Journal of Politics & Governance

Vol. 8 No. 1 January 2020

Editor
Shailesh
Academy of Politics & Governance,
Management Development Research Foundation,
D-453, Sector 7 Dwarka, New Delhi, Delhi 110077
E-mail: editor.jpg@gmail.com

Editorial Board

Dr. Abhinav Sharma
Associate Professor,
Department of Political Science,
Banaras Hindu University,
Varanasi –221005
E-mail: abhinav15975@gmail.com

Dr Nupur Tiwari
Associate Professor,
Indian Institute of Public Administration,
IP Estate Ring Road, New Delhi –110020
E-mail: nupur.tiwary@gmail.com

Dr Rose Mary George
Assistant Professor,
Department of Political Science,
School of Distance Education,
University of Kerala,
Thiruvananthapuram –695 034
E-mail: hellorose@gmail.com

Dr Satishkumar L. Patel
Professor,
Department of Public Administration,
V. N. South Gujarat University,
Surat –395 007
E-mail: as_darsh@rediffmail.com
Journal of Politics & Governance (JPG) is a peer-reviewed monthly journal.

JPG is an independent publishing platform with profound interest in an interdisciplinary critique of contemporary issues revolving around politics, governance, management, development, public affairs, socio-economic concerns of communities, justice, ethics, corporate social responsibility, human rights, poverty, social action, quality of life of diverse communities, gender discourse, media, international relations, etc.

All editorial positions are honorary/non-remunerative.

JPG invites research papers, reflective essays, review articles, conceptual notes, interviews, and book reviews from thinkers, academics, journalists, administrators, social and political activists, research scholars and larger community of students from any discipline. Length of the contributions should be 3000-5000 words including references.

Editorial and Subscription Enquiry: editor.jpg@gmail.com

Copyright © All rights reserved. No part of this publication can be reproduced without written permission of the editor/publisher except for the purpose of quotes in research papers, doctoral work or book chapters.

Any dispute arising out of publication of Journal of Politics & Governance (JPG) will be settled in the courts of Delhi.

Disclaimer

- Views expressed in the articles published in JPG are those of the contributors and not necessarily that of the Editorial Board, Editor or Publisher.
- All the articles are published in good faith considering that the contributors have not violated copyrights of any other authors/publishers. In case of any such violation, contributors alone will be held responsible.
- Due care and diligence have been exercised while editing and printing this issue of JPG. However, the editor, publisher and printer will not be liable for any damage and losses arising out of the content of the journal.

Printed & Published by Academy of Politics & Governance, Management Development Research Foundation, D-453, Sector 7 Dwarka, New Delhi, Delhi 110077
Contents

Development and Voices of Dissent in India: Insights from Odisha
Seema Mallik and Biswajit Parida 5-20

Good Governance in Bangladesh: Challenges and Opportunities
Jannatul Ferdous 21-32

Environmental Degradation and Governance: Exploring the Connections
Mst. Marzina Begum 33-40

Employment and Working Conditions of Child Labour
Srirang K Jha and Vandana Malviya 41-46
Development and Voices of Dissent in India: Insights from Odisha

Seema Mallik* and Biswajit Parida**

ABSTRACT
This paper analyses why despite being one of the most mineral rich states in India, Odisha remains one of the poorest states. In the light of continuous resistance of local communities to industrial projects in Odisha, this paper argues that development strategies towards heavy industrialization by both national and international multi-national companies to exploit natural resources to overcome poverty has resulted in forceful land acquisition from already small, poor farmers mainly tribals, creating more poverty and greater social inequalities. This has led to an increase in state-society conflict and the stalling or closure of several mega-projects in the state. This argument is substantiated by case studies of POSCO in Jagatsinghpur district of Odisha, India. The paper provides insights to the development strategies and land grab; socio-economic status of Odisha and its being one of the poorest state despite possessing one of the richest mineral reserves in the country, where heavy industrialization is seen as the remedy. The paper also provides incisive view on the state-society conflict in the context of establishment of POSCO.

Keywords: Neo-Liberal, Dispossession, Land Grab, State-Society, Conflicts

[This research received funding from the University Grants Commission under UGC-MRP grant (2013-15). This article is a revised version of the study]

INTRODUCTION
Today, in the era of neo-liberalization, India has emerged as one of the fastest growing economies. However, despite a high GDP rate, India continues to fail in human development indices. Since the 1990s there has been a shift from its Nehruvian Socialist roots towards a neoliberal state where the State and business groups have solidified their political and economic alliance and observers have characterized India as “India incorporated”. Atul Kohli argues that it is this alliance between the State and big business set in motion by the neoliberal policies which is responsible both for releasing economic dynamism and for limiting the spread of its resulting gains. Large sections of society feel alienated and marginalized from this developmental process. Agriculture has taken a beating and its contribution to the GDP has

* Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Utkal University, Bhubaneswar
E-mail: seema.mallik@gmail.com
** Project Fellow, UGC Major Research Project, presently Ph D Scholar, Sambalpur University
gone down. Although agriculture and allied activities employ nearly 60% of the population, its contribution to India’s GDP is less than 20%. It will shrink further, as there is a mass movement from rural to urban India. Large scale land acquisition for industries, Special Economic Zones (SEZs), IT sectors, real estate have further challenged agricultural growth. The poor face yet another threat, of losing their lands to business groups in the name of “development”. Those who are forced dispossession of their lands do not benefit from this business transaction where a new class of those enjoying the profits are created. These areas are highly knowledge-intensive and not labour-intensive which is beyond the capabilities of the vast, poor, illiterate rural farmers of India. Therefore, the question arises on the viability of these schemes which make the poor, poorer, landless and dependent on the government. Contrary to older forms of dispossession where land was expropriated for the natural resources it could deliver, in SEZs land is dispossessed so that it can be commodified as urban spaces. This dispossession from land or ‘land grab’ is now a phenomenon, particularly in the Third World countries.

In India, memorandums have been signed for the creation of SEZs, where forceful acquisition of land from the poor farmers by the ruling elite to attract private investors has become a part of the ongoing economic reform process resulting in increasing state-society conflicts. The SEZ Act of 2005 provides the framework for the creating these hyper liberalised economic zones, by acquiring cheap land from farmers and creating privately-developed cities, industries, etc. These profit generating constructions have led to a mad land rush by private investors to grab land from the poor. Therefore, land dispossession today, is increasingly for privatized industrial, infrastructural, real estate projects which a ‘corporate” state is indulging on. There is a sharp contrast to land dispossession after independence for state-led projects to land dispossession for private projects at present under a neo-liberal growth model. This has led to growing state-society conflicts across India, which has resulted to either their cancellation or delay as in the case of the Korean steel giant POSCO and Vedanta in Odisha and Singur in West Bengal to name a few.

The paper attempts to analyse that despite being one of the most mineral rich states Odisha remains one of the poorest states of India. It argues that development strategies towards heavy industrialization by the State to exploit natural resources to overcome poverty has resulted in forceful land acquisition from small, poor farmers, creating more poverty and greater social inequalities. This argument is substantiated by case study of POSCO in Jagatsingpur district in Odisha. The paper further argues that in an economy where agriculture continues to be the largest employer and the backbone of the country, damaging the backbone will weaken the State and lead to uneven development. Industrialization is needed to stimulate economic growth but growth needs to be balanced with human happiness and not at the cost of the poor.

ODISHA: A BACKGROUND

According to the Economic Survey Report of Odisha, 2014-15, Orissa constitutes about 4.9% of India’s total area and 3.6% of total population as per 2001 census – its density of population at 236 per square kilometre is lower than India’s 324. In current prices, the per capita net state domestic product at Rs.22, 630/- in 2007-08 is 68% of India’s per capita net national product. Compared to all India average, the share of agriculture in gross state domestic product is relatively greater (25% to 19%, 2005-06), share of forest area to total area is greater (37% to 22%, 2002-03), net sown area to total reported area is lower (37% to 44%, 2002-03), net area irrigated to net sown area is lower (23% to 40%, 2002-03), fertilizer consumption is lower than half (2004-05) and yield of rice is less than three-fourths (2003-04) of the all India average (Government of Orissa (GOO),
2008). Workforce composition of 2001 suggests that 65% are dependent on agriculture (30% cultivators and 35% agricultural labourers) whereas it is 58% for all India.

Orissa has been among the poorest states in the country. It can be described as “the poor rich state”. Poor because based on the NSS data and Tendulkar Committee Methodology, the poverty head ratio (i.e., percentage of people below poverty line) remains high for Odisha vis-à-vis India from 1973-74 to 2011-12 (Table 1).

Table 1: Poverty Head-count Ratio (%) for Odisha and India 1973-74–2011-12

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Odisha (%)</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>India (%)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Expert Committee Methodology</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973-74</td>
<td>67.28</td>
<td>67.28</td>
<td>67.28</td>
<td>67.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>67.53</td>
<td>49.15</td>
<td>65.29</td>
<td>45.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tendulkar Committee Methodology</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993-94</td>
<td>63.00</td>
<td>34.50</td>
<td>59.10</td>
<td>50.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004-05</td>
<td>60.80</td>
<td>37.60</td>
<td>57.20</td>
<td>41.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009-10</td>
<td>39.20</td>
<td>25.90</td>
<td>37.00</td>
<td>33.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011-12</td>
<td>35.69</td>
<td>17.29</td>
<td>32.59</td>
<td>25.70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Economic Survey, Odisha, 2014-15, pp7/2*

However, agriculture remains a major employer with a majority of small and medium farmers. An examination of landholdings as seen from Fig. 1.2 for the year 2000-2001 is that large farmers comprise only 0.3% operational holdings while marginal, small, semi-medium and medium constitute 56.4%, 27.4%, 12.3% and 3.6% respectively. This again reiterates my argument that agriculture sector is very weak in the state. Incidence of poor by size-class of land indicates a greater burden among marginal and small farmers. This highlights that Orissa’s rural households largely consist of marginal and small farmers (57%) and landless (36%) (Table 2).

Table 2: Distribution of Operational Holdings in Orissa, 1990-91 to 2000-01

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size-class</th>
<th>1990-91</th>
<th>2000-02</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Operational Holdings (%)</td>
<td>Area (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marginal</td>
<td>53.6</td>
<td>19.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>26.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-medium</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>29.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>19.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total value*</td>
<td>39.48</td>
<td>52.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gini</td>
<td>0.4456</td>
<td>0.4318</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Govt. of Orissa (2007) in www.indiastat.com*
Thus, Odisha with a weak agricultural base, despite rich mineral resources, remains one of the poorest states of India. Incidence of poverty; despite a decline remain much higher at 32.59 %, than the India average of 21.92% (Table 1.3). Although there is a decrease from 2009-10 of 37% to 32.59 for 2011-12, which is impressive but remains among the highest in the country at 32.59 % followed only by Bihar at 33.34 %. Table 1.3 highlights the incidence of poverty in Odisha vis-à-vis other states (Table 3).

