a definition given by Wil D. Verwey “as referring only to coercive action taken by states, at their initiative, and involving the use of armed force, for the purpose of preventing or putting a halt to serious and wide-scale violations of fundamental human rights, in particular the right to life, inside the territory of another state”(1998)[1]. All the definitions in the literature of humanitarian intervention have four things in common. First is “the use of armed force”, this mean the use of military power to curb the humanitarian issues of the intervened state by the intervener. Second is the absence of target states permission, the most debated aspect of humanitarian intervention .It allows a state to breech sovereignty of the target state with or without its permission. Third is the case of
Prima facie, i.e. accepted as correct until proved otherwise. Intervening state should have a substantial proof of atrocity crime or human right abuse against the accused state in order to proceed with an intervention. Lastly, protection of non-nationals. Protection of state’s own nationals is considered as self-defense whereas protection of non-nationals of the state is categorized as humanitarian intervention.

Classification of Humanitarian Intervention
Humanitarian Intervention can be classified into two types 1) Unilateral Intervention 2) Multilateral Intervention.

Unilateral Intervention
An intervention undertaken by a singular state or organization (like NATO) with a humanitarian objection can be considered as unilateral intervention. Unilateral military intervention, even for humanitarian objectives, is viewed with suspicion; it is too easily subverted to serve less disinterested ends of the intervener [2]. Primary advantage of a unilateral intervention was the level of control possessed by an intervening state. With a lack of any coalition no compromises were made in the decision relating to intervention by these states. The downside of such an intervention is the high cost of intervention paid by a solicitor state. Unilateral intervention are not very well accepted by the world community for the fact that level of selflessness or disinterestedness of the intervening nation is difficult to be measured since there is no one to keep a check on their motives. This can be seen as typical case of “who will guard the guards”. Some of the important unilateral intervention in post-world war II era are, India’s intervention in east Pakistan (now Bangladesh) in their liberation movement, Tanzania’s intervention in Uganda during dictatorial regime of Idi Amin and Vietnam’s intervention in Cambodia ousting the Khmers rouges.

One thing that is common among all three above stated example is the fact that all the three intervening nation never gave a humanitarian justification of their intervention when they could have legitimately claimed it. Initially India did gave a humanitarian justification for its action in both general assembly and security council but it was widely rejected by other states claiming it to be a cover up for breaching the sovereignty of a nation and got accused of meddling into internal matters of other nations.[3] Later on India retracted from its previous statement and relied on self-defense as the primary justification of intervention. [4] Tanzania played a huge role in overthrowing the dictatorial regime of Idi Amin. In Tanzania’s intervention in Uganda, despite of proofs of humanitarian motive, Tanzania refrained from giving a humanitarian justification. In fact it went out of its way to minimize responsibility for the propitious humanitarian outcome of its actions, sticking to their argument that it was acting in response to Amin’s invasion and that its actions just happened to coincide with a revolt against Amin inside Uganda. Similarly Vietnamese representatives could have given a humanitarian justification to their action in Cambodia which could have been used as a political cover to an already notoriously famous Vietnamese regime. However, like Tanzania, Vietnam refrained from giving this whole situation a humanitarian justification claiming that they were only helping Cambodia in achieving self-determination against the neocolonial regime of Pol Pot, which had been “the product of the hegemonistic and expansionist policy of the Peking authorities”[5]
So the question arises why these nations, even though having felicitous humanitarian outcomes, refrained from giving a humanitarian justification for their actions? The answer to this reluctance stems not from the norms about what is "humanitarian" but from norms about legitimate intervention. While the scope of who qualifies as human has widened enormously and the range of humanitarian activities that states routinely undertake has expanded, norms about intervention have also changed, albeit less drastically. The apparent illegitimacy of unilateral humanitarian intervention is probably related to two broad issues that cannot be treated in this limited space—namely, the expansion of multilateralism as a practice and the strengthening of juridical sovereignty norms, especially among weak states which are going to be discussed in the later part.

**Multilateral Intervention**

For an intervention to be legitimate and accepted it must be multilateral in nature. Multilateral intervention can be defined as intervention involving more than one state or non-state actors intervening with a humanitarian purpose to stop any sort of human rights abuse or atrocity crimes. Multilateral intervention has become an ideal form of intervention even recognized by United Nations. Multilateral intervention during the cold war period were very difficult to orchestrate due to various factor like formation of power blocks for e.g. both USSR and USA provided military and economic aid to Yugoslavia not with a humanitarian motive but to achieve their alliance, when the cold war ended Yugoslavia didn’t get support from any of the blocs leading it to a state of economic and social instability. But since 1989 lots of multilateral interventions have taken place and some of the most prominent in the recent history are the U.S., British, and French efforts to protect Kurdish and Shiite populations inside Iraq following the Gulf War; NATO’s intervention in Kosovo and the most recent being NATO’s intervention in Libya during the Arab spring.

One of the most important advantages of multilateral intervention is the increase of transparency of each state’s action and also activities of a state will be regulated by the others states involved so that no one wanders from their preconceived motives. Also a multilateral intervention is comparatively cheaper than unilateral intervention as the cost is shared by all the states part of such an intervention. Multilateral intervention has its own cost too, the most prominent of all is sharing and sacrificing of power and control over the intervention. This can be explained by the instance of NATO’s intervention in Kosovo in 1998 which is widely regarded as “the most multilateral campaign ever”[6]. Yet the dominant power of the United States among all the other 19 members of NATO was decisive. More that 80 percent of the weapon delivered by the alliance were of US origin[7]. Moreover, the strategy and operational guidance for the use of these weapons consistently reflected US priorities.[8] Other setbacks of multilateral intervention can be the lack of co-ordination and cooperation among the intervening state due to different ideologies, Bureaucratic red tapeism and conflicting views and takes on approach to intervention and conflict prevention sets limit to an effective multilateral humanitarian intervention.

There is no obvious choice for states between multilateral or unilateral intervention to achieve humanitarian ends. Each has advantages and disadvantages. The choice largely depends upon the perception about the political acceptability and the cost both economic and political incurred to achieve the goal.
Assessing the Cost of Humanitarian Intervention

In this section of paper political, ethical and moral costs of humanitarian intervention will be assessed.

Proponents of Humanitarian Intervention usually make their case in terms of the states’ moral responsibilities. Yet perhaps the most important cost incurred by military interventions have been moral ones. On the ground, the ethical clarity that advocates of human rights have associated with such actions—saving innocent lives—has almost always been blurred by a much more complicated reality. To begin with, in an ideal case of humanitarian intervention the intervening state represents the defenseless civilians facing harsh of a tyranny or regime by providing them with social and military aid. But in reality both the sides are equally responsible for human rights abuse. For e.g. during and after NATO’s bombing campaign in Kosovo in order to stop human rights abuse against Kosovo Albanians, Kosovo Liberation Army (predominantly formed by ethnic Albanians) were held responsible for human rights abuse against Serbs. According to Human Rights Watch report 2001 “The KLA was responsible for serious abuses in 1998, including abductions and murders of Serbs and ethnic Albanian’s considered collaborators with the state” (Human Rights Watch Report, 2001)[9]. Another moral cost related is due to the unavoidable aspects of an intervention. Even if the ends of such actions could be unambiguously humanitarian, the means never are. Using force to save lives usually involves taking lives, including innocent ones.[10] For e.g. similarly like KLA, NATO was also accused of Human rights abuse and war crime[11] due to their policy of flying 10,000 feet from the sea level to protect their own loses, costing lives of innocent people which were supposedly being protected by them.

Even though the center of any humanitarian interventions is protection from Human rights, now and then politics has played an important role in deciding fate of an intervention. Some interventions took place due to an ego clash between states while some were stalled due lack of political support. Disputes among nations have slowly been brewing due to different opinions on intervention. At the end of cold war, many foreign policy analysts predicted that the United States would return to isolation. Least to say, these predictions were proved false as United States of America was one of the key player of world politics in post cold war era maintaining military bases and intervening (both unilaterally and multilaterally) with military forces. America, for long term security, needs to have good relation with Russia and other powers. But with resurgence of new economic and military power in the last two decades it has been difficult to get these countries on the same page. In the recent past Russia, as a member of Security Council, has vetoed and hurled many of USA led intervention for e.g. Since 2011 Russia has vetoed three different resolution for laving heavy sanctions on Syria and also condemned NATO’s intervention in Libya arguing that NATO’s actions significantly exceeded what the un Security Council had authorized [12]. Also NATO never approached security council to legitimate their intervention in Kosovo, knowing the fact that it will be vetoed by Russia and China. In a response to this Russia proposed a resolution condemning the bombing only to be defeated in the Security Council 12-3, with only Russia, China, and Namibia voting in favor [13]. The above stated example also proves the corrosive effect that politics have on the authority of United Nations. Time and time again various states have breached the norms of UN charter and went with their intervention without get them passed as resolutions from the Security Council. Two of such instances are NATO’s intervention in Kosovo and USA’s intervention in Iraq post 9/11.
terrorist attacks. This really question the fundamentals of United Nations as an organization which was formed to control the hegemony and anarchy with in the world community but now only plays has a nominal role in such big decision

