

JOURNAL OF SOCIETY IN KASHMIR

ISSN: 2249-667X

jsk.uok.edu.in

Editor

Prof. Aneesa Shafi

Head, Department of Sociology
University of Kashmir, Hazratbal, Srinagar, J&K - 190006
Email: aneesashafi@uok.edu.in

Associate Editors

Dr. Manzoor Hussain

Senior Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology
University of Kashmir, Hazratbal, Srinagar, J&K - 190006
Email: dr.manzoor_hussain@yahoo.co.in

Dr. Mohmad Saleem Jahangir

Senior Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology,
University of Kashmir, Hazratbal, Srinagar, J&K - 190006
Email: saleem@uok.edu.in

Editorial Advisory Committee

Prof. Anand Kumar (New Delhi)

Prof. Noor Mohammad (Aligarh)

Prof. Elzbieta Perzycka (Poland)

Prof. B. K. Nagla (Rohtak)

Prof. Sherry Sabarwal (Chandigarh)

Journal of Society in Kashmir is an annual Journal of Department of Sociology, University of Kashmir. All rights are reserved. Except for brief quotations in scholarly works, no part of this journal may be reproduced in any form without the written permission of the Editor.

Email address for all necessary correspondence: hodsociology@uok.edu.in

Subscription Rates

	Inland	Overseas
Individual	Rs. 100	\$ 10
Institution	Rs. 200	\$ 20

Published by

Department of Sociology, University of Kashmir
Hazratbal, Srinagar, J&K - 190006

JOURNAL OF SOCIETY IN KASHMIR
ISSN: 2249-667X

Volume 11		2021	
ARTICLES			
S. No	Name of Article	Author	Page No
1	Social comparison and Personal Relative Deprivation among young female Social Media users: A survey	Madhuri Rajput, Anil Kumar	1-15
2	Performance and Role Conflict among Women Police in J&K: A Sociological Analysis	Mansoor Ahmad	16-33
3	Inequalities and Social Justice: An Analysis of Classification and Welfare for the Weaker Sections in Jammu and Kashmir	Sheikh Idrees Mujtaba	34-48
4	Status of Tribal Education in Ladakh: A study of Dard Tribe	Manzoor Hussain, Fayaz Ahmad Loan	49-61
5	From Victimization to Resilience: Contextualising women in Partition through the lens of memory	Aditya Sharma	62-75
6	Religion and Politics: Revisiting 13 th July of 1931	Aushaq Hussain Dar	76-86
7	Consumerism and Environmental Sustainability: A theoretical understanding	Hilal Ahmad Kumar	87-94
8	Knowledge, attitudes and practices of family planning: A review of literature	Nadeem Ahmad Wani	95-111
9	Crime against women in India: An analysis	Ajaz Ahmad Gilani	112-135
10	Women of Under-Privileged Communities of Kashmir: Assessing their fate in Higher Education	Aneesa Shafi	136-151
11	Barriers to Women's Empowerment in Rural Society: Access to Employment, Land and Other Resources	Bilal A. Bhat	150-169

12	Theoretical Perspectives on Class Consciousness: From Karl Marx to Louis Althusser	Muzamil Wali	170-177
13	Assimilation of Sponsorship Schemes and Integrated Child Protection Services (ICPS) : A need for a Paradigm Shift	Mudasir Ahmed Nazar, Showkat Ahmad Dar, Umara Yaseen	178-187
14	Exploring the socio-economic dimension of adolescent reproductive health among the girls of rural Kashmir: A qualitative study	Mohmad Saleem Jahangir, Wasia Hamid	188-198
15	Social Networking Sites as a Catalyst and Trigger for Youth Violence	Syed Uzma Kubravi	199-216

Social comparison and Personal Relative Deprivation among young female Social Media users: A survey

Journal of Society in Kashmir
11(1) 1-15

ISSN: 2249-667X

© 2021 Author(s)

<http://sociology.uok.edu.in/Files/c2d3b27>

8-4cf7-49a5-9525-

af5e352f2900/Journal/08f7cccc-1337-43f7-

9e33-6d8c3e58b03e.pdf

Madhuri Rajput*
Anil Kumar†

Abstract

Social media, particularly social networking sites, provide expansive windows opened to see through the life of its users. Exposure to others' lives on social networking sites may consider increased feelings of personal relative deprivation, as the feeling of being deprived arises from comparing oneself to others. Researchers have found that women have the tendency to make upward social comparisons with others, which ultimately results in increased negative feelings about themselves. If there is a desire for online social comparison among young women, can it lead to compulsive checking of social networking sites? Till date, there is little work done in India that looks into the effects of social comparison among women through social media platforms and feelings of relative deprivation thereafter. This paper attempts to examine how the social comparison on online platforms leads to a sense of relative deprivation among young women social media users in Jammu and Kashmir.