Table 3: Incidence of Poverty in Odisha vis-à-vis other States, 1973-74 to 2011-12

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
<td>48.86</td>
<td>22.19</td>
<td>29.90</td>
<td>21.10</td>
<td>9.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>61.91</td>
<td>54.96</td>
<td>54.40</td>
<td>53.50</td>
<td>33.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>48.15</td>
<td>24.21</td>
<td>31.80</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>16.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Haryana</td>
<td>35.36</td>
<td>25.05</td>
<td>24.10</td>
<td>20.10</td>
<td>11.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Karnataka</td>
<td>54.47</td>
<td>33.16</td>
<td>33.40</td>
<td>23.60</td>
<td>20.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Kerela</td>
<td>59.79</td>
<td>25.43</td>
<td>19.70</td>
<td>12.00</td>
<td>7.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>61.78</td>
<td>42.52</td>
<td>48.6</td>
<td>36.70</td>
<td>31.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>53.24</td>
<td>36.86</td>
<td>38.10</td>
<td>24.50</td>
<td>17.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Odisha</td>
<td>66.18</td>
<td>48.56</td>
<td>57.20</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>32.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>28.15</td>
<td>11.77</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>32.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>46.14</td>
<td>27.41</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>14.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Tamil Nadu</td>
<td>54.94</td>
<td>35.03</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>11.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>57.07</td>
<td>40.85</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>37.7</td>
<td>11.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>63.43</td>
<td>35.66</td>
<td>34.3</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>19.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All India</td>
<td>54.88</td>
<td>35.97</td>
<td>37.2</td>
<td>29.8</td>
<td>21.92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[Source: Odisha Economic Survey, 20014-15, pp7-5]

Further, a sectoral analysis of Odisha’s economy according to Economic Survey, Odisha (2014-15), indicates a structural shift in the state economy, from agriculture towards industry and services sectors in the last decade. This sectoral shift has been in the State mainly following the New Economic policies enunciated at the Centre in 1991. The Government of Odisha adopted economic reforms, liberalizing the investment environment, adopting policies and regulations to remove institutional hurdles to unable private investors the right space for investments. This resulted in structural changes wherein there was a shift from an agrarian economy to an industrializing one. This led to a transformation in the economy from “agriculture based” to “industries and service sectors driven”. As a consequence of these strategies the state government signed several MoU\(^6\) with mostly private companies to reap the rich mineral reserves of the state. Most large-scale industries in Odisha are mineral-based (Odisha Economic Survey, 20014-15 ).The state has 25% of total iron ore reserves of the country and is also the largest aluminium producer in India. Thus because of its rich mineral resources, Odisha has become the chosen destinations of both national and international multinational corporations (MNCs) like POSCO, Vedanta, Tatas, Mittals to name a few. A pro-industry approach welcomed these projects, believed to remove poverty and generate growth in Odisha. Heavy industrialization is been seen as the panacea to poverty eradication. This has resulted in a list of mega-projects signed in Odisha amounting to a whopping amount of Rs. 108,586 crores\(^7\).
However, despite rich source of minerals, and heavy industrialization to overcome poverty, the State lags behind in Human Development Index (HDI), compared to other states of the country, which have low levels of heavy industrialization but are high up in HDI. According to HDI and the Inequality-adjusted Human Development Index (IHDI) estimates of states in India, the Human Development Index (HDI) is lowest for Odisha (0.444), followed by Bihar (0.4777) and Madhya Pradesh (0.451). HDI is highest for Kerala (0.625), followed by Nagaland (0.609) and Mizoram (0.581).8

The relative ranking of all states highlights the following factors. An interesting observation that can be made from above statistics is that the states with heavy industrialization projects are located in the mineral rich states. But these states comprise the BIMAROU states with low HDI. In Odisha many of the industrial projects have not been able to take off like POSCO since 2005. It finally withdrew from the State after facing stiff resistance in 2017; some have had to shut down operations like Vedanta. Earlier Mittal withdrew from the state. These cases, along with Kalinganagar have become symbols of protests, where local communities have protested against their establishment and continuance. The study will now focus on the field study conducted at POSCO, Jagatsinghpur.

CASE STUDY: POSCO PROJECT, JAGATSINGHPUR (Profile of the Project, affected area and people)
The POSCO-India project is situated in Jagatsinghpur district of Odisha. It is surrounded by the districts of Kendrapada, Khorda, Puri and Bay of Bengal (Fig 1). According to the 2011 Census, Jagatsinghpur district has a population of 1,136,606. This gives it a ranking of 410th in India (out of a total of 640).

Fig 1: Map of Proposed POSCO Project in Odisha

[Source: www.jagatsingpurdistrictmap.nic.in]
POSCO – INDIA PROJECT AND ODISHA: A BACKGROUND

On 22 June 2005, the Biju Janata Dal (BJD) Government in Orissa, signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with South Korean multinational corporation and the world’s fourth largest steel producer Pohang Steel Company (POSCO) in June 2005 to construct a $12 billion steel plant. This was the largest foreign direct investment in India till date, amounting to 12 billion dollars. The area of operation of the proposed plant spans three panchayats (Nuagaon, Dhinkia, and Gaddujong) in the in the Ersama block, which was most severely hit by the super-cyclone in 1999.

According to Mukhopadhyay (2006), the provisions of the MoU with POSCO, included transfer of huge amount of land, raw materials, water and the right of establishing a new port at Paradeep to this foreign company. In essence as a result of this MoU, POSCO will be the owner of iron ore, coal mines, steel plant and related projects with freedom to export 100 per cent of 12 million tonnes of steel produced per year, port and dock facilities and the status of “SEZ”. The proposed plant area is located about 15 kms from Paradeep port, the total land area sanctioned by the state government for the project is 4,004 acres, of which 3,566 acres is Government land and the remaining 438 acres private land. The district administration has identified 1877 villages growing betel vines on 309 acres of government land to be removed and compensated.

The government started a forcible land acquisition without environmental clearance from the Ministry of Environment and Forests (MoEF). Based on the recommendations of the Saxena Committee Recommendation, which reported that the State government had violated the Forests Rights Act, 2006 (FRA, 2006), the assistant inspector general of forests, MoEF, called for a stoppage of all land acquisition in a letter to the state government on 5 August 2010. Chief Minister Naveen Patnaik called for the intervention of then Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh. The Centre appointed another Committee under former Environment Secretary, the Meena Gupta Committee, to probe FRA violations by the state government. Despite differences between the committee members, there was broad agreement in the Committee that the procedure to recognise forest rights should be re-done in the project villages. As far as resettlement and rehabilitation is concerned, while nothing can compensate for the trauma of displacement, the finding was that the R and R package to be a good one, better than the norms laid down in the Orissa Govt’s Resettlement and Rehabilitation Policy. The other Committee members disagreed to some extent. They felt that higher compensation should be paid for the paan (betel) plots, but basically they felt that the forest land should not be diverted at all. After dithering for almost four weeks the Forest Advisory Committee (FAC) finally rejected the clearance due to violations of the Forest Rights Act (FRA), listed by the Meena Gupta and N.C. Saxena panels (The Hindu, 19 November 2010). Thus, POSCO remains a stalled project presently; land acquisitions have stopped and few families who had taken compensation and moved to rehabilitation centre are going back to their villages; others whose betel vines were demolished have started rebuilding their vines and livelihoods.

PROVISIONS OF MOU

According to the MoU, POSCO would invest Rs 52,813 crore to build a 12-MTPA (Million Tons Per Annum) capacity steel works and develop mines and linked infrastructure over three phases from 2007 to 2016. According to the provisions of the MoU, POSCO will set up an integrated steel plant at Paradeep in Jagatsinghpur district with an annual production capacity of 12 million tonnes of steel. POSCO will also establish an Indian Company through its relevant subsidiaries or third parties (to be nominated by POSCO) to invest in the state of Orissa in (a) steel manufacturing, (b) infrastructure
necessary for the integrated steel plant and related projects and (c) related mining of iron and other related ores in Orissa. The MoU involves supply of non-renewable mineral and fuel resources, water, and land to POSCO, the facility of construction of a new port at Paradeep if necessary and various other incentives and concessions including recommendation of "Special Economic Zone (SEZ)" status to POSCO as a "SEZ Unit" (refer table 3.7).

As per provisions of the MoU POSCO will also get chrome and manganese ores from Orissa Mining Company (OMC) and the quantity of these ores to be given to POSCO, was not mentioned in the MoU. POSCO will also get limestone and dolomite at concessional rate. Coal is another important raw material for steel production, which POSCO will be provided by Orissa Government with a block of coal for captive mining. Orissa Government has also agreed to supply water to POSCO plant at Paradeep from Jobra barrage of river Mahanadi. One important aspect of this MoU is the facility if needed to be provided to POSCO for construction of a new port at Paradeep. POSCO will also be provided with 6025 acres of land, out of which 4000 acres will be for construction of steel and related plants, 20-25 acres for its office and 2000 acres for establishing a big township. In order to make this MoU more meaningful the Orissa Government agreed to construct railways and roadways for providing transport and communication facilities to POSCO. Another provision of the MoU is to recommend to the Government of India to declare the plant and other related project areas as a "Special Economic Zone (SEZ)" to strengthen functioning of the company. Thus in essence as a result of this MoU, POSCO will be the owner of iron ore, coal mines, steel plant and related projects with freedom to export 100 per cent of 12 million tonnes of steel produced per year, Port and Dock facilities and the status of "SEZ" (Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of Orissa and M/S POSCO, June 22, 2005). The land area details of POSCO are given below in Table 4.

Table 4: Land Area Sought to be Acquired by POSCO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Steel Plant: 12 Million Tonnes Per Annum (mtpa) “green field”</td>
<td>Erasama Block, Kujang Tehsil, 10 kilometers from Paradeep port, 7 revenue villages, 2 hamlets, 3 Gram Panchayats (Nuagaon, Dhinkia and GadaKujang)</td>
<td>4004 acres of which 3000 are classified as “forest land”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mines: 600 million tonnes reserved over 30 years (20 million tonnes per year)</td>
<td>Khandadhar Hills (Keonjhar and Sundergarh districts)</td>
<td>Prospecting Lease (3 applications), Mining Lease (2 applications) submitted by POSCO; 2500 hectares Khandadhar hills; no clear territorial demarcation— only textual claims in government recommendation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Township</td>
<td>At steel plant and at mines</td>
<td>2000 acres</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### STUDY AREA (LAND ACQUISITION BY POSCO)

The present study was conducted in Nuagaon, Dhinkia, Govindpur and Gadkujang villages under Ersama block. Nuagaon and Gadkujang villages are at a distance of around 41 km from Cuttack district headquarter and 20 km away from Jagatsingpur district headquarter. Dhinkia, and Govindpur come under Dhinkia panchayat, Nuagaon and Gadkujang come under Nuagaon and Gadkujang panchayats respectively.

Table 5 shows the demographic profile of the affected panchayats in Ersama block (where project will be located) and the four affected villages which are spearheading the movement. These are namely, Nuagaon village which comes under the Nuagaon panchayat. Nuagaon panchayat consists of 726 households, 16 wards out of which 6 wards come under the Nuagaon village. The total population of this village is 3110 (55.80%) males and 2640 (44.19%) females. This village consists of Scheduled Caste (SC) and Other Backward Caste (OBCs). There is not a single Scheduled Tribe family is lived. Gadkujang village also comes under the Nuagaon panchayat. This village consists of 647 households and 12 wards, 9 hamlets. The total population of this village consists of 3211, where 974 belong to SC, 12 belong to ST and the rest 2125 belong to OBCs. Dhinkia Panchayat comprising 703 households consisting of 3298 population in which 1168 belong to SC community, only five belong to ST and the rest 2125 belong to OBCs. The study interviewed villagers from the above villagers namely, Nuagaon (110HH), Gadkujang (62HH), Govindpur (90HH) and Dhinkia (162HH), seven revenue villages comprising 11 hamlets in three gram panchayats (Nuagoan, Gadkujang and Dhinkia). In all, 571 households (HHs) were interviewed, from the four mainly affected villages as seen in Table 5.