An appraisal of Humanitarian Intervention under International law

Humanitarian intervention is a controversial concept in international law. It is not defined by the United Nations Charter as it neither constitutes a legitimate use of force authorized by the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) nor the use of force in self-defense. Article 2(4) of the United Nations Charter clearly prohibits the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state[14] but at the same time Article (1) of the UN charter also give human rights to the people and it protection is of the utmost priority of United Nations.[15]

The idea is that the right to ‘territorial integrity and political independence’ which states enjoy is not for the benefit of the states themselves but to protect the fundamental freedoms of the constituent of these states. Protecting the liberty of constituents is therefore what motivates the principle of non-intervention. Thus, the right to absolute sovereignty by states is strictly conditional on their fulfillment of protection of the liberty of their constituents. If a state adopts policies of genocide, slavery or other heinous injustices, talk of self-determination or political sovereignty becomes ludicrous. [16]

In a post-cold war era nominal role of United Nations can be observed by the lack of role it played in intervention of Kosovo and more importantly in Rwanda. While addressing the last general Assembly of the 20th century ex-Secretary General Kofi Annan addressed the issue of humanitarian intervention and spoke about the lack of unity in world community to solve such grave issues .In his words “From Sierra Leone to the Sudan to Angola to the Balkans to Cambodia and to Afghanistan, there are a great number of peoples who need more than just words of sympathy from the international community. They need a real and sustained commitment to help end their cycles of violence, and launch them on a safe passage to prosperity. While the genocide in Rwanda will define for our generation the consequences of inaction in the face of mass murder, the more recent conflict in Kosovo has prompted important questions about the consequences of action in the absence of complete unity on the part of the international community.”[17] He also talked about dilemma of Humanitarian Intervention that haunted UN the whole of last century, “It has cast in stark relief the dilemma of what has been called humanitarian intervention: on one side, the question of the legitimacy of an action taken by a regional organization without a United Nations mandate; on the other, the universally recognized imperative of effectively halting gross and systematic violations of human rights with grave humanitarian consequences.”[18]

With a dawn of 21st century United Nations have taken a step forward towards by introducing Responsibility to protect which will be discussed in the case study of Syria

A Case Study of Syria

To understand the practical applications of Humanitarian Intervention, Syria has been taken as a subject to justify the previous discussions on intervention. A desperate act of a Tunisian man against his government triggered a set of revolutionary movements among constituent
states of MENA region, popularly known as Arab spring in the world community [19]. People from countries including Tunisia, Libya, Yemen, and Bahrain organized huge protest against their respective regime/government in order to achieve rights that have been enjoyed by people worldwide. But out of all the states Syria has been the most volatile of all.

In March 2011, in the wake of political uprising in various states like Tunisia and Yemen, arrest of 15 minor were arrested by the local authority for doing anti-regime graffiti in Dara instigated a nation-wide protest.[20] Following this event huge protest rallies were organized throughout the nations to have political reforms but Bashad Al–Assads failed to bring any prominent change and therefore the protest became more intense. Instead of having a mere dialogue with the protestors Syrian administration opted for a survival strategy: responding by violence threatening the population with chaos and civil war in the event of its demise. The objective was to launch a war of attrition by playing on time to wear out any internal revolt. It chose however the wrong combination of brutal repression and gradual concession [21] Since 2011 the tally to dead civilians has crossed 100,000 in 2013 making the Syrian a victim of one of the largest genocide in 21st century [22] With a partial success in curbing genocide in Libya with the help of NATO’s intervention, there has been a constant pressure for an intervention in Syria viewing it is as last option. The pressure has only increased since 23rd August 2013 when there was a chemical attack in Ghouta region of Syria. After 3 weeks of investigation United Nations confirmed the use of sarin gas missile Ein Tarma, Moadamiyah and Zalmalka in the Ghouta area of Damascus.[23] Based on UN’s evidence Human rights watch and New York times concluded that the rockets were launched from a government controlled area. The Syrian administration have denied these reports and called them untrue [24] and Syrian government and opposition are blaming each other for the attacks. This event sparked a debate among nations like France, Britain and United States of America to lean on Humanitarian military intervention in Syria against government.

Most of the NATO constituent members were in favor of a military intervention in Syria. France UK and USA showed a strong interest in such an intervention. While on the other side countries like Russia and China condemned an intervention in Syria. Russia in particular has been opposing an intervention from the start. Difference of opinion between Russia and USA about intervention when looked through a political lens tells a whole different story. Russia doesn’t want an intervention to take place in Syria because their last military base outside the former Soviet Union is situated there which is strategically important to them.[25] If there is intervention led by USA in Syria there is a threat to their base. Russia and USA still have their cold war mentality which could also be the reason of their constant rejection of each other’s resolution in UN Security Council. Syria is also a military alliance of Russia who buys a lot of weapons from them; such a situation would cost their economic gains. Some of the NATO allies also opposed to an intervention including Italy and Germany, where the later showed support at first but gave diplomatic status and there by taking a neutral stand. The reason these nation took a neutral stand was due the fact that their oil and petroleum supply takes place from Russia and they felt threatened because if they swear allegiance to the idea of intervention there is chance of Russia cutting them off from oil supply like it did it with Ukraine when they accepted a proposition to join NATO.
Legal Basis for Humanitarian Intervention in Syria

In section we will examine whether an intervention in Syria can be justified on legal basis. For this we shall appoint Responsibility to Protect as an instrument to assess this case. The emergence of the Responsibility to Protect (“R2P”) doctrine gives the international community the legal right to use force to stop ongoing atrocity crimes. This right is only triggered when (1) a *prima facie* case of ongoing atrocity crimes exists; and (2) peaceful measures to stop these crimes have been exhausted. In such a situation, the Security Council could authorize the use of force pursuant to its Chapter VII powers. If the Security Council is deadlocked, however, as it was in Kosovo, R2P provides a framework for the international community to legally intervene without Security Council authorization.[26]

An intervention which satisfies all these requirement and criteria would be legal. Let see if an intervention in Syria can be justified *prima facie*. To trigger a state or an organizations right under R2P to use force without Security Council authorization, a *prima facie* case that atrocity crimes are being committed must be established, there are proof to the entire crimes committed widespread or systematic manner, against a civilian population, and with knowledge of the attack. These atrocity crimes include (1) murder (2) imprisonment or other severe deprivation of physical liberty in violation of fundamental rules of international law (3) torture (4) Attacks against any identifiable group or collectivity on political grounds.[27] Also in July 2012, the International Committee of the Red Cross (“ICRC”) determined that the fighting in Syria amounts to a civil war, *i.e.*, a non-international armed conflict.[28] The result is that the Syrian officials can be held accountable for war crimes.[29] Thus *prima facie* for Responsibility to protect has already been established.

Exhaustion of peaceful measures R2P encourages all the nations at first to assist the victim nations to stop atrocity crimes occurring within their jurisdiction. When this is not possible states can use peaceful measure like sanction etc. to prevent atrocity crime. Only when all the peaceful measures are exhausted then only international community is authorized to have an intervention. In the case of Syria it is not possible to assist the state since they are the one who are committing the crime. International community has also exhausted all peaceful measure like laving heavy taxation by European Union and Arab league outing Syria as a constituent member but still there has been no remedy to atrocity crimes

Consequently, under R2P the international community can now use force to stop ongoing atrocity crimes, provided that this intervention is legitimate.[30]

Conclusion

Humanitarian Intervention has been widely discussed throughout 20th century. It has both its supporter and the people who don’t agree with the concept. But there is no denial of the fact that Humanitarian Intervention has played a crucial role in saving millions of life. But it all boils down to a simple question; whether the costs incurred with a humanitarian intervention is too high then the end result?

References


5) As quoted in ibid., p. 97 n. 17


18) Ibid. (September, 1999).

23) The Guardian, 16 September 2013, Syria crisis: Ban Ki-moon says sarin gas chemical attack a ‘war crime
29) ibid. BBC(2012)
Combating Terrorism in India and Pakistan: A Review of the Role of United States of America

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Abstract
The 9/11 incident has marked a new paradigm in International Relation. After a decade, the study of global politics has gone through significant transformations. The trajectories of incidents have changed completely when non-state actors are directly challenging not only the military, economic and technological dominance of states but are also having a tremendous impact on the concept of “Governance”. As this new wave of world order has brought transformations all through, this paper tries to analyses and observes the impact of this new order in the matters of governance in the two neighboring states of India and Pakistan. How the very concept of global governance has slackened the process of confidence building between these two nations as India being a victim of it and Pakistan using it as a state policy, how significant terrorism has been for the two nations, and what role is played by the United States in the whole process, either as a mediator, or a pacifier, focusing on the terror factor and its impact on governance, will be discussed. The paper will also try to highlight that how; these two nation’s focus on settling goals with each other is impacting their Internal and External governance.

Keywords: United Sates, India, Pakistan, Global Islamic Terrorism

Introduction
With the beginning of the new millennium, international politics remolded itself with the constant changing dimensions of global politics and events. Terrorism, remaining in the back-burner during the decade of the 90s, turned into a major discourse, changing relations between nations, and domestic and external policies of nations after 9/11. Strategic thinking changed completely when non-state actors directly challenged the military, economic and technological dominance of the United States as an invulnerable world hyper-superpower. This new wave also had its impact on the countries of the South Asian region. The new South Asia apparently differs from the old South Asia of the cold war era both from domestic and external point of view. This new order challenged both the nations of India and Pakistan, putting them ahead of severe adversarial positions, pushing the decision makers to take risky decisions, affecting their short as well as long term policy making.