Keywords

Social Media, Youth culture, Sociological study, Women, Jammu and Kashmir.

Introduction

Due to advances in technology in the 21st century, the whole world is experiencing a never-before way of interpersonal communication and social connection. There is an unparalleled way of connectivity and sociality, which is possible only because of the social media platforms.

* Doctoral Candidate, Department of Sociology, University of Jammu, Jammu and Kashmir

Email: madhurirajput28@gmail.com

† Assistant Professor of Sociology, Central University of Kashmir, Jammu and Kashmir

Email: vipanil@gmail.com

Social media (SM) has become an indispensable component of the present society. It has profoundly altered the way we conduct our lives and build relationships (Haythornthwaite & Wellman, 2002). One can easily observe the level of penetration of social media platforms into people's lives. Social media does not discriminate on any level. If you know how to deal with your smartphone using the internet, you are good to dive into the never-ending ocean of new experiences. However, every phenomenon has a binary effect. Social media, particularly social networking sites like Instagram and Facebook, provides expansive windows opened to see through the life of its users. Social media users can look into the life of their friends, relatives, colleagues, and neighbours, which for many leads to own life dissatisfaction because of the social comparison they make. The present paper attempts to examine the relative deprivation induced by the over-exposure to others' lives on social media, exclusively among women social media users between 15-25 years of age.

Social Media: A Social Comparison Platform

According to Dollarhide (2021), "Social media is a computer-based technology that eases sharing ideas, thoughts, and information by building virtual networks and communities". More than 3.8 billion people use social media (Kemp, 2020). The worldwide usage of social media by Internet users on an average is 145 minutes (Tankovska, 2021). It is a new, popular method of communication. It emerged as a new method of interaction with family and friends. Many use social media mainly to stay connected with their friends and extended family members. Because of the impeccable features of social media, family members who live far from their homes because of jobs or studies can connect to their families online. Earlier, this was a very expensive practice.

SM typically gives prominence to personalised profiles and user-generated content such as photos, videos, and blogs. SM users share their thoughts, feelings, insights and emotions on SM platforms. Most of the content shared on social networking sites (SNSs) is the personal information of its users. What is going on in their lives, which tourist destination they hit on during holidays, what personal or professional achievements they got; people share such information on SNSs to show to their SM friends. Amazingly, these pieces of information are never negative; they always share their best experiences as nobody wants to share their 'bad hair' days online. People generally portray themselves positively on social networking sites.

Social media, mainly social networking sites, are more like 'Social Comparison Platforms'. Social comparison is natural in human beings. However, various SM platforms have taken this tendency of social comparison among humans to a whole new level in the last several years. SM platforms make their users see who is doing what they are not. It often becomes stressful, making them wonder if they are doing enough, enjoying life enough. Many SM users compare their regular lives with others' curated best memories.

SNSs users often feel that they are being pushed or compelled to feel deprived, but they cannot control themselves. Dr Nancy Mramor (2018), a Pennsylvanian psychoanalyst and media specialist said, "Social media has become a way to put these false images right in your field of vision whether you opt for them or not. You can turn off a movie, close a magazine or consciously step back from a billboard, but not so with social media. If young women want to know what someone is doing today, or stay connected to their friends, they have to turn it on". When SM users visit SNSs such as Facebook, Instagram they do not have in mind to indulge in comparison. Still, it just happens while seeing others' posts, status updates, stories, and timelines. This unintentional comparison process occurs and leaves many SM users feeling deprived, though most do not do anything; they just feel bad for themselves. Yet, many take it seriously and change their social behaviour accordingly.

SNSs provide frequent exposure to others' lives, making their users indulge in comparison with their online friends. Research has revealed that SNSs can degrade one's well-being because of envy arising from discouraging social comparison (Verduyn et al., 2021; Krasnova et al., 2011). Facebook use, in particular, heralds upward social comparison, which negatively impacts "individuals' self-esteem and well-being" across time. In contrast, "Instagram use has a direct negative effect on psychological well-being" (Schmuck et al., 2019).