### Table 5: Population of the Affected Villages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Name of Panchayat</th>
<th>No. of Households</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Nuagaon</td>
<td>726</td>
<td>SC % ST % Others %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male 963 50.60 0 2147 55.80</td>
<td>3110</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female 940 49.39 0 1700 44.19</td>
<td>2640</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total 1903 100 0 3847 100</td>
<td>5700</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Gadkujang</td>
<td>647</td>
<td>SC % ST % Others %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male 544 55.85 10 45.45 1096 49.48</td>
<td>1650</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female 430 44.14 12 54.54 1119 50.51</td>
<td>1561</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total 974 100 22 2215 100</td>
<td>3211</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Dhinkia</td>
<td>703</td>
<td>SC % ST % Others %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male 613 52.48 3 60 1159 54.54</td>
<td>1775</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female 555 47.51 2 40 966 45.45</td>
<td>1523</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total 1168 100 5 1215 100</td>
<td>3298</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Govindpur</td>
<td></td>
<td>SC % ST % Others %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male 412 45.72 0 0 636 48.29</td>
<td>1048</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: POSCO office, July 2014*
According to MoU land to be given to POSCO from the villages of the above panchayats is shown in Table 6.

**Table 6: Land to be given to POSCO according to affected village agreement (Total 4004.24 acres)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village name</th>
<th>Government land to POSCO</th>
<th>Private land</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In acres</td>
<td>In acres</td>
<td>In acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuagaon</td>
<td>934.53</td>
<td>44.97</td>
<td>979.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gadkujang</td>
<td>1001.96</td>
<td>76.03</td>
<td>1077.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhinkia</td>
<td>927.56</td>
<td>54.97</td>
<td>982.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Govindpur</td>
<td>890.96</td>
<td>73.26</td>
<td>964.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3755.01</td>
<td>249.23</td>
<td>4004.24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6 shows that the according to Government MoU 3755.01 acres of Government land and 249.23 acres of private land from all four villagers will be given. From the village Nuagaon 934.53 acres of government land and 44.97 acres of private land will be given. From Gadkujang maximum government land of 1001.96 acres and 76.03 acres of private land will be given. Betel vine is cultivated on all the government land as private land is very less. From Dhinkia 927.56 of government land and 54.97 acres of private land and from Govindpur village 890.96 acres of government land and 73.26 acres of private land is given to the POSCO. However POSCO has not yet acquired the entire land due to protests and complete blockade to Dhinkia village. Land acquisition started from the Gadkujang, Nuagaon and has ended at the Govindpur village. Presently at the mouth of Nuagaon village there is a village group preventing the entry of government vehicles. Due to the protests land acquisition has been stopped.

Betel vines are the major source of livelihood of the people in the village, which is done on both on government and private land. They get good income from the betel vine cultivation. As this area is cyclone and flood prone, paddy cultivation is damaged regularly. Therefore, farmers have adopted betel cultivation which is climatically suitable and profitable than paddy. This has been mainly cultivated on government land for several generations. It is interesting to note that the protest mainly seems to be centred not around the acquisition of private agricultural or other land by the government for industry, but on the diversion of forest land. This is because villagers cultivate *paan* or betel vine on the forest land, and earn a good income from it. The farmers know that if they will give their land to POSCO, the compensation is not sufficient for sustain their life forever. And another thing if they are displaced they will not get such type of land for the betel vine work. Hence, they are totally opposed the POSCO project in their area. Protesters said, they do not want POSCO to come up on their fertile land which is provides ‘*dhana*’ (paddy), ‘*panna*’ (betel) and ‘*mino*’ (fish).
villager Jiban Behera told, “we have taken vow to fight against the project till our last breath. If the Government uses force on innocent people, bloodshed would take place”. Local leaders of the anti-POSCO movement say the entire population will be affected by the project.

As a result of this forcible land acquisition, the main livelihood of this area has been destroyed as reflected in Table 7. A total of 1119 betel vines spread across 160 acres, have been demolished from the three villages namely Nuagon, Gadakujanj and Govindpur. No vines have been demolished from Dhinkia which has become the core of the resistance movement, as the entire village is involved in its cultivation.

Table 7: Total number of betel vine and land in acres demolished for the POSCO plant (Only Govt. land)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Panchayat</th>
<th>Total number of betel vine destroyed</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nuagaon</td>
<td>486</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gadkujang</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhinkia</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Govindpur</td>
<td>468</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1119</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[Sources: R.I. Nuagaon circle on 19/08/2015]

Table 8 shows the average monthly household income before land was acquired by POSCO was Rs.5,000 to 7,000, mainly from betel vine cultivation. All the families member were engaged in betel vine farming. The women also made an income through plucking of betel leaves. After the acquired land by the POSCO their households monthly has dropped down to Rs.1,000 to 2,000 and presently they are facing a lot of hardships to survive. With the betel vines destroyed, and land taken over by the state and handed to POSCO, the promised job in the plant nowhere seen, these local communities are therefore resisting the setting up of POSCO. They have no land for cultivating betelvine and are working as daily wage labourers in and outside the village.

Table 8: Average Household Annual Income from Betel Vine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Income from Betel vine cultivation in acres (In Rs.)</th>
<th>Before Land Acquisition</th>
<th>After Land Acquisition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nuagaon</td>
<td>5,000-7,000</td>
<td>1,000-2,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gadkujang</td>
<td>5,000-7,000</td>
<td>1,000-2,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Govindpur</td>
<td>5,000-7,000</td>
<td>1,000-2,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhinkia</td>
<td>8000-10,000</td>
<td>Not taken land</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[Sources: Primary data, 2015]

AN ANALYSIS OF POSCO CONFLICT
As seen from the survey, the affected villages namely Nuagon, Gadakujanj and Govindpur and Dhinkia under the three panchyats of Nuagon, Gadakujanj and Dhinkia, have been badly affected as far as their livelihoods are concerned. As mentioned earlier, this district and block were the worst hit during the super cyclone which hit Paradeep port in 1999. This area being close to the sea is affected by cyclonic low pressures in the sea every year. Paddy cultivation is also affected
by saline water flooding of the fields. Thus paddy cultivation which is done in winters is not sufficient to sustain the villagers. Therefore they have taken up betel cultivation. The climatic conditions and soil in this area is very suitable for betel cultivation. Betel is grown in well-drained soil, raised higher than the adjacent areas, in closed cultivating systems, covered by straw and coconut leaves, which provide good shade as seen in the picture below:

**BETEL CULTIVATION IN CLOSED CULTIVATING SYSTEMS (FIELD STUDY)**

*Paan* cultivation is extremely lucrative and as seen in the field survey, provides an average monthly income of around Rs. 7000-8000. It also gives the villagers the freedom to lead their lives amidst nature on their own terms and not be an employee of a company. This was highlighted by the villagers in their discussions with the researchers. Even women are engaged and are involved in plucking of leaves. Thus, betel or pan cultivation is the lifeline and the most profitable means of livelihood in an otherwise low paddy production and a cyclone – prone area. Besides their economic potential the betel vines groves are revered as temples. The social cultural fabric of the villagers revolves around the betel groves or *paan bareja*.

Therefore although land acquisition of private land by POSCO is small compared to government land, the resistance to POSCO is because of the damage to betel vines, on which the local communities thrive and meet their livelihood needs. According to Jeebanlal Behera, a villager, farmers are cultivating betel vine as primary crop, throughout the year. According to one estimate there are 5,000 betel vineyards grown in the area’s three *Gram Panchayats*, which are tended by 10,000 cultivators. A single betel leaf sells for 1.0 rupees. Farmers often enjoy strong profits from cultivating betel vine gardens. For example, a garden of 100-150 vines in Jagatsinghpur district produced an annual profit of about Rs. 2, 00,000 in 2010. Thus a majority of small farmers and also the landless started betel cultivation and have been doing so for generations on government land.

The State by signing the MoU and acquiring land forcibly from the local communities has threatened their livelihoods. This has divided the population into Pro-POSCO and anti-POSCO groups. The pro-POSCO have given conditional support if their demands are fulfilled. They have willingly given up their lands to receive the compensation amount and now await employment in the industry once it is operational. 55 households from Patana, a hamlet of Dhinkia panchayat, shifted to the rehabilitation colony. But these households have shifted back to their hamlet, due to the prolonged delay in starting of the plant. They have also started reconstruction of betel vines on the land acquired by the state for POSCO

The anti-POSCO group, mainly consisting of small farmers and landless agricultural labourers, continued their resistance and road blockage. So far land acquired by Posco stands at 3755.01 acres, of which 249.23 acres are private land. According to a 67 year betel vine grower villager “*Paan Chasa* (betel vine cultivation) is our lifeline...why does the government want to destroy it and force us into being laborers...the government does not think about our life and dignity...only about the profit for company.” Another villager named Sudarsan, from Dhinkia remarked “the leaves sell at Rs.1- a piece. If I sell 40,000 leaves in two month then I earn Rs.40, 000. What can the Government and POSCO offer us better than this? Another villager, Manoj an anti POSCO fisherman expressing his unhappiness with Posco said “*aare nilajya, POSCO Company tu Pherija dakhin Korea.* (POSCO Go back to South Korea. we do not want you here).
A women Mamata Swain, Posco Pratirodh Samiti Sangh (PPSS) leader from Dhinkia village argued that betel cultivation had a positive impact on gender dynamics of the community. She said that women are particularly benefitted as they get easy employment here and are engaged in plucking the leaves and both men and women work under conditions of equality. There is no discrimination in the wages in plucking betel leaves. The work is not too physically demanding, and women are able to contribute financially to their families.

In addition to threats to livelihoods of betel farmers, agricultural labourers and fishermen, POSCO poses a threat to the environment also. When POSCO acquired land, it chopped down 30,000 trees mainly casurina, kaju jamun. Casurina trees act as natural windbreakers to the cyclonic storms Kaju trees have been totally lost. In the year 1999 their area was hit by the super cyclone after which these trees were planted. By chopping down these trees, the villagers say, they are now exposed to the dangers of cyclones. The villagers also said that the temperature in the area has also increased and the summer temperatures touches more than 40 degree Celsius. Previously this was only 30-35 degree Celsius.

CONCLUSION
The study focussed on the resistance by local communities to the mega-project in POSCO, What is important is that, the marginalized sections of the society have raised their voices against a pro-business state which is forcibly acquiring land from them to support corporate giants. In the case of POSCO, small, marginal farmers, and landless labourers, mostly belonging to scheduled castes are affected by land acquisition. Although, land acquired is mainly government land, the local communities, as cited earlier, have grown betel vines on the government land for generations, because of low agricultural productivity in a cyclone prone area. Betel vine cultivation, being very lucrative and suitable to the climatic conditions, is the main source of livelihood. The forceful demolition of this livelihood has generated immense resentment of the people towards the state and POSCO.

This case has highlighted that the present development policies are definitely posing a threat to local communities in India. The government is creating more dependency of people on Government support by depriving people off their lands and means of livelihood, rather than building self-sufficiency among the poor and landless. It is ironical that the government on one hand is acquiring land, including agricultural land for industries and SEZs, and on the other hand making the provision of food and employment to the poor an obligation of the state. The tribals and the poor are deprived off their land and forests, which are their source of livelihood in the name of development. But these very people who are supposed to be the beneficiaries of development, are today protesting against this process.

Thus the question–what is development and for whom becomes central to development discourse? Development is necessary but not at the cost of the poor. Only when it is inclusive and participatory, involving the poor and tribals, while protecting their land rights, culture and traditional beliefs, can there be genuine development. The present neo-liberal regime has created an exclusionary process of growth that has further marginalized the marginalized. Land laws in India have so far protected the rich farmers and landlords. The RTFCT-LARR, 2013 despite several laudable provisions has failed to check land wars across the country. This has got a push with the LARR Amendments in 2014, and 2015. The doctrine of eminent domain continues to haunt the poor and weaker sections of the society. Section69 of the Act permits the states to change the
purpose for which land has been acquired under “public purpose” clause. Section 70 permits the states to transfer land to private companies and individuals. These empower the states to acquire land under “public purpose”. The scope of this clause needs to be reduced. Instead of building self-sufficiency among the poor and land for food, the government is creating more dependents by depriving people off their lands and means of livelihood. It is ironical that the government on one hand is acquiring land, including agricultural land for industries and SEZs, and on the other hand making the obligation of the state towards feeding the poor and hungry i.e. the poor are first created with a begging bowl and then food is put in that bowl. The marginalized are deprived off their land and forests, and livelihoods in the name of development. The very people who are supposed to be the beneficiaries of development are protesting against the process, then development in questionable.