The threat of terrorism is not a very unique or newly emerged concept in the relationship of India and Pakistan. Since from the very inception as independent and sovereign nation states, India and Pakistan, though being geographically, culturally and historically closest among others has turned into the distant neighbor of each other. Several issues, objective and subjective factors, multiple internal and external insinuations have time to time affected and shaped the relations between these two neighbours. Both the nations have
suffered due to terrorism, whereas Pakistan has been a safe haven for terrorist groups and organisations for the last four decades. Since 2003 till date a total of 49771 civilian, security personnel and terrorist fatalities have been taken place in Pakistan\(^1\) whereas in India since 1994 a total number of 62805 civilian, security personnel and terrorist fatalities has been accounted\(^2\).

**Birth of the Terrorism Factor in the India Pakistan Relations:**
The terrorism factor has been a serious challenge for both the nations. In many an occasion, summit and conference, both the nations had pointed out the ferocious impact and role of terrorism in not only affecting the relationship between the two but also its larger impact. However this factor did not emerge from vacuum suddenly as there were numerous factors which led to the emergence of such.

**The uneven partition**
If one need to trace backs the origin of this terrorism factor in the relationship and for that matter in the internal policies one needs to turn the pages of history and move back in the decade of 40’s when these two nations got their independence. In the year 1947 owing to the compulsion of the independence movement and the tension between followers of those two faiths the British finally made up their plans to quit the undivided Indian Territory. The partition of Colonial India finally led into the creation of two sovereign states of the Dominion of Pakistan (later the Islamic Republic of Pakistan) and the Union of India (later Republic of India) in 1947, in accordance to the “Indian Independence Act 1947”. But unfortunately this historic incident which was supposed to pacify the problems within the South Asian region proved to be a curse in the history of relationships between these two nations and the creation of Pakistan left unspeakable violence in its trail, the effects of which were felt immediately, centering the status and accession of the princely states of Hyderabad, Junagadh and Kashmir.\(^3\)

Much like the building of the Berlin Wall, the partitioning of India created as many problems as it solved. As per the plans of the partition the Muslim-dominated areas were supposed to be joined to the Islamic republic of Pakistan whereas the Hindu majority regions were to be part of Indian Territory. This created a major problem for that of Pakistan as on this ground its territory was divided into two major blocks-East and West Pakistan and in between their lied the gigantic Indian Territory.

**Fear-psychosis and Status Quo Dilemma of Pakistan**
Pakistan after its independence adopted an Islamic Government structure and turned itself into ‘Islamic Republic of Pakistan’. On the other hand the Indian policy makers keeping in their minds the religious and cultural sentiments of multiple religious and ethnic groups with its territory, instead to adopting a religious outlook adopted a secular stand. Moreover Pakistan’s every possible defeat and narrow social base of the Pakistani ruling elite made it clear that India in the far future will overturn the partition. This fear-psychosis of Pakistan turned into reality in the year 1971 with the creation of a new independent State of Bangladesh. Due to the military imbalance, economic and technological might of India and its sheer geographical size Pakistani army officials, intelligence, as well as governance mechanism considered the presence of India, and the tactical and diplomatic moves of India to be a direct threat to Pakistan’s sovereignty and national interest.
America’s Containment of Communism and Its Impact on the South Asian Politics

Immediately after the creation of these newly independent nations they fell in the web of power politics of the super powers. Where India after independence adopted a neutral and non-aligned stand by being a member of the NAM along with Indonesia, Egypt, Ghana and Yugoslavia, etc. Pakistan on the other hand for the sake of its fear psychosis and maintenance of status quo with India joined hands with the Western military alliance led by the United States administration. Thus it was this very formal military tie up with Pakistan which formally brought United States in the region and soon gradually it became an important player for the South Asian region. Though the motive of the United States administration in entering the South Asian region was twofold- check the rise of Communist China and Containment of Communism and erstwhile Soviet Union, but it’s strategic and geo political policies and actions had its tremendous and long drawn impact in the relationship between India and Pakistan.

Pakistan through the military and economic assistance which it received from the west especially for containing communism started settling its goals with India by sponsoring or being actively involved in various insurgencies, terrorist activities and anti-Indian policies. India on the other hand had no other option than defending its integrity and nationhood. Though however it brought the issues in the eyes of the international community but they simply labeled them as internal domestic law and order problems.

Indian stand on Terrorism

For the last 3 decades India continues to face serious threats of terrorist attacks. However, resuscitating counterterrorism measures that have been difficult to implement and that alleges to violate fundamental human rights may not be a sound or effective response. India had been facing the menace of terrorism which got globally recognized only after the post 9/11 period. The Indian response to terrorism has also been updated post 26/11 as is evident from the following excerpt from the speech of Prime Minister Singh in the Nuclear Security Summit said after two-day Summit in 2010. “The intersection of international terrorism and clandestine proliferation affects our security directly. The concerns that we have been expressing for decades on the dangers of proliferation and risk of nuclear materials finding their way into the wrong hands are today finding widespread acceptance.” The Indian Parliament and its agencies have adopted a strong and stringent policy against organized violence and terrorism. May it be the post-independence Kashmir dispute or be it the secessionist North Eastern groups or Naxalite Insurgents, India has dealt with these domestic violence in a tactful and diplomatic manner. In multiple occasions and summits India has constantly kept on defending its anti-terrorist outlook globally especially after the 2007 when India was ranked fourth behind only Iraq, Afghanistan, and Pakistan, based on the report on global terrorism by the U.S. government’s National Counter-Terrorism Center. India has several intelligence agencies that monitor terrorist activities, and through various acts and ordinance, nationally and internationally from time to time the Indian Government has rigorously countered the anti-terrorist activities. Moreover the Ministry of External Affairs oversees its own counterterrorism body, much like the U.S. State Department, which oversees diplomatic counterterrorism functions such as briefing other nations on suspected Pakistani sponsorship of terrorism in India.
### Fatalities in Terrorist Violence 1988 – 2013

(*Data till November 3, 2013 (SATP)*

<table>
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<td>2012</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>84</td>
<td>117</td>
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<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>NA</td>
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<td><strong>14671</strong></td>
<td><strong>6090</strong></td>
<td><strong>22739</strong></td>
<td><strong>43500</strong></td>
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Pakistan Stand on Terrorism
Since its inception, Pakistan has been facing the challenge of national security. Traditionally, the threat to Pakistan’s security was external but, today it can be debatably asserted that the major threat to national security in Pakistan emanates more from internal sources rather than external. Perhaps there is no other country in the world which is entangled in this problem of terrorism as is the case with present day as the Pakistan. However though this is not a newly emerged situation and the relations between state sponsored terrorism and insurgency groups in Pakistan traces backs its connection from the decades of 40’s, after the partition and the dispute arising aftermath the partition with Indian. May be it the ethnic terrorism which led to the dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971; or the nationalist terrorism which was and still being been witnessed in the province of Balochistan at regular intervals and mainly revolves around the issues of exploitation of resources and threat to the political identity and culture of minorities sub-nationalities of the 80s and 90s, Pakistan has however not only been disheveled by these two forms of terrorism, one major issue which lies at the base of Pakistan’s national security is the issue of sectarianism emerged in late 80’s, which saw an extended version of rivalries between Northern Alliance and certain Sunni factions in Afghanistan and an aftermath of Iran & Iraq war. Finally, the nascent face of terrorism which emerged mainly emerged in the late 90’s is the Jihadi terrorism by far the most serious threat to Pakistan so far because of its role as the frontline state in war against terrorism. The situation in Pakistan has turned beyond the capacity of a single person or a onetime effort to eradicate the deep rooted problem from the society. An institutional mechanism with wide ranging participation on regular and permanent basis is the only way to fight this menace.

However the emergence of this Jihadi Terrorism is not a new conception as it emanated during the 1980s Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, being a brain child of both United States and Pakistan. The United States and Pakistan government provided official support to militant and fundamentalist Islamic groups, which eventually led to religious extremism and sectarianism. This religious radicalism spread out in the other parts of the world also. Those forces became influential which rejected tolerance and secularism. It is the emergence of Jihadi terrorism, which poses a real threat to the national security of Pakistan, which has gradually turnedagainst Pakistan, because of its alliance with the West in the War on Terrorism. The march of Jihadi terrorism against Pakistan has refueled the sectarian terrorism as well and one witnesses the most lethal combination of these two evil forces. “The scene in Pakistan resembled a jungle in which everyone was fighting at times everyone else. The terrorists were making money by drug trafficking and gun running, so they were heavily armed. Their operations endangered the very existence of the state, and no one put an estimate even remotely how many people were killed in this fighting. The Jihadi terrorism is not only threatening the national security of Pakistan internally but are having a tremendous impact on its external fronts too. The roots of Jihadi terrorism can also be found in social, economic and political factors. Internally, the latest ultra-orthodox combine preaches a distorted, tribalistic, ritualistic and dark version of Islam with no light of tolerance, peaceful co-existence, human rights and finer things of life. This deadly combine seeks to impose their version with the use of arms. The most dangerous part is that they can allure the law, befool the young, hoodwink the questioner, and over the skeptic in the garb of divine authority. They are against every institution and manifesto of modern age. Their
special target and victims are women. They are moving forward as they see a real chance of seizing power in this country and with their march the whole process of development, all institutions of the country, the way of life, religious beliefs and the state structure are under threat, forcing us to think what else constitutes the national security. The bases of this militant challenge operates in the Tribal areas of west of Pakistan and North West Frontier Province and Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA).  