Women and Social Comparison

Researchers found out that women tend to make upward social comparisons with others, which ultimately results in increased negative feelings about themselves. Most women assess themselves against some 'societal ideal' (Jones, 2001). Social media platforms such as Instagram and Facebook have made the comparison more common since these online platforms make it easier to compare oneself to the 'ideal'. This ideal could be anything we attach to the highest standard, collectively in the given society. Everyone desires to have an 'ideal life'. Almost everyone tries to display their ideal life through their posts, mainly

through photos and videos on social media platforms. A number of women have reported making upward comparisons positively in an attempt to motivate themselves. However, most of the time, when women are feeling low, they indulge more in social comparison, thus evoking negative implications.

Women's social media accessibility and use in India

India is a traditionally patriarchal society. Being a male-dominated society, the social position of women in India remained low for centuries. This low status of women was mainly the result of illiteracy, caste restrictions, economic reliance, religious prohibitions, absence of female leadership, and unsympathetic stance of men. However, from the early 1950s onwards, both structural as well as cultural changes resulted in the emancipation of women in India and provided Indian women equal opportunity in education, employment and political participation (Ahuja, 2010). But for Srinivas (1977), only a tiny minority of women have benefitted from the changes that have occurred. This inequality still manifests itself in contemporary Indian society. In India, women lag behind men in all fields of life and, till date, remain under-represented. This lag can be easily visible in the use of digital media. Only modern urban educated women are enjoying access to digital media, yet not all. The majority of rural women still do not have access to smartphones and the internet. They are mainly involved in home chores and agricultural activities, not much educated, financially dependent on male family members, having no exposure to the digital world. Women's least or no access to phones and the internet is also because of cultural and social norms.

There is a huge gender divide in India in the context of digital world accessibility. According to Global System for Mobile Communications (GSM) Association's 2020 mobile gender gap report, "only 21 per cent of women in India are mobile internet users". The Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, Government of India (2020), through the National Sample Survey's 75th Round conducted from July 2017 to June 2018, revealed that only 8.5 per cent of females in rural India could use the Internet, while 30.1 per cent of urban females can use the Internet. As far as subscription of the two most popular SNSs (Facebook and Instagram) in India is concerned, as per *statista.com*: India ranks first in Facebook subscribers, the majority of which are men, i.e., 74.2 per cent and only 25.8 per cent are women. 9.6 per cent of women Facebook subscribers in India are between 25-34 years of age. As far as Instagram users' number in India is concerned, as of April 2021, there is a male

majority on this platform with 73.5 per cent and only 26.5 per cent of women users, which includes 10.6 per cent of women between the age of 18 and 24.

Research gap

The majority of the academic research works focused on women's online self-presentation, body image, and stereotypical presence. There has been minimal consideration to examining social media platforms' effects on women. Unfortunately, no studies in India addressed the subject explicitly. Thus, in order to fill the gap, the present research has been carried to examine the effects of social media platforms, particularly Social Networking Sites (SNSs), on young women. Moreover, till date, there is very little work done in India that looks into the effects of social comparison among women through social media platforms and feelings of relative deprivation thereafter. The present work was mainly drafted to address this issue.

Literature Review

Social Comparison: Festinger (1954) asserted that people indulge in social comparisons as they have a drive for self-assessment. Social comparison is a process by which individuals assess their life situations, and on comparing themselves to others, they try to increase their self-understanding. People make use of social comparison in a direct and simple way. "If they are in a better situation than similar others (downward comparisons), they feel satisfied". Furthermore, "if they are in a worse situation than similar others (upward comparisons), they feel dissatisfied" (White et al., 2006).

In social networking sites, the apparent self-presentation of comparison targets (other SNSs users) pushes people for upward social comparison, and SNSs provide easy access to the personal information of those targets (Fan et al., 2019; Vogel et al., 2014; Wood, 1989; Wills, 1981). Most studies have shown that people on social media platforms try to show positive aspects of their lives only to get positive impressions on others (Brandenberg et al., 2019; Park & Baek, 2018; Jang et al., 2016). Increased social comparison on SM platforms raises jealousy and envy, escalates social tension, and makes its users sulk about various interpersonal issues (Wang et al., 2018). Passive use of social networking sites, those who directly or indirectly indulge in the consumption of others' glorified online content such as social networking sites' profiles, photos, videos, status updates and online stories, is connected to social comparison orientation that shortens subjective well-being and social capital (Lee,

2020). Schulze and Krätschmer-Hahn (2014) claim that “the feeling of relative deprivation will arise from the comparison of oneself to others”.