Industrialization is necessary but not at the cost of grabbing land from the weaker sections of the society. It needs to be balanced with agriculture. Only when it is inclusive and participatory, involving the poor and tribals while protecting their land rights, culture and traditional beliefs can there be genuine development. Therefore, land acquisition from the poor will push them further into poverty, particularly in a highly populated agrarian economy like India, where land performs the critical role of providing economic and social security. Such extractive developments, as seen from the study, have a devastating effect on the livelihoods and the health of the poor, thus violating their right to life.

Therefore there is a need to restructure development policies in building up the capabilities of these sections without threatening indigenous socio-cultural exchanges and livelihoods. An extractive capital centred development shall lead to greater social differentiations and thereby inequalities in the society. Finally development strategies, in India, rather than trying to transform the village socio-economies, need to be more place-based, and seek to serve better the needs and desires of the people seeking to maintain and enhance their way of life. Thus development strategies should be “socially embedded” rather than being an expanding profit generating market economy dominated by market relations. Thus building up the capabilities of the poor instead of grabbing their lands and livelihoods, can bring about equitable growth.

Endnotes


6. MoU between Govt. of Odisha and POSCO, South Korea; Vedanta, Lanjigarh; Tata, Kalinganagar, June, 2005
7. http://orissagov.nic.in
8. UNDP, (Human Development Report 2012-13), pp 239
9. BIMAROU states (Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Odisha, Uttar Pradesh
10. www.jagatsingpurdistrict.nic.in
11. MoU, 2005
14. Refer Saxena Committee Recommendation
15. Meena Gupta Report, 2010
16. Betel leaf popularly known as paan, is an integral part of Indian society. It is grown in the tropics and sub- tropics for its evergreen leaves that are used in religious functions and also as a chewing stimulant across the country.
17. Artificial rectangular structures using bamboos and sticks are constructed with a height of 2 to 2.5 meters to support the plants. These are locally called Paan Baraja. This is covered with straw and coconut leaves to provide adequate shade.
18. For instance, the Government’s Employment Generation Scheme (the Mahatama Gandhi Employment Generation Scheme) which is aimed to provide 100 days of employment to the poor (for details – refer to the Planning Commission of India – www.planningcommission.nic.in)
19. One step in this direction is the present Government’s emphasis on skill development through its Make-in-India program. But this is a new policy and its impact is still to be felt.

Selected References
--------(2006)The Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act,
--------(2013., The Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement (RFCT-LARR,)Act, 2013,


Good Governance in Bangladesh: Challenges and Opportunities

Jannatul Ferdous*

ABSTRACT
The word ‘governance’ and ‘good governance’ are progressively being utilized in the writings regarding development. Scholars, administrators and affiliates of civil society- all are admitting the essence of the model. It looks after the human rights situation, safeguards the justice, upholds law and order and offers the same prospects to the crowds. It offers the output of advancement and progress to the whole thing. Rule of law, participation, and transparency are some basics of good governance. It is a vibrant feature at very levels of the country and culture. It creates the scheme of the government operative and well-organized. Good governance is not fine embedded in Bangladesh owing to particular challenges. In Bangladesh, democracy and governance is still inundated by corruption, violence, outmoded laws, misuse of human rights, non-accountability, deficiency of rule of law, and hefty politicization of very government organizations comprising the judicial arrangement. In the face of various difficulties and complications in the build-up of good governance in our state, there are cheers for good governance envisioned in the diverge procedure of our political affairs and governance. The key focus of this article is to examine the challenges and opportunities of good governance issue in Bangladesh.

Keywords: Governance, Good Governance, Poor Governance, Politicization, Bangladesh.

INTRODUCTION
At the present time, governance is assumed to embrace an extensive variety of methods in which the social, political, and executive arrangement of a society affects entrance by the individuals to elementary prospects and competences. Governance signifies just more than government: it denotes to a representative procedure that incorporates the whole society. The nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), the private sector and other civil society groups, in consort with the government, are stimulated and esteemed for contributing in the governance and improvement procedure (Mollah, 2008). This is subsequent on account of fast-moving and inter-reliant worldwide environment. No state can meet the expense to remain with a governance structure that is outmoded, slow, unproductive, costly and corrupt in this phase of globalization (Khan, 2003). Governance is demarcated as the scheme of government focused on active and responsible organizations, democratic attitudes and electoral procedure, representation and liable arrangement

* Assistant Professor, Department of Public Administration, Comilla University, Bangladesh
E-mail: jannat.lata@yahoo.com
of the government, so as to confirm an open and valid connection between the state and the civil society (Halfani et al, 1994). World Bank defines governance (1992) as “manner in which power is exercised in the management of country’s economic and social resources for development”. Governance can be observed as the totality of three key apparatuses: procedure, content and deliverables. The procedure of governance contains issues, for instance accountability and transparency. Content comprises values, for instance justice and fairness. Governance cannot be very procedure and principles. It is essential to confirm that the citizens, particularly the deprived, have the elementary necessities and have an existence with self-esteem (Aminuzzaman, 2006). This is termed as governance deliverables. Good governance confirms the construction of suitable strategies and significances to upkeep the events of the populaces to support them to get an attired livelihood, their entrance to state possessions and prospects and benefit them to lead a protracted and dynamic life.

Good governance incorporates the apparatuses, courses, and organizations through which populations and crowds coherent their benefits, work out their lawful civil rights, meet their requirements and decide their transformations. Good governance involves that organization and procedures attempt to attend very stakeholders within a sensible time-frame (Nath, 2005). The notion of good governance is extensively recognized in the speculative groups, donor organizations and governments at this moment. The causes behind such comprehensive reception of the idea are modest. Populaces of the whole world are progressively assessing poor governance and demanding for good governance. As a result, it is vital to extricate between good and poor governance (Khan, 2007a).

The indicators of poor governance are stated in the following:
  a) Unsuccessful to create perfect difference between public and private and therefore the propensity to direct public possessions for personal achievement;
  b) Unsuccessful to launch an expected structure of law and behavior of government that is favorable to improvement or uncertainty in the uses of directions and regulations;
  c) Extreme rules, principles, authorizing requirements which obstruct the working of markets and inspires rent-seeking;
  d) Priorities unreliable with progress, resultant, in a misdistribution of resources; and
  e) Disproportionately scarcely-based or non-translucent decision making (World Bank, 1992).

Therefore, poor governance creates the lives of citizens tough. Lack of accountability and transparency, corruption, poor law execution mal-progress, all pool together to generate an atmosphere where economy, politics, civil service the whole thing are harmfully affected, causing in a depressed prospect for the populaces of a state.

Good governance, in contradiction of poor governance, emphases on generating and satisfying situations that are favorable to worthy living. Significant variables/basics that govern the characteristics of good governance in a state contain:
  a) Democracy considered by political independence;
  b) Legitimate and jurisdictional defence for the rights of the person strengthened by rule of law, comprising a fair and manageable lawful and jurisdictive scheme;
  c) Consolidation of accountable, transparent, competent governmental scheme comprising bureaucracy;
d) Being of solid anti-corruption organizations proficient of attempting and decrease corrupt exercises;

e) Confirming free stream of information and liberated media;

f) Confirming human rights of very citizens regardless of creed, caste, religion, region and race;

g) Presence of effervescent civil society groups;

h) Decreasing disproportionate spending on defence and proliferation of spending on social segments like education and health; and

i) Conservation of a constant macroeconomic structure (UNDP, 2002; Khan, 2002; Khan, 2009).

A retired permanent secretary from British, Sir Kenneth Stowe, keeps that good governance is potential when six indicators are extant. These are: (1) freedom in politics, comprising freedom of speech and an open-elected parliament assemblage or parliament; (2) legitimate and jurisdictional defense of the privileges of the populaces; (3) the upkeep of constant currency, the vital reinforcement of monetary and community progress; (5) improvement of community in total by health care and education; and (6) administrative accountability to an openly-elected parliament (Stowe, 1992; Khan, 1997).

Besides, good governance has been regarded in footings of what advantages it can deal with a specific state. However, this way of viewing at governance not only extends its prospect still more, but creates the word heavier and accordingly confines its effectiveness. Good governance suggests all under the sun from this viewpoint.

**CHALLENGES OF GOVERNANCE IN BANGLADESH**

Now-a-days, governance institutes a key challenge for Bangladesh. Its low level of performance is obvious in many magnitudes of state life. In actual fact, it is very clear from the sign along with the assertion of our policy makers and global donors that Bangladesh’s development in the governance dominion is not keeping speed with the development attained in certain extents of financial and societal policies. This kind of a crack in the state’s governance struggles infers that the political government administration has turned into a dominant control to more an alliance of democracy along with the development of the excellence of governance in Bangladesh.

**Public Administration Reform**

Administrative reform is not a new issue in Bangladesh. Abundant reform packages were accepted throughout the Pakistan period since there were pervasive reproaches of anti-democratic observes in the service arrangement. Yet, reform determinations unsuccessful to yield important consequences. Bureaucracy, by a feature of its factually strong situation, supposedly influenced all reform events in its favor (Khan, 1980). At the beginning of Bangladesh as an independent country, diverse governments endeavored to restructure the administrative arrangement to twin-set the requirements of their particular policy statements. Diverse types of governments have administrated the state in the previous three decades. The initial political government was in authority for three and a half years only. Military governments, in diverse practices, were in authority from mid-1975 to 1990. Meanwhile 1991, admittedly democratic governments, elected through fair elections, have been in authority. Efforts have been made throughout the term of all these governments to rearrange the administrative scheme. All these events have, yet, mostly unsuccessfully, to make the administrative scheme approachable, transparent, and well-organized (Sarker, 2004). Now, administrative reforms are in a state of uncertainty. There is no severe effort to instrument the commendations of diverse reform study clusters/commissions/committees. In Bangladesh, certain
issues obstructing reforms are may perhaps be deficient of political obligation, factionalism in the public sector, partial capability of the government, bureaucratic confrontation and corruption etc.

**Politicization of Administration**

The bureaucracy found its sovereignty challenged when the government of Bangladesh decided to hold a democratic scheme in 1991. It seemed that political support and partiality endangered to corrode the interrelatedness and harmony of the civil service. Ultimately, the bureaucracy found out an innovative approach to stun this “difficulty”. It was completed in two methods. First, senior public servant activated “penetrating the positions of politicians” after the retirement from the job. Second, the administration permitted itself to be politicized. The political bashes did not avert this, as the administration’s backing was essential to track and succeed the state. This provided an increase to enormous politicization and to a destruction of the outmoded ideas of government service impartiality held by the administration (Haque & Rahman, 2003). The democratic age in Bangladesh has observed enormous politicization however, it was not to attain effectiveness and intensification of efficiency. Reasonably, the main importance was employed in recruiting “party men public servant” regardless of their credentials (Jahan, 2006). This immense politicization has an adversative consequence of the whole enactment of the civil service. As the coming back to democratic regulation, the bureaucracy has demarcated its role to protect its sovereignty and atmosphere.