If, Pakistan really needs to overcome from the existing impasse them it has to tackle terrorism without any bias or has to drastically need to stop using it as a state policy, especially against India.

**War on Terror and India Pakistan:**

It has been seen in the past not only in South Asia but various region of the world that United Sates have taken an active interest and got directly involved in regions where it had economic and strategic interests. One such interest was taken care of, US administrator had moved to other territories. The 2001 attacks in New York again provided US to become directly involved in a region which was nearing flash point. They made it clear that “You are either one hundred percent with us or one hundred percent against us – there is no grey area”. Within hours of the deadly September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, the US administration concluded that Osama bin Laden and al-Qaeda operatives from Afghanistan were behind the attacks and that any successful counterstrike required the support and assistance of Pakistan. Thus, geo-strategically these two nation states turned into important player in the War on Terror.

India who for almost many decades was a victim of this organized crime full-fledged extended its support and consent on this war. However, it was not an active member of United States led coalition like Pakistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, France, Italy, UK etc.; as such neither India does not provide any land; air or naval base to United States led coalition. India just made a strategic and secure response to war on terrorism through diplomatic, ideological and political means that did not derail or deteriorate her relations with the oppressor (US) and oppressed (Afghanistan) in future. From Indian point of view, fight against terrorism was the crying need of the hour because 2001 was similar for India and United States. In the same year three might of United States and Indian parliament has been attacked by the militant organizations. Fight against terrorism was a matter of regional security for India because Pakistan, India’s next door neighbour has been perpetually sponsoring and supporting the militant organizations to keep Indian Kashmir a boiling pot. India’s interest aims to the prospects of long term peace and stability in Afghanistan. However although, While India has not deployed its military in support of United States-led operations in Afghanistan, New Delhi has deployed a very small contingent of its paramilitary forces to protect Indian citizens working on reconstruction projects in Afghanistan and has made contributions worth $750 million.

Pakistan’s geopolitical situation on the other was at risk at the wake of this ‘war on Terrorism’ because of covert relations with Afghan Taliban and Al Qaida, which she maintained during the Afghan war and war against communism and Indian, sponsored terrorism. It was Pakistan’s duplicitous game which ultimately caused Pakistan to emerge as the epicenter of this global war terror. On September 13, 2001, the United States handed Pakistan a formal list of demands in the form of a “non-paper.” It categorically asked Pakistan to stop any sort of Al-Qaeda operatives in Pakistan, provide flight and landing rights.
to United States aircrafts and access to Pakistani naval and Air bases. It also asked Pakistan to turn over all sorts of all intelligence and immigration information regarding the Taliban and Afghanistan and asked Pakistan to dissociate itself from any sort of terrorist groups or activities functioning within its territory or beyond. Pakistan has been extremely selective in such dissociations and has supported some terrorist groups and fought against others.

Initially reluctant of being the ally of United States in this global war, Pakistan however pressurized under various compulsions later became a coerced partner in eradicating the global menace by permitting the United States to use its airspace; granted overland access to Afghanistan; and employed its army, police, and paramilitary organizations to handle Al Qaeda activists. In return, the United States provided billions in aid to Pakistan. Even the Pakistani authorities set up a new Counter Terrorism Cell (CTC) with the ISI to track down Al-Qaeda fugitives. Headed by a Brigadier, the cell worked closely with the United States Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Moreover Islamabad also established a National Crisis Management Cell, within the Interior Ministry to meet the new challenges posed by ongoing terrorism. Headed by an active-duty Brigadier, the cell worked closely with the FBI. Shockingly data were reveals that with the Pakistan collaboration in the War on Terror, brought into direct conflict with terrorist organizations, a nation which was once considered as a haven for terrorist groups.

### Fatalities in Terrorist Violence in Pakistan 2003-2013

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Civilians</th>
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<td>140</td>
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<td>2155</td>
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<td>596</td>
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<td>4835</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Data till October 27, 2013 (SATP.ORG)

However unfortunately where on one hand, Pakistan largely cooperated with United States to eliminate al Qaeda in Pakistan and its Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), on the other, Pakistan and its Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate kept on covertly maintaining its image of a cordial relations and a strong supporter of militant organizations including the Lashkar-e-Taiba, the Haqqani Network, and the Afghan Taliban. However this double-game of Pakistan’s did not lasted long as the assassination of the 9/11 master mind and Al Qaeda supreme in the heartland of Pakistan reviled its veil and brought Pakistan in the locus of global terror.
A Troubled Future lies ahead...
Still today after a decade of WoT, the terrorism factor lingers in these two nations internal as well as external policies. In the year 2013 there has been official report where Pakistan has multiple times violated the ongoing cease fire to facilitate the terrorist groups to crossing in India, which has been the highest in the last eight years. It is no secret that terrorist groups are operating and functioning under the Haqqani, Mehsud and the Saeed. Not only in the Khyber Pashto region but throughout Pakistan, the Pakistani governments have on one hand supported and sponsored the Afghani Taliban and on the other have fought with the Pakistani Taliban. It has tacitly supported the United States’ drone programme, which even recently killed the Pakistan Taliban leader HakimullahMehsud, but has allowed free movement and army protection to LeT Chief Hafiz Saeed, which United States has shown a blind eye too.

Former Pakistani ambassador to United States, Hussain Aqqanirecent book “Magnificent Delusions” have stated that how Obama requested Zardari to curb and stop all activities of LeT and other terrorist organization and in return it would ‘nudge’ India on the Kashmir issue. Zardari out rightly rejected the offer showing that either the Pakistan government has no interests in curbing terrorist groups like the Let or has no control over it or its intelligence mechanism that are supporting such terrorist organizations.

Moreover, the growing closeness of relationship between India and United States particularly from the Bush decade with the landmark agreement on civil nuclear cooperation and the present President Barack Obama support for a permanent U.N. Security Council seat for India might annoy the Islamabad. As the weak ties between Washington and Islamabad are frayed, and not just because of charges of I.S.I. support for militants, but multiple other factors in coming future might going to be a big issue for the South Asian politics. As the Islamabad is not likely to listen to the United States when it comes to India, analysts believe.

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Nepal – India - China Trilateral Relations: Issues & Challenges

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Abstract
The trilateral relations between Nepal–India and China structurally have profound impact on international world politics today. This research emphasizes that how these countries come from different political structure and forms trilateral relations to achieve their political, military and economic desires. The author argues that why Nepal has been in so much of chaos? Is it because of the influence of the two booming world economies in Asia? Or is it because of the internal geopolitics happening in Nepal? Why dose India and China engulfs itself in the national affairs of Nepal? Is it because India’s prominent position among the SAARC countries? Or is it because of the China’s predominant position in the world affairs? Under the absolute monarchy, Nepali citizens were much healthier and secured. However why now under the current Maoist regime Nepal is facing unemployment, corruption, lacking in decision-making and forming public policy? As it is apparent, Nepal plays a vital role because of its geostrategic position in between India and China. Hence the economic and the political stability of Nepal would be a key to enhance in evolving better trilateral relations among these powers.

Keywords: Trilateral, Political, geopolitics, China, Maoist

Introduction
In this essay author is emphasizing on trilateral relations between India-Nepal-China. Both the countries India and China are the world’s fastest major growing economy, and want to secure excellent strategic relationship within Asia especially with neighbors. At present the triangular countries have profound effect on international world politics because of their geographic position, the different styles of government and their diplomatic relations, etc. India and China are the world’s oldest civilization and the silk route was served as a major trade route, this route had also simplified the spread of Buddhism from India to East Asia. Although three major military conflicts happened in-between China and India, the Sino-Indian War of 1962, the Chola incident in 1967, and the 1987 Sino-Indian skirmish. In the contemporary world both the countries are struggling hard to make their diplomatic, economic ties stronger and have also tried attempts to develop their military and strategic relations. Data has revealed that in 2008 china was the India’s largest trading partner but despite this both the countries overwhelm itself in the border disputes, heavy military has been installed in the boarders, albeit China do engage into military infiltration in Indian soil.

Nepal is a buffer state in between both countries but author is impressed that despite, Nepal is a Hindu kingdom, and transmission of Buddhism from Nepal to China; Nepal has never become satellite state. Nepal has been ruled under monarch but between (1996 -
2006), the ignite of Nepalese Civil War between the government forces and the rebellion forces of Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) brought end of the monarch and the establishment of republic. This homegrown Maoist insurgency has seized the attention of international community. Another prominent occasion, which had destabilized the Nepalese monarchy, was the Nepalese royal family massacre, in which crown prince Dipendra shot and killed ten family members, including his father King Birendra. If you read till here you will find that, Why Nepal is getting so significant place between India and China? Author says it is because of the geographic position of Nepal. China has always considered Nepal as the part of the India’s compass of inspiration. Once Biren der designated for democracy and Maoist began a violent agitation to grab supremacy over Indian agenda. The conflict between Royal Nepalese Army, which has always been considered as a King’s army opposed to a national army, and the Maoist rebels, has always intensified the situation, which resulted in holocaust and annihilation.