Relative Deprivation: Mussweiler and Strack (2012) assert that “Almost all our achievements are relative, in that their merit depends on the achievements of others”. Social comparisons between people are at the centre of relative deprivation. According to Crosby (1982), relative deprivation is “wanting what one does not have, and feeling that one deserves whatever it is one wants but does not have”.

The concept of relative deprivation, formed by Stouffer et al. (1949) and extended by Merton and Kitt (1950), suggests that “people experience feelings of deprivation mainly when they compare their own situations unfavourably with those of other individuals or groups” (Abercrombie et al., 2000). Tropp and Wright (1999) defined relative deprivation as “one’s sense of deprivation in comparisons with other individuals or social groups”.

According to De Carufel (1986), relative deprivation comprises two related elements in its expansion: “first, people are aware of differences between themselves and others through a social comparison process” – the social comparison process makes a person aware of differences between themselves and others; and “second, people perform justice evaluations in order to judge whether the perceived differential is justified” – to consider if the observable differential is justified, a person carries out justice evaluations.

Runciman (1966) broadened the concept of relative deprivation by distinguishing between individual and group relative deprivation. He believes that people may compare themselves to others and feel personally deprived. He defined personal relative deprivation (PRD) as the “result of a comparison between the self and a more fortunate member of the in-group or the out-group”.

PRD refers to “the feeling of dissatisfaction and resentment resulting from the belief that one is deprived of desired and deserved outcomes compared with what others have” (Kim et al., 2016; Callan et al., 2015). It is the belief that one’s situation is worse than others. It reflects interpersonal comparisons that one makes with “similar others” such as friends and colleagues (Wood, 1989). PRD is “an important predictor of social outcomes, behaviours, and attitudes” (Smith & Pettigrew, 2015). When people feel that similar others have more than what they have, it leads to feelings of discontent and unjust.

Methodology of the Study

The study primarily focused on the young female social media users of Facebook and Instagram as these are among the most popular social networking sites worldwide. With 2.80 billion monthly active users, Facebook is the largest social networking service as of December 2020 (Facebook Investor Relations, 2021). As presented by the website *statista.com*, Instagram, with 1,158 million active users as of January 2021, is the fifth most prominent social networking service (Tankovska, 2021).

It has been found from various studies that youngsters tend to use social media platforms more than adults. They could be seen connected to their electronic devices mainly to reach out to others using social media. Keeping this in mind, the target population for the study was narrowed down to young female social media users between the age group of 15-25 years of Jammu Division.

Jammu is one of the two administrative divisions within the Union Territory of Jammu and Kashmir, the northernmost part of India. The launch of 4G services and flooding of 'cheaper' smart mobile phones in the market has been the main contributor behind the rising number of Internet subscribers in J&K. It has been observed that the main motive to have an internet connection is to make use of social networking sites. It ultimately led to an increase in the number of subscribers of social networking sites (mainly Facebook and Instagram) in J&K. The population under study was further narrowed down to users of Facebook and Instagram as both the platforms are very popular among the young generation of Jammu division.

An online survey was conducted using a questionnaire to reach out to social media users in the Jammu division. A total number of 129 accurately filled responses was collected. Participants comprised of 110 students, 13 government employees, 4 private employees and 2 home-makers.

Research questions

R1: Is there any relation between Online Social Comparison (OSC) and Online Personal Relative Deprivation (OPRD)?

R2: Does online social comparison among young female social media users predict online personal relative deprivation?

Research Instrument

Primary data collection was done using a questionnaire. To measure online personal relative deprivation (OPRD), a self-administered scale (OPRD scale) with 10 items (5-point Likert scale with 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree') was used. To test the internal consistency and

reliability of the OPRD scale, Cronbach's alpha test was conducted. Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient for the scale was 0.941, indicating excellent reliability and internal consistency. The item-total correlations for the OPRD scale were all above 0.50.