**Corruption**

Bangladesh represents a distinctive situation where corruption has seen a strangely abundant earth, regardless of the ‘presence’ of numerous instruments, although unproductive, for deal with it. Currently in Bangladesh, corruption is very persistent that it has induced extensive criticism from within the state in addition to from external area. Outwardly, it has now instigated a national awkwardness as the state has been patented as the most corrupt state in the sphere. On the inside, reports and appraisals arranged and bespoke by native think tanks have previously painted a threatening image of public sector reliability. The civil society clusters and media are voluble in disparaging the contemporary situation of corruption in the organization (Zafarullah & Siddiquee, 2001). The politicians and the bureaucrats of Bangladesh really functioned hand in hand so as to carry on the corrupt applies. Corruption link concerning the politicians and bureaucrats was not accidental: the political leaders utilized their power and situation to regulate the recruitment process and besides to inspire civil servants to be affianced in corrupt applies. Therefore, people who pass in the civil service in give-and-take of money found it ‘essential’ to make earnings through exploitation of the prevailing service delivery schemes. More, it was accompanied by the civil servant whose tendency to corruption placed the basis for a politician-civil servant conglomerate. When these two influences were joint the charge of the poor to acquire the facilities, which they were thought to obtain free or nearly free of charge, augmented. Moreover, it hindered entrance by the deprived of basic provisions which the government is constitutionally certain to deliver. The deprived found that no room present to submit their complaints as the government organizations, thought to obtain them and take essential activities on getting their grievances, were not protected from corruption whichever (Hasan, 2007).

**Ensure Institutionalization of Democratic Governance**

It is familiar that institutionalization of democratic governance arrangement is one of the key challenges and fruitful institutionalization of that type of system could develop the situation of governance to encounter other challenges efficiently. Throughout last two decades mutually in the
state and native level elections have observed utilization of black money and employing of goons by key political bashes. The Election Commission (EC) and bureaucracy have not been continually capable to play an impartial role. Somewhat, there has been an insistent propensity, on the share of the party in authority, to usage the bureaucracy and the EC to effort as its representatives throughout the election period. Muscle and money power have become the two key factors of appealing the elections. Proposals are generally given by great political parties to those contenders who can expend money beyond the boundary provided by the EC and can device individual’s opinion by signifying muscle influence. It suggests that a deficiency of trust in democratic exercise by political bashes and their associate or ganizations have enforced them to depend on black currency and gain influence to win elections. This, in line, has devastated the essence of good governance as individual’s speech has been disregarded (Khan & Islam, 2015).

Inopportunely, violence, election-associated corruption, and a clash between two key political parties specifically Bangladesh Awami League (AL) and Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) still control the political section. Political discontent is a spectacle frequently detected in the state as there has been an upsurge of Islamic revolutionary clusters and chauvinism between the two key political bashes throughout last two eras (Khan, 2007 b).

Electoral Issues
The election is one of the important apparatuses in confirming democracy since they “improve citizens’ involvement in governance, confirm government accountability and inspire political rivalry” (Mollah, 2016). The free, reliable and fair election is one of the elementary and vital preconditions and essentials of democratic administration and authority (Mesfin, 2008). The neutral and impersonal exercise of election management is one more significant article of open and fair elections. Though legal apparatuses of the electoral procedure are very solid to compact impartially as an institution in Bangladesh however, in reality, the EC and election management is not impartial and sovereign adequate and controlled by the regime. Moreover, these, a reasonable election amongst all parties and neutrality of performing government are not confirmed excluding four elections held in Care Taker Government (CTG) in 1991, 1996, 2001 and 2008 respectively. Theoretically, in Bangladesh, the EC of being very autonomous as Representation of people order (RPO) and the constitution. Yet, in reality, it has been observed that the EC is not unbiased and free sufficiently under the presiding government from the liberation of Bangladesh. Even, various elections in local government the EC comprising some political bashes required army arrangement with the government accordingly that election can be apprehended under the comprehensive law and order condition. Moreover the position of the army required to guard and confirms the safety of voters. However the government did not stream the army and numerous occurrence of ferocity and shots occurred in the elections of City Corporation in Bangladesh. On 5th January 2014, the previous state election held the EC and regime futile to confirm the safety of voters and destruction of human rights over and afterward the election. Consequently, another component of free and impartial election is the safety of voters essential to be confirmed over and afterward the election has been disrupted sternly (Mollah, 2016).

Entrance to media and election spectators in the election procedure; and free dialogue and link are two additional very vigorous mechanisms of free, unbiased and reliable elections. These two essentials in Bangladesh noticeable intensely however, when elections apprehended under ruling regime, opposition political bashes have been demanding for management and election work contrary to the government and election management from the time of liberation. Little trust or
deficiency of trust amongst political parties is one of the vigorous difficulties in Bangladesh. Accordingly, lack of trustworthiness in footing elections under ruling administration and claim and blameworthiness game is working on from the actual commencement of sovereign Bangladesh.

Amendment of Constitution

On 16 December 1972, the Bangladesh Constitution came into action and has been witnessed to be ‘really a representative Constitution’ (Islam, 2012). The Constitution recognized that it would be the ultimate act of the state, keeping essential rights, and as long as for a parliamentary method of government among other necessities. Of the Constitution, Article 142 deliberated influence on Parliament to improve the Constitution by a two-third mainstream in Parliament. The modification procedure is vindicated as a vital requisite in any constitution so as to be capable to hit inadequacies within a constitution and permits it to modification along with social development during the course of time. Yet, while an improvement process is vital to the constancy of a constitution over a period time, it unlocks up space for exploitation by legislatures and constitutions can be revised as well in an approach that they instigate to reveal the determination of specific political benefits instead of the determination of the populaces (Khan, 2015).

The thirteenth amendment of constitution delivered for the routine supposition of influence by a temporary, unelected, Non Party Caretaker Government (NCG), generally ruled by a previous Chief Justice, earlier to each national election. In a state stalled in political conflict and uncertainty amongst political bashes, this facility permitted for three fruitful national elections with a vacillation of power at all of the elections. Though, the fourteenth adjustment approved in May 2004 prepared the caretaker government contentious by increasing the age of retirement of the judges of the Supreme Court. The recent past Chief Justice generally ruled the NCG and the previous Fourteenth Amendment steered to charges that the retirement age was elevated so as to confirm that the succeeding head of the NCG must be a Chief Justice devoted to the regime. Succeeding key political disaster and violence complaining the Fourteenth Amendment a situation of emergency was acknowledged in 2007 that continued for two years duration. Afterward the emergency situation upon Bangladesh’s reverted to democratic rule. The NCG was confronted at the Supreme Court constitutionality.

Since 2008, the Awami League (AL) regime that has been in power supervised the path of the Fifteenth Amendment in 2011 that dismantled the Thirteenth Amendment. In spite of dissension from the opposition party, voters and civil society, the AL ran great majority Parliament unsung the path provided by the Court that the NCG must continue in the position for two more state elections. In Bangladesh, the two main political parties are the AL and the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) both have contended for and contrary to the NCG establishment, contingent on whether they have been in opposition or government: the organization of the NCG has continually been maintained by the opposition and repelled by the incumbent. In 1996, the AL that primarily supported for the NCG arrangement when it was in opposition through rebuffing to participate in the traditional constitutional procedures and working on the roads when their request was not encountered, though the BNP specified an NCG would be inequitable and undemocratic. The tables twisted and the BNP acquired to the roads and required restoration of the NCG delivery in 2014, though the AL contended that it is undemocratic and unconstitutional (Khan, 2015). There have been no assistances from the modifications and added to misperception amongst the citizens.
Military Interference
The military is an influential institution in Bangladesh, and their locus can be ascribed to an amount of issues. Bangladesh was innate out of a fortified fight for liberty and the military was some of the crucial forces in that attempt. Moreover, this organization has incessantly acknowledged plentiful budgetary provision both afore and afterward the liberation of Bangladesh. This has delivered a prospect to shape a solid army of healthy-trained personnel with greater weapons. Another issue, within limited years of attaining freedom, the ruling clusters became reliant on backing from the armed facilities to help them remain in power. In 1975 and 1982, there were two proper interferences by the military in the party-political past of Bangladesh. Both interferences appealed the lives of Presidents and, in their outcome, more ferocity took place, producing more loss of lives. A casual and third intrusion was observed in 2007 after the endowment of NCG was mistreated by the President who was allegedly enforced by the military leaders to follow their directions in leading Bangladesh. Military interferences directed to the postponement of democratic organizations and observe and strengthening of despotic events. Civil directions and events were unheeded and military personnel penetrated national organizations. They were employed in significant places in the civil service, public-sector enterprises, and foreign assignments of government of Bangladesh (Huque, 2013). In Bangladesh, military interferences have caused by numerous difficulties that clogged the formation of good governance. There were interferences to political improvement and democratization, and they had relentlessly obstructed the progress of leadership. The poorest influence was found in the legitimization of undemocratic events and obstacles to the procedure of state organizations. Furthermore, massive expenses on military expansion and hardware had an adverse influence on the economy, and serious services might not be delivered.

Freedom of Judiciary
The judiciary with the scheme of laws and organizations included in making lawful assessments is a crucial issue of governance and good governance essentially stresses an independent working of the judiciary. A comprehensive and liberated judiciary is the sine quo non of a strong society (Halim, 2006). Freedom of judiciary actually means such judicial scheme under which the judges are at a point to concentrate justice in line with their vow of office and simply in compliance with their individual intelligence of justice without acquiescing to any type of force or effect (Rahman, 2000). In the society, a liberated judiciary can form the rule of law. By maintenance the rule of law, judiciary confirms the fair and uniform society and defends the privileges of entities to work, live and relish without distress or favor. Moreover, the judiciary creates the government responsive and accountable to the requirements of common populaces which are the vital essentials of good governance. Liberated judicial scheme of a state sustains the equivalent privileges of male and female as an indispensable requirement of fairness and good governance. The judiciary could play a noteworthy role in purging the direction from unethical officials and politicians by getting them under the procedure of trial over the judicial opportunity. If the judicial freedom present in a society, then totalitarianism in government cannot be recognized there. However, where it is lacking, totalitarianism and poor governance are probable to have free restriction. The judiciary in Bangladesh has still been continued submissive to the impulse of executive and legislative associates. The party which is in power utilizes the judiciary as an operational instrument of overpowering and distressing the opposition party. Even though on November 01, 2007, the judiciary has been liberated through implementation of the Masder Hossain Case (1999), however the freedom of the judiciary has so far to be making certain in the genuine sense. In the previous years, the regime has engaged no noticeable steps in this respect, though the presiding party in its election declaration promised that the ‘genuine liberty and neutrality of the judiciary will be
confirmed. It is expected that the lower judiciary may not be autonomous of the executive branch (Hasan et al, 2017).

**OPPORTUNITIES OF GOOD GOVERNANCE IN BANGLADESH**

Bangladesh is a state of boundless opportunities. In spite of having some gloomy features in the event of good governance in Bangladesh, however, there are lots of the opportunities of good governance in the state as well.

**Democratization**

Bangladesh has revealed a fondness for democratic philosophies in a quantity for means. The state has an extensive practice of public participation by local government and one of the key motives for the scuffle to disperse from Pakistan was a reasonable demonstration in the state organizations. A representative constitution was accepted and ordered elections held. The people have sturdily disparate military rule and were capable to take over military rule through people’s actions (Huque, 2013). Furthermore, there is an embryonic propensity to accomplish political clashes by constitutional resources. Shortly later the elections in 2008, the regime directed by Bangladesh Awami League (BAL) employed members of the opposition parties to key committees of the Parliament. However, the latest national elections of 10th national parliamentary elections, which were held in January 2014 are measured ‘no-show of Democracy’ (Parnini, 2014; Khan, 2016). Furthermore, there has been a noticeable escalation in the extent of global observing. Donor agencies and other international groups are enthusiastically involved in observing elections, observing human rights, and proposing to facilitate in matters of clash between the government and opposition political groups.