Official Development Assistance in Nepal, Nepal has been receiving foreign aid since World War Second. United States Of America was the first country, which signed an agreement on January 23, 1951, for mutual respect, relationship of trust and commitment to the people of Nepal. For the first time USA provided more than $1.2 billion in the development assistance. India and China were the second two countries that provided financial aid, recent statics shows India had donated US $ 50.7 million in 2010-2011 fiscal year but this was the starting of the trilateral relationship between India-Nepal-China. Most of the assistance was towards developing education, agriculture and power generation, road construction, drinking water and peace and rehabilitation, although one third of the financial assistance was granted. Nepal Development Forum, previously know as “Nepal Aid Group’ established in 1976. The meetings of NDF emphasized to enhance mutual understanding among development partners, government and civil society through interaction and effective communication. International financial institution such as World Bank, Asian Development Bank, and international organizations like United Nation has played a prominent role in funding Nepal to get raid off with financial difficulties and all of these institutions come under Nepal Development Forum. Despite the establishment of Official Development Assistance, Nepal is the only country in South Asia, which has not experienced any considerable recovery in micro and macro economic aspects. GDP growth rate has been decreased from 6.1 percent (2008) to 4.6 percent (2010) and unemployment rate increased from 42 percent (2004) to 46 percent in recent year.

Sino-Indian objectives toward Nepal are market oriented neo-liberal policies that will endorse their economy and fulfill their political interest. Many of the Indian aided projects are directly linked with northern India especially with the water resources management. On the other hand China’s interest in Nepal at present is concerned with Tibet’s safety, Nepal is a home of 20,000 Tibetan’s refugees. Nepal had a Gentleman’s Agreement of liberally permitting movement of Tibetan’s across the boarders. Although Nepal is not a ‘ signatory to the 1951 refugee convention or the 1967 Protocol; and does not have a ‘domestic Refugee legislation; despite this Nepal is hosting a large number of refugees and asylum Tibetans. Realizing the strategic importance of Nepal, China’s policy revolved on three major issues; Proximity to Tibet, India’s leverages in Nepal and the development of economic influences in South Asia. China began constructively engage in Nepal by sending delegations, media, business, military, political stability and whole new vistas for trade and commerce
from 2008 onwards. China has also engaged itself in military affairs of Nepal by providing assistance in terms of weapons and in construction of a military hospitals other engagement are development of roads, rail network, transportation, water projects, and hydropower stations. “The statement by new Chinese envoy, Yang Haulan to chairman Pushpa kamal Dahal has reassured Nepal that China will never deviate from its policy of non-interference in the internal matters of Nepal”. In 14, January 2012 Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao flew to Nepal, Wen distributed largesse of $140 million in aid and in return pledge Nepal that they would tighten border controls and assess to Tibetans as also recognize and support of China’s “One China Policy”. China promised a $ 117 million three-year grant, $ 20 million to modernize the Nepal policy process, $ 5 million for construction of the Pokhara airport.

India and Nepal share 1700 km of open borders. India has signed a treaty of peace and friendship in 1950 Article VI and VII of the treaty stipulate that citizens of both countries have equal rights in matters of residence, acquisition of property, employment and movement in each other’s territory, thus providing for open border between the two countries. On the basis of current hypothesis 7 million Nepalese are residing in India, 40,000 Nepalese serving in Gorkha regiment, and approximately 120,000 Indian ex-servicemen are living in Nepal. The Chinese occupation of Tibet and the continued Chinese presence on the Indian borders have made India notice that Nepal occupies a vital strategic position in India’s security system. India always wants stability of Nepal as a non-aligned country with strong bonds of friendship and cooperation with India. The trade and transit facilities provided by India constitute a determining factor of Nepalese economic and trade interest. Nepal realizes the importance like between security of India and its own security, Chinese presence in Tibet and existence of boundary rivalries between Nepal’s two big neighbors- India and China have made Nepal highly conscious of its security and need to maintain friendly and good neighborly relations with India and China. On 6 December 1950, Prime Minister Jawahar Lal Nehru, in his speech in the parliament stated that,” We recognize Nepal as an independent country and wish her well. But even other country can have as intimate a relationship with Nepal as ours is. We would like every other country to appreciate the intimate geographical and cultural relationship that exists between India and Nepal.” India plays a pivotal role in South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) and Nepal is one of the member state of SAARC. India always has a “big brother” attitude towards Nepal. In the 21-st century Indo – Nepal relation came under an acute pressure due to the active presence of Maoist revolutionaries turned democrats in Nepalese politics and government because Maoist always had an anti-Indian agenda.

On author’s understanding Nepal is doing excellent diplomacy and diplomacy is the only device left for Nepal, author here is truly convinced with the saying of Alexander Wendt that “Anarchy is what state makes of it”. Both China and India are competing for a global and regional influence and wants to secure their interest in their close neighborhoods. Both countries are struggling to have monopoly over Nepal, as they fear that Nepali soil can be used to harm their respective core interests. Nepal should change its foreign policy and should propose “trilateral security cooperation” as a new foreign policy to manage the growing China and India’s strategic interest in Nepal. Nepal is turning its homeland into a battlefield for competing security interest of India – China, with its own domestic politics. There can be no similarities between Nepal and China or between Nepal and India in terms of power configuration, economic, military strength, territory and population. In
International arena or international relation: one country’s defensive move is interpreted as an offensive approach by another country. Every move made by China in Nepal for example, the development of Lumbini, building of rail linkages from Tibet to Nepal will be regarded in suspicion by New Delhi, and this is in the nature of every state. Nepal should hold bilateral security meetings with India and China respectively; it would be wise to know to bring both the countries together in one forum and discuss their respective security concern in Nepal. This trilateral discussion would also help to further minimize the common threat perception of both countries against each other in Nepal. But Nepalese politicians and policy makers do not understand this, and believe that Nepal will only benefit from the economic increasing economic cooperation between India and China.

Terrorist and counterfeit are another problems, which are faced by India from the Nepal soil. The documents of Wiki leaks have revealed that Pakistani Inter Services Intelligence has created a number of terrorist fronts in Nepal and has also pushed in men and explosives through the border to carry out terror attack in India. The recent arrests of two high profile terrorists, Adul Karim Tunda and Mohammed Ahmed Sidibappa Alias Yasim Bhakal have brought the Indian-Nepal boarder under severe criticism. The arrest highlighted the fact that terrorist and criminal groups are increasingly using Nepal as a based because of the open border with India. Many hard-core criminals pursued by Indian law enforcement agencies escape into Nepal and setup smuggling gangs, drugs, fake Indian currency notes (FICN), trafficking of women and children, smuggling of Tibetan gold, arms and explosives. Recently India and Nepal have also prepared and enforced a Cross-Border Crime Control Action Plan 2013 to curb trans-border crimes.

Conclusion
Author argues that after millions of financial aid to Nepal from both sides no scope of development in education, military and political aspects have been seen. This clearly tells us that how weak the government and decision makers are in Nepal, Nepal has been engulfed in a dirty politics and within corruption. Till now 4 million voters are lacking citizenship cards and hence not being able to register. The feeling of insecurity from the two dominate powers in Asia; democracy that is India and other on is communist China, Nepal should play good diplomacy to achieve a handsome trilateral relationship through new foreign policy. According to a recent published report of Human Development Index, Nepal is placed in 157th position under the low Human Development category. Illiteracy and unemployment still remains in Nepal, although current analysis on literacy shows a little increase from 54.1 percent to 65.9 percent. Male literacy rate is 75.1 percent compared to female literacy rate of 57.4 percent. Author hopes that in 21th century the trilateral relations between India-Nepal-China will take a new divergent with a good and healthy relations in between them.

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Combating Piracy and Maritime Terrorism: Strategic Response of ASEAN

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Abstract
The 21st century has witnessed an increased volume of world trade which in turn reflects the enhancing dependence on sea routes for the transaction and terms of trade. A global multi-dimensional threat perception has emerged on the geopolitical map of sea lanes of communication due to vast sea routes and the presence of a significant number of failed states like Somalia, Yemen, and Ethiopia. Al Qaeda’s terror strike on the USS Cole in Gulf of Aden and 9/11 terrorist attack proved that maritime terrorism has emerged as one of the most lethal non-traditional security threats. Pirates are largely used by the terrorist organizations i.e. Al Qaeda and Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) in each part of the world to get financial benefits out of their successful operations. This research paper aims to investigate the implications of maritime terrorism on the sea route surrounded to ASEAN countries. The entire Southeast Asia has witnessed a number of unilateral, bilateral and multilateral efforts to achieve a stable and a peaceful environment in their region. The principal objective of this work is to examine the current status, emerging dimensions of maritime terrorism and to highlight the issues of regional cooperation in this area. ASEAN’s response to dealing and coping with this menace will be the prime focus of this paper.