Table 1: OPRD scale statistics

Scale Statistics			
Mean	Variance	Standard Deviation	Number of Items
29.84	85.700	9.257	10

Data Analysis

The present study tried to find the motivation among young female SM users for joining Social Networking Sites (SNSs). It was seen that 49.6 per cent of participants (N=64) joined SNSs to stay connected with their relevant others (family, friends, colleagues). 17 per cent participants (N=22) wanted to experience such a new thing like SNS, so out of curiosity, they joined SNSs. 16.3 per cent of participants (N=21) said that everyone was on SNSs, so they just followed the trend. 10.9 per cent of participants (N=14) said that their relevant others encouraged them to join SNSs. And 6.2 per cent of participants (N=8) joined SNSs to make new contacts. The majority of the participants (N=123, 95.3 %) used their smartphones to visit social networking sites. 79.8 per cent of participants (N=103) liked Instagram, whereas 24 participants (18.6 %) liked Facebook. Only 2 participants liked none of the above SNSs, though they used them. The average time spent by the participants on Instagram in a day is 1 hour, 45 minutes and 78 seconds. In contrast, the average time spent on Facebook by the participants is 52 minutes and 57 seconds. The majority of the participants (N=103, 79.8 %) kept their SNSs profiles private, while 20.2 per cent of the participants kept their SNSs profiles public. It shows that majority of the young women are concerned about their safety online.

Correlation between OSC and OPRD

Being an exploratory and qualitative study, the present paper included two main categorical variables: The first one, Online Social Comparison (OSC) as an independent variable, and the second one, Online Personal Relative Deprivation (OPRD) as a dependent variable.

OSC is a process through which social media users evaluate or judge their abilities or opinions by comparing themselves to the 'others' online. With the help of the questionnaire, participants were asked whether they compare themselves with their SNS friends on seeing their posts and

photos. 45 per cent of participants (N=58) agreed that they often compare themselves with their SNS friends on seeing the content they upload about their lives, such as posts and photos.

OPRD is one's sense of deprivation compared to the 'others' on social media platforms such as social networking sites. SNSs users may compare themselves to other SNSs users and feel personally deprived. OPRD scale included items such as "I feel sad when I see my social media friends have everything that I do not have"; "It makes me feel isolated/depressed while going through the timelines and posts of my social media friends"; "My social media friends have a better life than me"; "I often desire similar joyous life like some of my social media friends". The level of online personal relative deprivation among the 129 respondents was ascertained using the OPRD scale. 11 per cent of participants (N=14) showed very high OPRD, 22 per cent of participants (N=28) showed high OPRD, 25 per cent of participants (N=32) showed moderately high OPRD, 36 per cent of participants (N=47) showed low OPRD, and 6 per cent of participants (N=8) showed very low OPRD. Thus, it can be said that 57.36 per cent of participants (N=74) do feel online personal relative deprivation with varying degrees.

Thus, in order to answer the R1, Spearman's correlation (ρ) was run using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) to determine the relationship between OSC and OPRD. It was found that there was a strong, positive and high correlation between OSC and OPRD which was, as per L. Cohen (1992), statistically significant (Spearman's $\rho = 0.710$, $p < 0.001$).

Does OSC cause OPRD?

To find the answer to the R2, a simple linear regression was conducted to examine whether online social comparison (OSC) could predict online personal relative deprivation (OPRD) among female social media users (15-25 years).

A scatterplot revealed a positive and linear relationship between OSC and OPRD. It was found after the analysis of standard residuals that data did not include any outliers (Standard Residual Minimum = -3.223 and Standard Residual Maximum = 2.648). A Durbin-Watson test ($d = 1.791$) confirmed that data is free from residual errors. The data showed homoscedasticity and normality of residuals.