**Peoples Participation**

Bangladesh has been attended by mass level public institutions for an extended time. There is sufficient room for intensifying the series of involvement and reorganization and phrases have been engaged in the factual route for augmenting governance in Bangladesh. Commonly involved in public activities is enabled through a linkage of local government organizations in the metropolitan, city, district, union and village points. Elections in places in these organizations appeal great number of contenders and voters. Though these elections ales challenged in a non-partisan source, the proclivity and backing of the contenders for the political bases of their choice are acknowledged to the electorates. Regrettably, the elections to national organizations and local government are not constantly held permitting to program.

**Growing Women Empowerment**

In Bangladesh, women empowerment has attained praiseworthy achievement over the last limited decades that have definitely impacted women’s participation in the significant areas: health, employment, income and education, and political demonstration. The state has revealed a reliable marching up on the standings of the worldwide human and gender progress directories cheers to numerous vibrant socio-political restructuring introduced by diverse governments. It has been decided by all accommodations that women’s political authorization can definitely cover the state of affairs. Bangladesh women’s program has long been involved in a battle to create women’s equivalent privileges and place in the politics. Women’s inclusive attendance in the state's top decision-making organization, the Parliament, has not ever spanned the 6 percent spot when it derives to their straight competition in the 300 general spaces. Henceforth there was a necessity sensed to have females in the parliament, a reserve seats scheme was presented virtually 40 years
before. At present, after numerous growing of the quantity, there are nowadays for women 50 reserved seats that are designated by the political bashes that signify in the parliament. These female MPs do not relish equivalent rights and prospects (SADC, 2014).

**Election Commission**

On 6th February, 2017, KM Nurul Huda as chief election commissioner was employed by President Abdul Hamid. Former secretary harmonized with a constitutional endowment. The president employed four election commissioners as well for the first time contain one woman included there. They are including former additional secretary Mahbub Talukder, ex-secretary Md Rafiqul Islam,; former district and sessions judge Begum Kabita Khanam, and Shahadat Hossain Chowdhury, Brig Gen (retd) (Bhattacharjee & Molla, 2017). There is no disagreeing that not a single person can be ideologically or politically impartial in the factual sense of the term. The freshly employed commissioners may have their individual political and philosophical inclinations and likings as distinct human beings. Yet, once they accept workplace of the Election Commissioners and CEC, in that they have been driven fortuitous, they have to increase to the instance and provide as per their requirements. Unfortunately, the outgoing EC has ported the people depressed. It has ended nothing throughout its term for the fresh EC to contend with. The populaces of Bangladesh expect that the Commissioners and CEC term would have this in concentration. Moreover, people expect that the EC is completely conscious of the notable environment of its duties.

**Reduction of Corruption**

In Bangladesh, corruption has presumed such big extents and a multi-coloured practice that the great figures of the public have emanated to trust that it is unbearable to throw away this discontent. In such an environment of widespread pessimism, one of the effects that the escort frequently stresses - and somewhat appropriately - is that the blight can be coped or well-ordered. Other states have been particularly corrupt at the previous time, but have prospered in confronting the difficulty through a blend of managerial and democratic reorganization. However, in a state which clasps under the massive load of corruption and fights to discover an approach to stunned its domineering burden, any footprint to giving the still-emerging anti-corruption effort a boost ask for to be affectionately acclaimed. The reports of media and editorials admit the necessity for a diversity of approaches to contest corruption, reaching from overall procedures, for instance the generalization of instructions and events and the use of information technology to detailed footsteps for instance tricking corrupt government servants (Sengupta, 2010). At present, Bangladesh is not demonstrating as a highest corrupt state. It is a hopeful prospect for Bangladesh. However, organizations for instance the ACC can play a vigorous role, any wide-ranging approach to combat corruption must have to include other organizations for instance NGOs and the electronic and print media.

**Managerial Accountability**

Virtually all specialists recognize accountability as one of the keystones of good governance. The managerial scheme in Bangladesh is firmly categorized naturally and has not transformed much over the evolution from a regal setting to the environment of a sovereign government. A quantity of transformations was introduced by both citizen and army governments; however the purposes were not entirely attained. It is encouraging to message that there is consciousness of the necessity to progress a customer culture in the community provisions. Frequent requests from politicians and predictors for specializing the Public Service Commission might have an effect on consolidation of the role of this perilous activity. A synchronized method to training administrators in the public
facilities through the state Public Administration Training Centre (PATC) and the formation of the Regulatory Reform Commission (RRC) are signals that the significance of accountability is being documented by governmental bureaucrats in Bangladesh (Huque, 2013).

Role of NGOs
‘NGO’ have been recommended by legitimate position, monetary and/or economic concerns, practical extents, and their administrative structures – that NGOs are in cooperation non-state and autonomous (Vakil, 1997). Through the developing sphere, countries with limited funds and pierced by corruption and poor governance have futile to direct to progress for all of their population. Within this framework, substitute methods of improvement have been tracked, and as the 1980s, NGOs have been progressively encouraged as a means by which the gulf between inhabitants’ desires and prevailing facilities can be connected. Where countries cannot deliver adequate goods, facilities or permissive environments that benefit citizens in safeguarding maintenances, or where underprivileged clusters are debarred from prevailing government organizations, substitute networks of service delivery and/or holding administrations to account essential be set up (Banks & Hulme, 2012). Throughout the 1990s the NGO segment in Bangladesh produced quickly. NGOs advanced business approaches to both deliver vent for recipients’ harvest and to distribute goods and facilities to their “target clusters”. Local earnings have become progressively significant in approaches for enduring ability of the administrations and the professions of their bodies. Particular NGOs are currently the major suppliers of a variety of facilities in Bangladesh (Davis, 2006).

Role of Civil Society
Civil society groups comprise professional and private sector organizations, trade unions and non-governmental organizations. Moreover, they contain families, neighbourhood groups, churches, communal clusters and work clusters. Certainly, the ability and strong point of civil society rely on the action of such societies. Civil society administrations undertake numerous roles and duties, amongst them complementing the purposes, usually accomplished by political bashes, for instance interest vocalization and standard utilization, recruiting and training fresh political front runners and distributing information and holding managements responsible. In a publication, in recent times, civil society administrations are seen as proficient of execution different purposes, amongst them, producing a democratic evolution by shifting the equilibrium of influence between people and Government, forming opposition counter to the Government, pronouncing benefits of clusters in society, employing leaders who are equipped to take over the non-democratic government and providing info, which may stimulate citizens to complaint against the government (Rahaman, 2014). Civil society groups essential to be more vigorous in inspiring the political consciousness of the crowds and inspiring their political involvement to defend their own benefits. Solid civil society groups in an evolution can deliver positive networks for democratic involvement. They can aid to reconstruct people’ trusts in the administration, encourage their rights and benefits, and inspire the insertion of subgroups and marginalized clusters.

CONCLUSION
Good governance in Bangladesh offers a challenge considering unambiguous differences seeming in its societal, financial and political sets. The state is politically progressive in the footings of the higher consciousness of concerns and involvement, but a classy political scheme leftovers an aloof dream. Corruption corrodes output, however the financial growth has been attained through consecutive years. The culture is sensibly free, so far it leftovers under solid military effect. The traditional society of Bangladesh has revealed inspiring performance in encouraging gender parity (Huque, 2013).
Though, the key institutes of governance like parliament, political parties, judiciary and bureaucracy prevailing in our state are not really active. There is an unembellished deficiency of transparency equally in government and management. The apparatuses of information assembly, storing and repossession has dropped into dereliction. In the deficiency of any scheme of bottom up reportage from the field level and top-down management, schemes of accountability in government continue almost non-existing (Hasan et al, 2017). The leadership in politics of our state to whom good governance generally rests on, grips very much narrow outlook and they are unenthusiastic to accept oppositions. Owing to these evidences, still good governance continued a delicate plant in Bangladesh that is sternly uncomfortable socioeconomic progress of the state. In contrast to this background, encouraging good governance necessitates an essential change in approach of individuals and leadership and key restructuring in the political organizations of the state as well.

REFERENCES
Banks, N., & Hulme, D. (2012). The role of NGOs and civil society in development and poverty reduction.


Environmental Degradation and Governance: Exploring the Connections

Mst. Marzina Begum*

Abstract

Environmental governance is a concept used in environmental policy that consists of rules, structure, processes, and institutions that highlights how human should interact with environment. In the existing literature, there is a consensus among the scholars about the importance of the environmental governance that have huge effects on the improved environmental outcomes. It is observed that a sound process of environment governance may promote successful implementation of its regulatory framework. However, the plain objective of the paper is to re-examine the nexus between the process of governance and its effects on environmental outcomes. As regards to methodology, the paper has been written by reviewing and comparing the literature on environmental degradation, governance and its outcomes.

Keywords: Environmental Degradation; Governance; Outcomes

INTRODUCTION

Earlier studies have shown the nexus between the process of environmental governance and its outcomes. Any undesirable changes to the environment are perceived to be dangerous to the survival of humanity and environment. Therefore, it is argued for the emergence of effective environmental governance for sustainable management of natural resources and protection of environment. For doing so, it needs to introduce a transparent system for environmental governance, such as sound policies, and plans, and provide opportunities for citizens to share their perspectives in case of environmental policy design and its implementation (Jafari et al., 2012).

OPERATIONALIZATION OF THE CONCEPTS

Environmental Degradation

As the global governance institution, the United Nations International Strategy for Disaster Reduction (UNISDR) highlights environmental degradation as the lessening of the limit of the earth to fulfill the requirement of social and environmental destinations, and needs. Jafari et al. (2012) defines environmental degradation as the declining situation of environment when the depletion of natural resources, such as air, water and soil are observed. Environmental degradation is a great

* Associate Professor, Department of Public Administration, Rajshahi University, Rajshahi, Bangladesh E-mail: marzinabegum80@gmail.com
challenge to ecosystem in most African countries that is attributed to failure of the process of governance (Nwafor, 2014). Environmental organizations and civil societies have often shown their expression of anger due to the losses of natural ecosystem. However, it is stressed for the solutions for the current and the ensuing environmental degradation so that the process of governance could act as soothing balm to the pains of the aggrieved communities (Nwafor, 2014). For instance, in the case of ongoing bushfire 2019-2020, Australia has experienced for wildfire of 60,000 km2, however, Australian citizens have expressed their disappointment about the process of environmental governance.

Environment always keeps changing over time due to some obvious natural reasons, and it also happens due to natural climate variability and also negative impacts caused by human beings, although tremendous scientific and technological developments have taken place for the protection of environment (Singh, 2009). It is noteworthy that environmental resources depletes very rapidly in many parts of the world, given the context, it is emphasized for the protection and conservation of natural resources, and highlights the importance of introducing sound environmental policies and programs (Singh, 2009). Without a sound environmental policy, current development strategies would not be sustainable; however challenges remain for the process of governance for maintaining a sustainable environment that is the single most important agenda across the world (Raven et al., 1998).

Chopra (2016) identified some underlying causes for the environmental degradation, such as unplanned urbanization and industrialization, high population growth rates, high rate of deforestation etc. However, environmental degradation refers to the depletion of quality and quantity of natural resources, and therefore, it needs to explore the current deteriorating conditions of environment. Further, it is argued for the various kinds of the human practices that act as important reason of environmental degradation (Chopra, 2016). The current dismal conditions of environment have created risks to human beings and to the future generation and environment as well. Chopra (2016) also illustrated that smoke discharged and noise radiated by the vehicles are one of the important driver of air and sound contamination, apart from that, unplanned urbanization and industrialization have helped to the deteriorating conditions of natural resources.