Key Words: Maritime Security, Maritime Security Initiatives, Container Security Initiatives, Regional Maritime Security Initiatives (RAMSI), Proliferation Security initiatives

Introduction
Maritime piracy and terrorism has become the mesmerizing subject of the security debate and headlines of the almost all the prominent newspapers since the end of cold war (1991). The increasing volume of threat perceptions on the geopolitical map of major Sea Lanes of Communication, (SLOC) has led to a new strategic equation as well as affected the global supply chain via sea routes. The dawn of a new international system after the end of cold war has anticipated globalization as the single most important factor to channelize the world economy. Globalization rules out the traditional understanding of territorial identity and shaped the world as an integrated economic entity. Besides, it also accelerated the pace of the regional economic integration and also deepened the interaction. This caused the emergence of Asia–Pacific region as a new hub and the centre of geo-strategic and economical shifts. On the other hand, it also enhanced a tremendous sense of insecurity among the littoral states of ASEAN countries. The security and stability of major SLOC’s of ASEAN region i.e. Lombok Strait, Sunda Strait and the most important Malacca Strait are on the brink due to insufficient and fragile inter-state cooperation. Moreover, the propinquity and speckled topography led to a fertile background to pirates and terrorist organizations to thrive effortlessly. The numbers of non-state actors are also involved in local separatist
movements and exploited piracy as a tool to disturb the regional peace. Piracy and Maritime Terrorism are now considered a persuasive threat to their coastal and economic security in entire Southeast Asia.

The regional cooperation among the Southeast Asian countries has set an impressive model of conflict resolution but it is still insufficient and fragile to eliminate all the problems of Piracy and Maritime Terrorism. Since its inception, ASEAN and its subsidiaries played a seminal role in Southeast Asian security architecture. ASEAN Way is the key method to resolve the underlying crises that is based on the practice of consultations and consensus building. During the crises ASEAN proved central in regional and extra-regional cooperation. It has taken several positive efforts to combat maritime security particularly problems of piracy and Maritime Terrorism through its various bodies and mechanisms.

Defining Piracy and Maritime Terrorism from Prism of International Laws
Evidence of Piracy existed since the time sea travel became possible. In the 20th century the International Organizations particularly UN took it into consideration and drafted “The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS 1982)” . Its article 100-107 is devoted to definition of Piracy. The Convention defines Piracy as “any illegal act of violence, detention or depredation committed for private ends between the persons on-board a private ship on the ‘high seas’ against those of another”. In this regard, the number of resolutions was passed in the international waters by the International Maritime Organisation (IMO) to curb the problem of Piracy. The IMO has become one of the most important institutions to provide guidelines and instruction to the ship to avoid the dangers of Piracy.

However, the problem with the above definition is that, it considers Piracy to be an act which occurs only in the international waters or the high seas beyond the jurisdiction of any state. The definition is considered as vague due to its inability to make a distinction between Piracy and robbery in the territorial waters and high sea. The International Maritime Bureau (IMB), a commercial body of the International Chambers of Commerce (ICC), took it into account and present a revised definition as follows, “Act of boarding any vessel with intent to commit theft or any other crimes, and with an intent or capacity to use force in furtherance of that act.”

On October 1985, the hijacking of Italian ship ‘Ss Achille Laura’ outside the territorial water in the Egypt forced to rethink about the drawbacks of the UNCLOS, which had a mere legitimized the action of any country to tackle the issue of Piracy but failed to provide a legal base to take action against those persons who are involved to committing crime at the sea. These drawbacks were tried to resolve by the Convention on the “Suppression of Unlawful Activities against the Safety of Maritime Navigation” (SUA).

Growth of Piracy and Maritime Terrorism Southeast in Asia
Maritime Piracy has re-emerged with more panic attributes towards the end of cold war in the Southeast Asia. The withdrawal of US troops in the region, rapid economic development and political instability in several Southeast Asian countries aided the growth of acts of piracy. The situations are constantly becoming grim with the expansion of world trade, which reached its peak during the years of 1997-2012. During these periods more than 3800
incidents of Piracy took place. The International Maritime Bureau (IMB) has emphasized that the half of the incidents took place in the Malacca Strait. The most fundamental differences between old and modern pirates are that they have an ideological base and equipped with the modern arms and equipment. There are number of the reasons to the rise of the Piracy which differs from regions specific social, economical and political circumstances.

Peter Chalk has identified six reasons to the rise of Piracy in the contemporary era.

- Advancement in maritime navigation technology
- Security threat after the post-9/11 era.
- Lawlessness, chaos, and lack of economic opportunity on-land.
- Willingness of owner-operators to pay ever-larger ransoms.
- Bribery for the fast transaction of the ships
- Global proliferation of arms

There was a discernible increase in the number of incidents of Piracy after the Asian financial crises of 1997. The crisis was responsible for the widespread economic decline in Southeast Asia and deterioration of social conditions leading to the rise of large scale poverty. It considerably affected the life of the common people, which led to a visible spurt in acts of piracy for their livelihood. On the other hand, it also provoked organized gangs to treat Piracy as a lucrative business. One of the most serious incidents was the hijacking of the Panama tanker. In the past, the vessel Fu Tai and the cargo ship ‘Tenyu’, was hijacked on 5 August and 27 September of 1998 respectively, which had serious security implications.

Rise of Maritime Terrorism in the Malacca Strait

Al Qaeda’s terror strike on aircraft carrier USS Cole in Gulf of Aden on 2000 and 9/11 incidents was the landmark in geo-strategic shifting. These incidents forced to US to re-engage in the Southeast Asia region due to the opening of a second front to fight against terrorism. This and several other incidents indicate unholy nexus of Pirates and terrorist Organizations. In addition, Piracy and Maritime Terrorism have also accelerated the pace of proliferation of arms and smuggling of narcotics in the region. Maritime terrorism is similar to Piracy but it has a political objective to use piracy as a tool to target the governments by local terrorists and rebellious groups. The objectives of Maritime Terrorism are slightly different in terms of nature and audience targeted. They have a political aim, ideology, seeking attention and above all to spread violence. CSCAP defines ‘Maritime Terrorism as a unilateral act of violence at the sea with intention for political or destructive end but not those associated with war declared under the laws of war’. Example of this includes the, Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) hijacking the ship on 17 November 2002 in Philippines water.

Between the period of 1990 and 1996, Piracy emerged as a widespread phenomenon in the Malacca Strait. In April 1992, a Cyprus based fuel tanker; ‘Valiant Carrier’ was the first victim of Piracy. It is observed that since past few years the Piracy prone area is constantly becoming large and extended from the Malacca Strait towards the South China Sea, Hong Kong and Macau. This extended zone which is bounded by Hong Kong, Luzon and the Hainan Island are so-called HLH “terror triangle. A total of 122 attacks represents 51.7 percent of all attacks that have taken place in this triangle.
Regional Cooperation and ASEAN Strategic Response

Since its inception in 1967, ASEAN has established a model to fight against the various crises and foster mutual respect and values of sovereignty. ASEAN’s emergence as security community has had a phenomenal impact on the geo-strategic conundrum and has worked to keep the region stable and prosperous. ASEAN has provided a platform to address the problems peacefully with mutual understanding by ASEAN WAY (consultation and consensus). The region is overwhelmingly threatened by number of transnational crimes particularly Piracy and Maritime Terrorism. In this regard, ASEAN has encouraged a number of mechanisms multilaterally and with extra regional countries to protect the regional peace and harmony.

ASEAN has formed several epoch making formwork to deal with issues of Piracy and Maritime terrorism i.e. ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Transnational Crime (AMMTC), which is initiating the ASEAN’S counter terrorism strategy. This framework helps to combat local rebilling groups and its global networks i.e. Jimmeha Islamia has a link to Al-Qaeda. The framework also helps to fill the legal lacuna to dealing with the transnational crimes at the time of joint operations.

The ASEAN Plan of Action to Combat Transnational Crimes was another landmark effort of ASEAN to help to mitigate the repercussion of various transnational crimes. This plan embraces a plan of action to share information, cooperating and training in anti-Piracy measures. The prime highlight of this plan of action is that to provide economic and technical assistance in the field of controlling transnational crimes particularly Piracy and terrorism.

The idea of establishing ‘ASEAN Security Community (ASC)’ brought ASEAN into focus to bring some fundament changes in ASEAN’s functional mechanism at the Vientiane in 2004. This idea has proved to a milestone in determining security interest as common and shared concerns and refusing the Alliance methods of providing security. In the post cold war era, the arrival of non-traditional security challenges and ASEAN Regional Forum is working to resolve these challenges through the process of consultation and consensus building. The ARF summit of 2003 released a “Statement on Cooperation against Piracy and other threats to Maritime Security”, of which main focused to curb the problem of Piracy and Maritime terrorism.

On June 2004 in order to eliminate Piracy in the region, Indonesia has undertaken several serious steps along with Malaysia to joint patrol named as MALSINDO. By this arrangement Indonesia deployed two warships as a joint patrol to target pirated attacks. In addition, both countries have also developed an ‘Eye in the Sky’ (EiS) operation with Singapore and Thailand in 2006, by which they jointly carry out air patrols above the Strait. These initiatives have helped Indonesia to mitigate the problem and decrease the intensity of the situation. On the other hand, the declaration of Shangri-La and Batam Joint Statement brought a common understanding about the problem. On 2005, the Shangri-La Dialogue agreed to secure SLOC is the primary responsibility of littoral states. Batam joint Statement has successfully brought the consensus among the Malacca Strait countries. It was followed by the Jakarta statement 2005, which acknowledged UNLCOS Article 43 of burden sharing.
ASEAN hosted the International Maritime Defense Exhibition (Imdex-2005), it was a Maritime security related exhibition conducted with India, Australia, Singapore and Japan. In 2005, Indonesia and Malaysia together launched a cooperative formwork “surface surveillance System (SUPRIC)”, which helps to get real time surveillance of the entire Malacca Strait. These important efforts help in the region to check the incidents of Piracy. However, the lack of sufficient cooperation prevented the achievement of these goals. So, there is a need for an integrated approach, which can bring about total support in dealing with the problem of Piracy.