Fig. 1: Scatterplot for OSC and OPRD

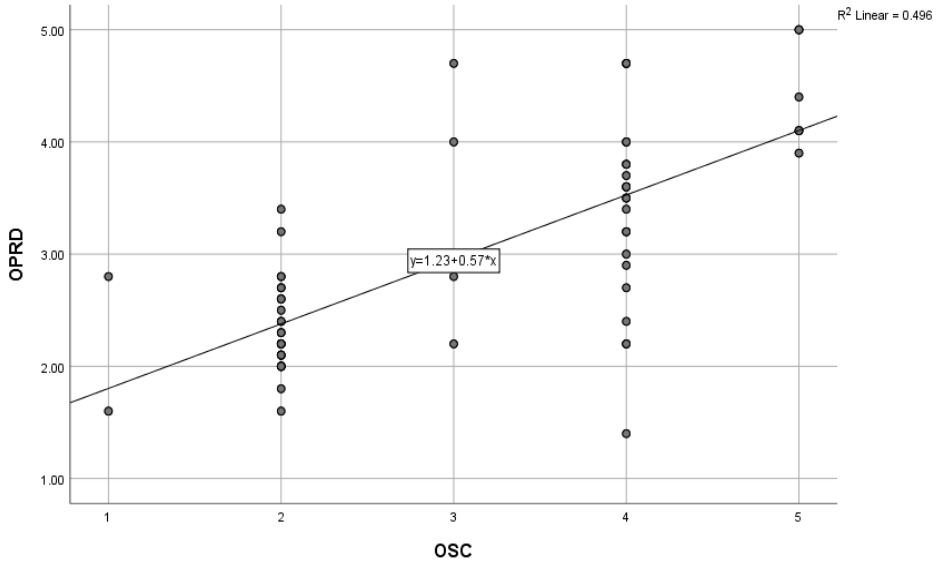


Table 2: ANOVA for OPRD (dependent variable)

ANOVA ^a					
Model	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Regression	54.379	1	54.379	124.845	.000 ^b
Residual	55.317	127	.436		
Total	109.696	128			

a. Dependent Variable: OPRD

b. Predictors: (Constant), OSC

The online social comparison (OSC) statistically significantly predicted online personal relative deprivation (OPRD), $F(1,127) = 124.845$, $p < 0.001$, accounting for 49.6 % of the variability in OPRD with adjusted $R^2 = .492$, this is moderately strong relationship (Cohen, 1988). The regression for predicting online personal relative deprivation (OPRD) from the online social comparison (OSC) was $OPRD = 1.23 + 0.57x$ (OSC).

Findings

With the help of the conclusions of the present study, the subsequent interpretation is made regarding SNS usage by young women in the Jammu division and its effect on them:

1. The majority were motivated to join SNSs mainly to stay associated with their friends, family and colleagues.

2. They mainly use their smart mobile phones to visit social media platforms.
3. They liked Instagram more than Facebook, making Instagram most popular among young women in the Jammu division.
4. They prefer to keep their SNSs profiles private. It shows that majority of the young women in the Jammu division are more concerned for their privacy and safety online.
5. 45 per cent of young women participants evaluate or judge their abilities or opinions by comparing themselves to the 'others' online. It shows that they are, directly or indirectly, indulged in online social comparison.
6. From the data collected using the OPRD scale, it was found that 57.36 per cent of participants (N=74) do feel online personal relative deprivation with varying degrees. It proves that one's sense of deprivation compared with the 'others' on social media platforms such as social networking sites leads to online personal relative deprivation.
7. The findings (Spearman's $\rho = 0.710$, $p < 0.001$) prove that there is a strong, positive and high correlation between Online Social Comparison (OSC) and Online Personal Relative Deprivation (OPRD). Thus, it proved that young women SNSs users compare themselves to other SNSs users and feel personally deprived.
8. The online social comparison (OSC) statistically significantly predicted online personal relative deprivation (OPRD), accounting for 49.6 % of the variability in OPRD with adjusted $R^2 = .492$. It is a moderately strong relationship (Cohen, 1988). And, keeping it in mind, it is safe to say that OSC may predict OPRD. Thus, social comparison with social media friends online leads to personal relative deprivation in young women.

Conclusion

Following Kingsley Davis' idea of Human Society (1949), not just the nature of society is complex, but human nature as such is extremely complicated. When human nature is characterised as selfish, it is also defined as virtuous. In the attribute of complexity, humans compare each other, which has evolved from a stage of physical and personal appearance to the stage of how you want to appear. There is a comparison at more expansive universal levels during the age of online media.