 Governance
 Governance refers to the relationships between a government and its citizens. Asian Development Bank (ADB) in its policy paper defines ‘governance as the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country’s social and economic resources for development’ (ADB, 1995, para 4). This means how power and authority are exercised and distributed, how decisions are made, and to what extent citizens are able to participate in decision-making processes (Gunilla et al., 2012).

 Good Governance
 In defining good governance, ADB considered four basic elements, such as accountability, transparency, predictability and participation (ADB, 1995). United Nations Development Program (UNDP 1997) illustrates good governance as the five basic elements which were set out in the policy document entitled ‘Governance for Sustainable Human Development’, such as (a) Transparency: it is based on the free flow of information, access to institutions, and effective information services to those who are concerned (b) Accountability: it is on the part of the responsibility of the government to be accountable to the public (c) Rule of Law: equal legal rights and its unbiased enforcement (d) Efficiency and Effectiveness: results for society through effective utilization of resources by state
institutions and its processes, and (e) Participation: mediation of the different interests groups through which broad based consensus on policies and procedures are reached.

Environmental Governance

Environmental governance is the topic that has received a growing interest in the academic literature in the last few years. The term is used to describe the processes of decision-making how decisions are made, and carried out with respect to environment. However, good environmental governance is important for finding institutional solutions to any kind of current and future environmental threats. The key issues with respect to environmental governance relate to the political-economic structure and processes that institutions involved in environment management, which shapes the environmental outcomes (Lemos and Agrawal, no date). It is further added by saying that international conventions, national environmental regulatory framework, decision-making processes at the local level, regional and global institutions, and environmental NGOs are involved in the process of environmental governance (Lemos and Agrawal, no date).

Boer et al. (2003) point out the principles of environmental governance that refers to fairness, accountability, responsibility and transparency which are required for desired environmental outcomes. To them, fairness means to maintain the environmental interests of all groups, including the concerned authorities, developer/company, and relevant stakeholders. Accountability refers to the answerability of the concerned people or bodies to disclose and explain of their environmental actions. Effective communication and liability among the concerned people or bodies are prerequisites for accountability in the process. Transparency explains the ways how decisions or actions are taken, in this regard, transparent sharing of information and/or reporting in a transparent way on environmental activities are important. Finally, responsibility expresses the duty to protect the environment, which shows the obligation to take decisions, monitor and manage the activities. Given the scenario, it can be said that by combining all of these four principles may directly promote good environmental governance. If any one of the principles is not fulfilled in case of environmental actions, it may negatively impact on the environmental outcomes (Boer et al., 2003). However, environmental governance as a concept that often includes normative dimension of sustainability in the policy domain, which refers to processes and institutions through which societies make decisions regarding the environment (deLoë et al. 2009). For the desired outcomes, it needs effectiveness of strategies and measures for implementing environmental goals (Jeffrey, 2005).

GOVERNANCE FOR ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION

Sustainable development emphasizes economic growth and development for all, but environmentally sound and sustainable. Hence, countries need to adopt more integrated planning approach, and emphasizing on the participation and active role of the private sector and civil society along with a government system with greater accountability, transparency and delegation of authority and capacity at the different levels of local government (Rahman 2020). It is further pointed out that for desired outcomes, environmental governance process needs to incorporate a number of characteristics, such as participatory dialogue and deliberation among stakeholders, effective decision-making process, adoption of flexibility approach, inclusiveness, transparency in activities, institutionalized consensus-building practices, and a shift from hierarchy to heterarchy (Neil 2009).
Efficient utilization of natural resources should always be the important agenda of the climate risk countries in order to ensure quality of life for human beings and to maintain a clean and green environment for sustainable development (Haseeb et al., 2018). Further, human life in the environmentally vulnerable and climate risk countries are badly affected by environmental degradation, such as different types of pollution, land degradation and other newly emerged environmental threats. Hence, managing the natural resources in an appropriate way should be an important agenda for the environmentally vulnerable countries. It is worth to mention that in the last three decades there has been great improvement in terms of environmental regulatory framework through the establishment of public agencies and commitments from the international environmental conventions. Despite of these initiatives, it is still evidently found a clear gap between the commitments made either at national or international level and the extent of implementation of policies or commitments for reaching out a desired environmental outcome.

EXPLORING THE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN GOOD ENVIRONMENTAL GOVERNANCE AND ENVIRONMENTAL OUTCOMES

Many countries across the world suffer from the impacts of environmental degradation, especially poor countries are less capable of managing environmental degradation, as it is beyond the capacities of them. The role of the governments in environmental protection is exercised mainly through long-term planning, in the form of introducing strategies, development plans and action plans, setting standards, and controlling compliance with regulatory framework (National Audit Office of Estonia, no date). However, legal instruments set guidelines and standards for the desired state of protecting environment. There are international environmental frameworks, for instance Kyoto protocol, available in order to address global environmental challenges.

When it comes to the plan of action at the national level with respect to limiting of environmental degradation, they are often not well integrated into national policy and decision-making processes in line with the approaches of international environmental framework (Gunilla et al., 2012). As a consequence, the failure of inclusion of international environmental framework into national level lead to environmental degradation, this creates pressures on society. Apart from that, it is added by arguing that the commitment of funding from the developments partners, including the World Bank (WB) is often supply-driven and fragmented, and the funders don’t relate with the national systems of the climate fund recipient countries. Given the context, it is argued that for desired environmental outcomes, the political and economic systems of the fund recipient countries need to be developed to fully utilize external resources. On the other hand, applying collaborative governance framework, the international environmental framework must coordinate with national system in order to get better environmental outcomes (Gunilla et al., 2012).

Undoubtedly, absence of enforcement of environmental rules and regulations has further worsened the conditions. It is highlighted that powerful groups should not get any kind of opportunities in damaging natural resources (Rahman 2020), in practice, powerful business groups are always against any new policies with respect to reducing industrial pollution. It is argued that who are grabbing land, wetlands and forest resources illegally and destroying natural resources must be punished in the existing legal framework (Rahman, 2020). Environmental organizations and civil society organizations always put pressure for protecting and conserving natural resources and pollution control. It is also emphasized accountability and transparency that must work constantly to demand for better environmental outcomes. Furthermore, it is argued that ensuring the right to access to information, citizens’ active participation are focused as the instrumental value for environmental
It is important to involve different stakeholders and interest groups in the decision-making process to ensure that all important environmental issues are considered and policies are built on comprehensive understanding of stakeholders (National Audit Office of Estonia, no date). For achieving desired environmental outcomes, countries need to introduce environmental democracy. For instance, principle 10 of the Rio Declaration (1992) promotes democracy in the environmental arena and attempts to reduce the barriers of access to information through enhancing citizens’ active participation in the decision-making process. It is further pointed out that the principle focuses on multi-stakeholder partnership which connects to the both state and non-state actors, such as governments, international organizations and civil society organizations. This partnership may work as watchdog to facilitate for the proper environmental management which can protect natural resources and to hold the government in order to meet their duties for environmental protection.

It is of worth to note that having reviewed different literature, it is found various inconsistent arguments with respect to community participation for environmental outcomes. However, community participation is generally suggested for a quality decision-making, integrating local knowledge and wisdom, and the inclusion of perspectives from local actors, which can increase the high rate of acceptance and proper implementation of decisions (Edelenbos et al., 2011). For countries, successful environmental action must proceed with a continuous attempt in the process, if they want to achieve better environmental outcomes. In the earlier research, it has been reflected that accountability and transparency of any government actions, public participation and integrity reduce the risks of corrupt practices and build trust over the environmental agencies which promote successful implementation of policy and programs. Furthermore, desired environmental outcomes are not only dependent on the existing legal framework of a country and the capacities of the concerned public agencies, but also largely on the commitment and support of the government that play a catalyst role in creating an enabling environment.

Many countries in the world now face negative climate effects and the escalating environmental degradation that has become a challenging issue to society. The literature on environment increasingly promotes collaborative and participatory form of governance to a more sustainable policy framework (Jens and Oliver 2009). Therefore, it is now increasingly emphasized to introduce participatory process of governance, for instance, Plummer et al. (2017) stressed that involvement of relevant stakeholder are associated with the development of deliberative and decision making processes, which increases efficiency and effectiveness in environment management. They further added by saying that increasing participation and involvement of stakeholder in the policy processes in the complex environmental areas have now become an embedded issue in policy domains (Plummer et al., 2017).

The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) were held in 1992 that focused on the capacities of the government and environmental agencies for the protection of natural resources. However, government design and implement environmental policies and programs, but it needs to make relationship and interactions with local actors involved in the policy process. The government should adopt the policy guideline on inclusion of local stakeholders by
providing them access to information, thus democratic practices could be further strengthened by bringing the government closer to the local people. In this process, public participation in decision-making process at the local level may promote to increased transparency, accountability and the protection of unheard voices about the process of environmental governance (Tulia, 2010).

Environmental monitoring has a role in controlling compliance with environmental regulations (National Audit Office of Estonia, no date). Local government bodies are responsible at local level for implementing all the relevant environmental aspects within the legislative framework (Van, 2001). For assessing environmental outcomes, local government also needs to evaluate the potential adverse consequences that have impacts on environment (Blaine, 2000). Given the context, the participation and involvement of local government bodies in the affairs of environmental governance is increasingly recognized. Furthermore, many developed countries in the world have now adopted a decentralization approach in managing their natural resources through enhancing people’s participation at the local level. Undoubtedly, decentralized roles and responsibilities given to the local government must provide sufficient resources in environmental management.

Political commitment must demonstrate the support to the conservation and protection of natural resources; only then environmental governance will be strengthened (Rahman, 2020). However, countries differ in their governance mechanisms due to varying nature of institutional performance. Given the scenario, a contextualized and systematic study in a country may facilitate to properly address the required steps which should be followed for the desired environmental outcomes. For doing so, capacity building of the relevant stakeholders involved on formulating strategic environmental plan is very important for achieving better environmental outcomes.

It is also noteworthy to mention that it is essentially required for improving capacity for internal governance within the agencies involved in the protection of natural resources (Rahman, 2015). However, capacity is defined as improving the ability of individuals and organizations to perform functions in a sustainable manner (UNDP, 2008). It is commonly argued that capacity building of the relevant stakeholders may promote the development and implementation of environment policy and programs.

CONCLUSION

Environmental governance has been evolved hoping that this may improve the conditions of environmental degradation that many countries across the world now face. The concept assists us how to provide institutional support and processes in responding to environmental degradation and its future threats, and also explains how to manage and regulate policy and programs with efficiency and effectiveness. However, this paper has illustrated the concept of environmental governance, which is relevant to the achievement of desired environmental outcomes. Good environmental governance is significant factor for sustainable development, which is targeted by the UN for member states. Implementation of environmental measures and regulatory framework has not been successful in the past in many environmentally degraded and climate risk countries. However, environmental governance is a specific form of broader governance that relates to the regulatory structure and processes and institutions involved in environmental management through which political actors’ recover from the negative effects of environmental degradation.
REFERENCES


Employment and Working Conditions of Child Labour

Srirang K Jha* and Vandana Malviya**

ABSTRACT
Incidence of child labour continues despite a glut of legislative provisions and awareness campaigns run by a large number of well-intentioned non-governmental organizations. This is mainly because of mass poverty and tradition of servitude among the child labour supplying families. Supplementing family income and death or sickness of parents are major factors that force children to take up wage-paid employment. Once the children join wage-paid employment, they are exposed to multiple risks such as physical torture, abusive language, long working hours with lesser remuneration etc. They do not have any kind of security at the workplace as they are invariably employed in unorganized sector. This paper examines employment and working conditions of child labour based on secondary sources mainly to build a case for total eradication of the hazardous as well as worst forms of child labour in India.