The most important initiative to protect the waters from the Piracy and its interlinked crimes in entire Asia-Pacific region proposed by Japan is “The Regional Cooperation Agreement on Combating Piracy and Armed Robbery against ships in Asia” ReCAAP, was signed in November 2004 by 17 countries (Bangladesh, Brunei, Cambodia, China, Denmark, India, Japan, Republic of Korea, Laos, Myanmar, Netherlands, Norway, Philippines, Singapore, the Sri Lanka, Thailand, United Kingdom and Vietnam) and a ReCAAP Information Sharing Centre (ISC) facilitating sharing of Piracy-related information has been set up. It is a major achievement of successful regional cooperation. Some important steps have been taken up to protect the pirate infested coastline and prevent the crises. In this regard, for instance, Indonesia launched a “Trilateral Coordinated Patrol” with Malaysia and Singapore in mid-2004. Despite the volatile situation since last decade, countries Joint cooperation helped to decrease the total number of attacks tremendously in 2011 and 2012.

Extra-Regional Powers Engagement in ASEAN region
US, China, Japan and India are the prominent players interested about the issue of Piracy or any other maritime security initiatives. The US has a vital interest in securing her homeland from terrorism and relies on its hub and spoke security arrangements primarily along side participation in the multilateral bodies. Alongside several unilateral initiatives the U.S. has also sought the bilateral avenue with India for the safety and fast transactions of the ships and containers in the region. The Container Security Initiatives (CSI), Proliferation Security Initiatives (PSI) and Regional Maritime Security Initiatives (RMSI) are most exemplary initiatives of US in post 9/11.

The Container Security Initiatives was launched in the 2001 to protect the containers from the threat of weapons of destruction. The system consists of the intelligence, automated information, non-intrusive, detection technologies and tamper proof smart containers. India has also approved the CSI system for its ‘Nhava Sheva’ ports to secure its world trade. But this is unilaterally controlled high tech system and other countries are highly dependent on US for the operation of this system and high cost.

Another most important system to protect container and ship is the PSI, which primarily focuses to stop the proliferation of small arms and WMD and collect the intelligence share of illegal shipments. Australia, UK, France Italy, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Spain and U.S are the founding members of the PSI initiative. However, this initiative was criticized for the violation of international laws and extending the role of extra regional activity in the Malacca Strait. On the other hand, US opponents China and North Korea opposed this initiative for being giving an upper hand in the container security to U.S.
The specific initiative for the Malacca Strait was the RMSI, which aims to deploy the US marine commandos and Special Forces to check the passing of the container and ships. Regional countries like Indonesia and Malaysia strongly condemn this initiative due to US military involvement in the region. Other countries like Japan and China are also playing an important role in controlling Piracy in the region. Both countries have a vital security interest due to the proximity with Malacca Strait and trade security. Japan has organized a number of international conferences to understand the viable solution from the menace. The conference “International Conference of All Maritime Related Concerns, both governmental and private on the Combating Piracy and Armed–Robbery against the Ships,” was organized in 28-30 April 2000. In February 2004, the JCG vessels Ryukyu took part in the anti-Piracy exercise with Thailand and Philippines the JCG vessel has been become the instrument in the protecting the sea lanes of communication in the Malacca Strait. However, the most important plan to make consensus among regional countries and extra regional countries was initiated by Japan called ReCAAP.

China is the largest trading country and became world’s second largest economy in the 2012 by surpassing Japan. China has engaged in the disputes over the maritime claims in the South China Sea which created an assertive image of the China in the region. In dealing with the problem of Piracy, China was not interested to take any action against Chinese pirates. In the case of ‘MV Petro Ranger’ was kidnapped by the Pirates and released from Chinese territory. Another most important incident was the ‘MV Cheng’, which was the one of the biggest incidents of Piracy. The ship was laden with lethal arms and ammunition, drugs and explosives. So, these incidents raise a doubt on the peaceful rise intentions claimed by China. The ‘String of Pearls’ debate has created a concern for the rest of Southeast Asia as well. China is considered US re-engagement in the region as a threat to its interest. Therefore China is not working for the permanent solution to the problem.

**Conclusion**

The overall analysis of the threat of Piracy and Maritime Terrorism in the Malacca Strait region indicates that Piracy is now a global menace. Piracy has acquired a sophisticated regional based strategy, which also deals with the socio-economic condition of the region particularly the affected country. It is observed that the most of the piracy incidents took place around the failed states, for instance, Somalia, Ethiopian and Yemen. The nature of Piracy in the 21st century has drastically changed and piracy is today not a mere livelihood occupation of the large number of poor people. Most of the organized criminals, gangs and even terrorist organizations are using piracy as a tool to threaten the government and disturbed the economic activities. The long efforts of the government led to the decline of the incident of piracy in the Malacca Strait and now the focus has shifted to the Gulf of Aden.

Integrated nature of SLOC’s requires both sub-regional and global cooperation because to combat piracy requires a large investment of money, weapons, machinery and cooperation of states. The only way to deal with the alarming rise in piracy levels is to have effective coast guards, proper surveillance and intelligence gathering with both the littoral states as well as extra regional powers that have a stake in the region.
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Globalization and Live-in Relations: From Immortality to Acceptability

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Abstract
Prior to the 1990’s, there existed a very conventional and conformist ideology with regard to the standards and morals in the Indian society. However, after 1990, globalization not only affected the Indian economy, its trade but it also influenced the thought process and psychology of individual in relation to the contemporary beliefs. Due to influx of a great number of technologies, especially that of the television, people began to think on more liberal terms. They became more acceptable to the idea of working women, work from home concepts and the concept of women empowerment. However, the major shift that can be seen in the mindset of people is the gradual acceptance of the concept of live in relationships, who earlier were staunch believers of marriage. The Indian judiciary also underwent the same change as it started to recognize live in relationships. The best example is the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act 2005, which recognizes relations in nature of marriage. The swing can be attributed to the western culture that came with globalization. This paper brings out the circumstances how a society favouring marriage gave way to a new concept called live in relationship and the role played by globalization aided by the Indian Judiciary.

Keywords: Live-in Relationships, Marriage, Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act 2005, Globalization

Introduction
India is a nation of diverse culture, traditions and customs and each of them hold its very own importance in the society even today. They are ancient and eternal too. One such tradition is the institution of marriage. It is the most sacrosanct tradition. This tradition has been in Indian from around fourth century and it is still practiced widely. Many other institutions have withered in the test of time. The best example is that of the Sati which was done away with when it was considered to be opposed to public policy and there was a need felt to protect the women from the pyres of their husband.

There is no denying the fact that it is the institution of marriage has root deep enough in the Indian society that it held good for so many centuries and it can be said beyond any reasonable doubt that it will be withstand another hundreds of centuries to come. Such importance to marriage can be attributed to the fact that man and woman represent two

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halves of the divine body. Another important aspect that cannot be overlooked where marriage is concerned is the birth of a son who will lead his father towards salvation. It was held in such high regards that even its dissolution was not allowed.

Relationship within marriage was only allowed. Relations outside marriage were frowned upon. Even love marriages were looked down. So, any relation which was outside the ambit of marriage was considered as immoral or against the standards of the society and the people were considered as someone having low character or morals and were outcasted. But there has been gradual change with the passage of time. People are now more open to the idea of live-in relations and are now more acceptable to the society. However, the journey of live-in relations from being immoral to being acceptable has moved with the speed that of a snail. In order to understand the journey of live-in relations, it is necessary to understand what live-in relation is.

This was the situation till 1990’s. After that period India saw a shift in perception and perceptive in the form of globalization. It brought with it many new, cheap and affordable gadgets like that of a television sets. This influx of new technology changed the mind set of people to some extent. It developed over a period of time and now the concept of live-in relationship has become somewhat more acceptable than what it used to be.

Live-in Relations: Changing Perception

The first question that needs to be addressed is what are live-in relations? Basically, it can be said that is a living arrangement. It is "an arrangement of living under which the couples which are unmarried live together to conduct a long-going relationship similarly as in marriage". In this relationship an unmarried couple lives together under the same roof in a way it resembles a marriage, but without getting married legally. This form of relationship does not thrust the typical responsibilities of a married life on the individuals living together. The foundation of live in relationship is individual freedom and freedom from all responsibility that burdens a marriage.

When we apply living relationships to an average class of people, we find it less prevalent as this class is scrutinized more in the society. On the contrary both the high income group and the lower income group are in a position to readily accept newer kinds of relationships. A girl from a poor family that is in need of shelter without much hesitation can consider no harm in living with a man of a slightly higher financial status without marrying him. Nowadays even parents have slowly started giving sanctions to living arrangements for the sake of happiness of their children. The busy lives do not permit us to look into background of couple if they decide to live in a new place or city. The cities in India are examples of continuance of faith in marriages on one hand and attraction towards living arrangements on the other.

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In most of the cases, people agree to live together so that at a later stage it may take shape of marital relationship. Still inspite of bonafide intentions of the couples taking “out way decision”, most of living arrangements do not take the shape of eternal bonding.

People’s perception about the live-in relations has been changing with the passage of time. There is great influx of western ideas to credit for the change. Parineeti Chopra, a bollywood actress, recently was seen having a live-in relation with Sushant Singh Rajput in her movie “Shuddh Desi Romance” told the media that live-in relations are not different from marriage. Today, live-in relationships are more out of practicality while Sonam Kapoor, another Bollywood actress said that live-in relations are for commitment-phobic. It is very clear from these statements that people are now looking forward to temporary relations that is less cumbersome and which will prevent going through the tiring process of divorce in case of marriage and also end up saving huge settlement awards.

Famous film maker, Shyam Benegal “It a very good step as it will not only protect the rights of women who enter into a live-in relationship but will also be helpful to the children from such relations in getting their rights in future.

Famous Social Activist Shobhaa De has commented that the dynamics of marriages have changed mainly because women are now financially independent and therefore in a position to question the old chauvinist order created mainly by men. Thus Women who have now certain amount of bying power and dispensing power too, find some space to decide which type of relationship they wish to choose. They feel that they can also choose partnerships as per their convenience.

Chief Justice of Orissa high court, C Nagappan, said live-in relationships must be recognized by the law and it is important to understand that the society is changing. "Introducing a new law for live-in relationships is difficult and complex but the legal system must accommodate them," he said at a seminar on 'Live-in relationship and rights of maintenance' at University Law College.

These all views all point towards one direction, that the change is inevitable because change is the rule of life. There is always need to change with the changing circumstances otherwise it will be detrimental to both the society and the individual. There will be negative growth which affects our economy. According to a survey by The Journal of Marriage and the Family, live in’ relationships are weak commitments. Social geographer Soma Das says that people who opt for live-in relationships do so because they do not believe in marriage. Similarly Priya Florence Shah, Internet entrepreneur and blogger has observed being against

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such relationships – living-in would be equivalent of lowering standards and settling for less than what one deserves. For most, living together is not an end, it’s just a fun thing to do - perhaps a rebellion here and now notes Damayanti Datta, Deputy Editor with India Today. Living in helps you get a better idea about your partner before marriage.

Legality of Live-in Relations

There is no legal bar in India for women and men staying together, as it is matter of two consenting adults and live -in relationship is not socially accepted in India and still considered as taboo and sin. However, no specific law recognizes a live in relationships in India. No legislation is there to define the rights and obligations of the parties and the status of children born to such couples. A live–in relationship is not recognized by Hindu Marriage Act, 1955 or by any other statute. In the absence of any law to define the status of live in relationships the Courts have taken the view that where a man and a woman live together as husband and wife for a long term, the law will presume that they were legally married unless proved contrary. The Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act 2005 provides for the protection, maintenance and right of palimony to a live-in partner, if she complains.

A Bench of Justices Markandey Katju and T.S. Thakur pointed out that the 2005 Act had used the expression ‘relationship in the nature of marriage’ and not ‘live-in relationship’ for the grant of benefit to affected women. The Bench had said: “If a man has a ‘keep’ whom he maintains financially and uses mainly for sexual purpose and/or as a servant, it would not be a relationship in the nature of marriage. Merely spending weekends together or a one-night stand would not make it a ‘domestic relationship.’ ”

The earliest case in which the Supreme Court of India recognized the live in relationship as a valid marriage was that of Badri Prasad vs. Deputy Director of Consolidation, in which the Court gave legal validity to the a 50 year live in relationship of a couple. In Payal Katara v. Superintendent Nari Niketan Kandri Vihar Agra and Others, the Allahabad High Court ruled out that “a lady of about 21 years of age being a major, has right to go anywhere and that anyone –man and woman even without getting married can live together if they wish”.

In Lata Singh v State of UP & Anr. the Apex Court held that live-in relationship was permissible only between unmarried major persons of heterogeneous sex. If a spouse is married, the man could be guilty of adultery punishable under section 497 of the IPC. But in Alok Kumar vs. State of Delhi, the Delhi High Court has held that live in relation is walk in and walk out relationship and no strings are attached to it. This kind of relationship does not create any legal bond between the partners. It further held that in case of live in relationships, the partners cannot complain of infidelity or immorality.

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11 AIR 1978 SC 1557
12 AIR 2006 SC 258
13 AIR 2010 Del 456
But, this view of the Delhi High Court was overruled by the Supreme Court’s judgment in *D. Velusamy v. D. Patchaiammal*\(^{15}\) wherein it held that, a relationship in the nature of marriage under the 2005 Act must also fulfill some basic criteria. Merely spending weekends together or a one night stand would not make it a domestic relationship. It also held that if a man has a “keep” whom he maintains financially and uses mainly for sexual purpose and/or as a servant it would not, in their opinion, be a relationship in the nature of marriage. In order for the couple to claim palimony certain conditions must be fulfilled. The conditions laid down are that the couple must hold themselves out to society as being akin to spouses; they must be of legal age to marry; they must be otherwise qualified to enter into a legal marriage, including being unmarried; they must have voluntarily cohabited for a significant period of time.\(^{16}\)

**Right to Maintenance in Live-in Relationship**

The need to include live in female partners for the right of maintenance under Section 125 of Criminal Procedure Code, 1973 was supported by the judgment in *Abhijit Bhikaseth Auti v. State Of Maharashtra and Others.*\(^{17}\) The Malimath Committee and the Law Commission of India also suggested that if a woman has been in a live-in relationship for considerably long time, she ought to enjoy the legal status as given to wife. However, recently it was observed that a divorced wife is treated as a wife in the context of Section 125 of CrPC but the live in partners cannot get divorced, and hence cannot claim maintenance under Section 125 of CrPC.\(^{18}\)

The Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005 considers females who are not formally married, but are living with a male person in a relationship, which is in the nature of marriage, also akin to wife, though not equivalent to wife. Section 2(f) of the Act defines domestic relationship which means a relationship between two persons who live or have, at any point of time, lived together in a shared household, when they are related by consanguinity, marriage, or through a relationship in the nature of marriage, adoption or are family members living together as a joint family. Thus, the definition of domestic relationship includes not only the relationship of marriage but also a relationship in the nature of marriage.

In mid-2008, the National Commission for Women recommended that a woman in a live-in relationship should be entitled to maintenance if she is deserted by her partner. The commission sought a change in the definition of “wife” as described in the Section 125 of Criminal Procedure Code (CrPC), which deals with maintenance and suggested that it should include women involved in a live-in relationship. The move aims at harmonising other sections of the law with the PWDVA that treats a live-in couple’s relationship on a par with that between a legally married husband and wife. The state of Maharashtra also approved this proposal in 2008 but it requires the final nod of the Centre.

\(^{15}\) AIR 2010 SC 876

\(^{16}\) [Supreme Court of India Clarifies Live-in Relationship](http://forum.santabanta.com/showthread.htm?313507-Supreme-Court-of-India-clarifies-live-in-relationship-1)

\(^{17}\) AIR 2008 Bom. 328

\(^{18}\) *Ibid* note no. 3
In the case of Koppisetty Subbharao Subramaniam vs. State of Andhra Pradesh\textsuperscript{19}, the Supreme Court held that the nomenclature “dowry” has no magical charm. It refers to a demand of money in relation to a marital relationship. The Court rejected the contention of the defendant that since he was not married to the complainant, Section 498A did not apply to him in a step ahead in protecting the woman from harassment for dowry in a live in relationship.

**Right of a Child Out of a Live-in Relationship**

The Hindu marriage Act, 1955, gives legitimacy to every child born out of marriage which may either be void, voidable or valid marriage. So the child would be legitimate in all cases. There is no need for legislation to provide legitimacy to the child born out of live-in relations. But, need for a legal provision is felt to secure the future of a child born from a relationship which has not taken the shape of marriage. But, there certainly a need to provide for legislation to grant maintenance and property rights to the child. In case the parties to live-in-relationship decide to move out of it, to secure rights of child whom none of the parents want to keep, there must be a provision that any of them would be responsible to look after the child. To ensure that his rights are actually given, Court may appoint a guardian.\textsuperscript{20} The child is entitled to get a share in the property of both the father as well as the mother.

In August 2010, a Division Bench of the Supreme Court ruled that a live-in which has been long lasting will be considered as marriage and children born out of it are not illegitimate. This verdict came just days after a Delhi High Court ruling which laid down that a partner in a live-in relationship can walk out of it at any point of time without any legal consequence and neither of the partners can complain of infidelity if one deserts the other. It held that “live-in is a walk-in and walk-out relationship. There are no strings attached to it nor the same creates any legal bond between the parties. Such a thing is a contract of living together which is renewed every day by the parties and can be terminated by either without consent of the other party.”

**Conclusion**

The live in relationship may be immoral, but not illegal. Although people have frowned previous but now there is a shift in their outlook. They are more open-minded and are relatively less reluctant to accept it. The judiciary has accorded legality to the concept of live in relationship and has protected the rights of the parties and the children of live in couples which makes it unnecessary to formulate a law to clarify the concept so urgently. There is no law which makes a live in relationship illegal. However, there is need for a specific legislation dealing with rights and duties of couples in live-in relations.

\textsuperscript{19} AIR 2009 SC 597

\textsuperscript{20} Ibid at Note no. 4