Keywords: Child Labour, Working Conditions, Employment Opportunities, India

INTRODUCTION
International Labour Organization (ILO) defines child labour as ‘work that deprives children (any person under 18) of their childhood, their potential and their dignity, and that is harmful to their physical and/or mental development. It refers to work that is mentally, or morally dangerous and harmful to children; and/or interferes with their schooling by depriving them of the opportunity to attend school; obliging them to leave school prematurely; and requiring them to attempt to combine school attendance with excessively long and heavy work.’ However, not all work in which children are involved can be termed as child labour. Children’s participation in work that does not affect their health and personal development or interfere with their schooling, is generally regarded as being something positive and such activities include helping their parents around the home, assisting in a family business or earning pocket money outside school hours and during school holidays because they contribute towards skill development and preparation for being productive members of the society during their adult life.

* Associate Professor & Head, General Management & International Business Area, Apeejay School of Management, New Delhi E-mail: jha.srirang@gmail.com
** Associate Professor, Trinity Institute of Professional Studies (Guru Gobind Singh Indraprastha University), New Delhi
ILO has classified child labour as worst forms of child labour and hazardous child labour. Irrespective of the form, child labour becomes detrimental to the holistic development of all the youngsters who are subjected to such activity voluntarily (with consent of self and the parents) or involuntarily (forced to child labour due to exigencies like sickness or death of parents, indebtedness of the family, etc. Table 1 provides an incisive view of both forms of child labour which result in lost opportunities for the victims of the circumstances to grow up in a natural process as conscientious citizens.

Table 1: Forms of Child Labour

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Worst forms of child labour (Article 3 of ILO Convention No. 182)</th>
<th>Hazardous child labour (Article 3 of ILO Recommendation No. 190)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict</td>
<td>Work which exposes children to physical, psychological or sexual abuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances</td>
<td>Work underground, under water, at dangerous heights or in confined spaces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties</td>
<td>Work with dangerous machinery, equipment and tools, or which involves the manual handling or transport of heavy loads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children</td>
<td>Work in an unhealthy environment which may, for example, expose children to hazardous substances, agents or processes, or to temperatures, noise levels, or vibrations damaging to their health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Work under particularly difficult conditions such as work for long hours or during the night or work where the child is unreasonably confined to the premises of the employer.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: https://www.ilo.org/ipec/facts/lang--en/index.htm)

Census conducted in 2011 in India reported 10.2 million working children in the age group of 5-14 years out of which 5.6 million were boys and 4.5 million were girls while 8.1 million of them were in villages while 2 million worked in towns and cities. The data related to working children in the country is quite disheartening as the incidence of child labour is significantly high in spite of preventing legislation and awareness campaigns run by non-governmental organizations and comprehensive intervention programs to rehabilitate the working children in place under the state patronage. The types of child labour have changed in recent years due to enforcement of legislation, awareness amongst buyers about child exploitation, and international pressure. Child labour is now more invisible because the location of the work has changed from the more formal setting of factories, to business owners’ homes. Children are engaged in manual work, in domestic work in...
family homes, in rural labour in the agricultural sector including cotton growing, at glass, match box and brass and lock-making factories, in embroidery, rag-picking, beedi-rolling, in the carpet-making industry, in mining and stone quarrying, brick kilns and tea gardens amongst others and work is often gender-specific, with girls performing more domestic and home-based work, while boys are more often employed in wage labour.

LEGAL FRAMEWORK FOR PREVENTION OF CHILD LABOUR

Law makers have always tried to protect the interests of children at the places of work. The Factories Act of 1881 and 1891, the Mines Act of 1901, the Factories Act of 1911, the Factories (Amendment) Act of 1926, the Indian Ports (Amendment) Act of 1931, the Children Pledging of Labour Act of 1933, the Factories (Amendment) Act of 1934, the Mines (Amendment) Act of 1935, the Employment of Children Act 1938 etc. were some of the legislative provisions regulating the age, hours of work, mandatory holidays, rest and leisure, safety and welfare of the child labour. In the post-independence era, the interests of children were protected by the Factories Act 1948, the Employment of Children (Amendment) Act 1949, the Plantation Labour Act 1951, the Indian Mines Act 1952, the Factories (Amendment) Act 1954, the Merchant Shipping Act 1958, the Motor Transport Workers Act 1961, Apprenticeship Act 1961, the Beedi and Cigar Workers (Condition of Employment) Act 1966 and the Employment of Children (Amendment) Act 1978.

The Constitution of India provides for free and compulsory education to all children in the age group of 6-14 years. Besides, the Constitution also provides for prohibition of forced labour and employment of children below 14 years in hazardous occupations. The government is committed to promoting policies for protecting children from exploitation. Mid-day meal program of the government is a good example of state intervention aimed at attracting the young children to school and retaining them in the classrooms for learning. If they are coming to the schools, they are not working for sure. However, even the mid-day meals have failed to

A lot of social action initiatives undertaken by the non-governmental organizations resulted in the enactment of the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act 1986. This Act bans the employment of children who are below 14 years of age in specific occupations and processes, lays down procedure to decide modifications to the schedule of banned occupations or processes, regulates the conditions of work of children in employment where they are not prohibited and lays down enhanced penalties for employment of children in violation of the provisions of this Act and other Acts which prohibit employment of children (Varandani, 1994).

Besides these enactments to protect, prevent and regulate child labour, a major policy guideline exists in the Directive Principles of State Policy of the Constitution of India. According to Article 39 of the Constitution, tender age of children should not be abused and that the citizens should not be forced by economic necessity to avocations unsuitable to their age or strength. Article 24 and Article 15 (3) of the Constitution are also relevant to welfare of child labour (Basu, 1992).

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION INTERVENTIONS FOR PREVENTION OF CHILD LABOUR

The practice of child labour has generated tremendous heat across the globe. International Labour Organization (ILO) has been instrumental in protecting the rights of child labour since 1919. Some of the Conventions of ILO vis-à-vis child labour include convention on minimum age for employment for industry (1919), for agriculture (1921), for trimmers and stockers (1921), for non-industrial employment (1932), for industry (revised) (1937), for fishing (1959), and for underground work
ILO strongly advanced the view that opportunity for growth and development is a natural right of children. As a result, an action programme designated as International Programme on Elimination of Child Labour (IPECL) was formulated in 1992. The IPECL is aimed at developing and implementing strategies for a world-wide movement against against child labour. IPECL mandate is to ensure enhanced capabilities of ILO constituents as well as NGOs for the purpose of designing and implementing policies for elimination of child labour and protection of working children (ILO, 1992).

CRITIQUE OF REGULATORY FRAMEWORK

Critics believe that legislations such as the Factories Act, Plantation Act, Mines Act, etc. prohibited the employment of children in what is basically the organized sector. Yet the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act 1986 has less to do with prohibition and more with regulation. It endorses against recruitment of children in certain hazardous occupations but permits the young persons to work in home-based production activity. Children are thus denied entry into the better protected sectors while being thrown to the wolves in the unorganized sector (Roy, 1998).

Self-interest of the individuals or groups or undue influence of other associations prevails upon the value of following rules and compliance with statutory provisions (Baxi, 1982). Employers use child labour with a singular objective of earning maximum profits and having least concern for the adverse impact it will have on the health as well as growth and development of the children engaged by them. Attitude, perception and lower social consciousness work sharply towards continuation of both supply and use of child labour. Best course, therefore would be persuasion and not legislation in order to eliminate a necessary evil such as child labour.

ROOT CAUSE ANALYSIS

Poverty is the main reason behind high incidence of child labour in India. Poverty in turn is caused by multiple factors such as lack of access to community resources in an equitable manner, joblessness, absence of land holdings for residences or farming, lack of education and general socio-economic backwardness induced by age-old prejudices inflicted on them due to caste-based discrimination in the society. Poverty creates a vicious circle of indebtedness which limits the chance of the poor families to liberate themselves despite a number of governmental initiatives aimed at eradication of poverty. Most of the poor families in the rural areas in India are landless peasants and depend on the mercy of their respective landlords for subsistence. As the wage rates in rural areas are very low, they easily get into the trap of loans from informal sources i.e. private moneylenders including their landlords/employers. With meagre family income, they have little choice but to include their children in all sorts of wage employment. There has been a number of poverty eradication programmes in place since 1970, however, the incidence of poverty remains quite alarming in the country.

Scenario in urban slums which host the poor migrants is no better. When the entire family migrates from village to towns and cities for a better future, all of them are subjected to exploitation of all sorts. As the jobs at the lower levels with minimal skills are quite low-paying, running the family with income of just one person becomes difficult. Gradually other members of the family also find suitable low-paying jobs and strangle their own dreams of good life. Even the government schemes
for the welfare of the poor in the towns are cities are less likely to reach them. Besides, the cost of healthcare services is also very high. Thus, in case of morbidity, the urban poor families invariably get entrapped in the indebtedness and remain under the grip of informal money lenders. There are hardly any social security as most of the urban poor work in informal sector. In case of sickness, not only they lose their income but also incur heavy expenses on medical bills even if the illness or injury is induced by poor and unhygienic working conditions, long working hours or hazardous nature of job.

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS
Incidence of child labour continues despite a glut legislative provisions and awareness campaigns. This is mainly because of mass poverty and tradition of servitude among the child labour supplying families. Supplementing family income and death or sickness of parents emerged as major factors that force children to take up wage-paid employment. Once the children join wage-paid employment, they are exposed to multiple risks such as physical torture, abusive language, long working hours with lesser remuneration etc. They do not have any kind of security at the workplace as they are invariably employed in unorganized sector.

The best strategy to safeguard the interest of the wage-paid working children is to put them back to special schools with facility of sheltered workshop where they can learn livelihood skills. Secondly, the child labour supplying families need to be empowered so that their earning potentials increase to such a level that they do not send their children to works for supplementing family income. And above all, the child labour supplying families need to be sensitized so as to attain an attitudinal shift among them.

Putting the working children back to school very much depends on reducing the misery in the farm sector, promoting job creation and increasing consumption by improving the banking ecosystem. Farm distress is caused because the peasants are not able to recover return on investments that they have made by borrowing money from the banks. Due to poor yields, the farmers fail to pay back their bank dues and get into a serious debt trap with no escape. Hence the government should come forward to their rescue from time to time by waiving their farm loans as there is indeed no way out (Jha, Mohapatra and Lodha, 2019).

As the farm sector is not capable of providing jobs to every adult in the village, it is important that the government contributes its mite by way of reinforcing ‘Make in India’ initiative (Jha, 2015). However, growth in manufacturing sector must be complemented with increased consumption. Now impetus to consumption can be augmented by a far more liberal lending regime. In order to enable the banks to attract the borrowers with attractive rates, they need fresh capital infusion. It is important that the government takes periodic interventions in terms of recapitalizing the banks from time to time (Mohapatra and Jha, 2018).

Although the government aims at ensuring freedom from poverty as an entitlement under the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act 2005, it has failed to achieve its noble goal. It is true that the employment guarantee law has triggered a reverse internal migration of the stressed urban families (Mohapatra and Jha, 2019), it is far from enabling the poor families at the bottom of the pyramid to come out of the vicious circle of poverty. It is indeed quite strange that in spite of the concerted efforts by all the governments at the centre and the states since independence, poverty has deep pockets of influence all across the country. Poverty in turn has
concomitant consequences such as morbidity, indebtedness, disarticulation, joblessness, landlessness among others. Eradication of child labour may be a great contextual factor to have a fresh look at the root cause and change the fortunes of the most vulnerable sections of the society in a different way by thinking out of the box, instead of trying the same old and failed strategies with a lot more vigour as it is being carried forward by the incumbent governments at the centre and various states.

ENDNOTES
3 https://unicef.in/Whatwedo/21/Child-Labour
4 ibid

REFERENCE