Social media platforms have become platforms of social comparison for humans, particularly women in this case who identify themselves as

deprived of all 'societal ideals'. The desirability factor of looking good and seeming real in the virtual world has set the trend of presenting better and more competent, situates the competition of positive and negative appearances of life. Even if people do not put their negative on the virtual platforms, their positive manifestations also connote the contradictory. The traits of differences remain distinct and continue to propel the good and the bad, the right and the wrong, the beautiful and the ugly and so on. And, humans tend to catch these distinctions in their characterisations of superiority and inferiority, resulting in the conception of a sense of inequality. Deprivation is the outcome of this conception, highlighting the peculiar features of belonging to the online world. We may consider that the specialities of the online (virtual) world are extensions of the material world only. Still, there is a significant difference in compulsive checking comprising the availability of the internet and social media profiles. The deprivation is either in relation or in comparison to the online content shared on social networking sites by others. The study's findings present a strong, positive relationship between "online social comparison" and "online personal relative deprivation" among the female youth. Thus, based on the study's findings, it can be said that many young women social media users often match themselves with their SNSs' friends. This comparison ultimately leads to heightened perceptions of relative deprivation at the personal level, which eventually affects their social behaviour.

References

- Abercrombie, N., Hill, S., and Turner, B.S. (2000). *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology*. Penguin Books.
- Ahuja, R. (2010). *Indian Social System*. Rawat Publications.
- Brandenburg, G., Ozimek, P., Bierhoff, H. W., & Janker, C. (2019). The relation between use intensity of private and professional SNS, social comparison, self-esteem, and depressive tendencies in the light of self-regulation. *Behaviour & Information Technology*, 38(6): 578-591.
- Callan, M. J., Kim, H., & Matthews, W.J. (2015). Predicting self-rated mental and physical health: the contributions of subjective socioeconomic status and personal relative deprivation. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 6: 1415.
- Crosby, F. (1976). A model of egoistical relative deprivation. *Psychological Review*, 83: 85-113.
- Davis, K. (1949). *Human Society*. Macmillan.

- De Carufel, A. (1986). Pay Secrecy, Social Comparison, and Relative Deprivation in Organizations. In J.M. Olson, C.P. Herman, & M.P. Zanna (Eds.), *Relative Deprivation and Social Comparison* (pp. 181-199). Psychology Press.
- Dollarhide, M. (2021). Social Media. *Investopedia*. <https://www.investopedia.com/terms/s/social-media.asp>
- Facebook Investor Relations. (2021). Facebook Reports Fourth Quarter and Full year 2020 Results. www.investor.fb.com/investor-news/press-release-details/2021/Facebook-Reports-Fourth-Quarter-and-Full-Year-2020-Results/default.aspx
- Fan, X., Deng, N., Dong, X., Lin, Y., & Wang, J. (2019). Do others' self-presentation on social media influence individual's subjective well-being? A moderated mediation model. *Telematics and Informatics*, 41: 86-102.
- Festinger, L. (1954). A Theory of Social Comparison Processes. *Human Relations*, 7(2): 117-140.
- Government of India. (2020). *Household Social Consumption on Education in India: NSS 75th Round (July 2017 – June 2018)*, National Statistical Office, Ministry of Statistics & Programme Implementation, New Delhi. http://mospi.nic.in/sites/default/files/publication_reports/Report_585_75th_round_Education_final_1507_0.pdf
- Jang, K., Park, N., & Song, H. (2016). Social comparison on Facebook: Its antecedents and psychological outcomes. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 62: 147-154.
- Jones, D.C. (2001). Social Comparison and Body Image: Attractiveness Comparisons to Models and Peers Among Adolescent Girls and Boys. *Sex Roles*, 45: 645-664.
- Kemp, S. (2020). Digital 2020: 3.8 Billion People Use Social Media. www.wearesocial.com/blog/2020/01/digital-2020-3-8-billion-people-use-social-media
- Kim, H., Callan, M.J., Gheorghiu, A.I., & Mathews, W.J. (2016). Social Comparison, Personal Relative Deprivation, and materialism. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 56(2): 373-392.
- Krasnova, H., Spiekermann, S., Koroleva, K., & Hildebrand, T. (2011). Online Social Networks: Why We Disclose. *Journal of Information Technology*, 25(2):109-125.
- Lee, J.K. (2020). The effects of social comparison orientation on psychological well-being in social networking sites: Serial mediation of perceived social support and self-esteem. *Current*

Psychology.

<https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007/s12144-020-01114-3.pdf>

- Merton, R.K., & Kitt, A. (1950). Contributions to the theory of reference group behavior. In R.K. Merton & P.F. Lazarsfeld (Eds.), *Continuities in social research: Studies in the scope and method of "The American Soldier"* (pp. 40-105). Free Press.
- Mramor, N. (2018). Facebook, Instagram and Pinterest may not be good for women's self image. <https://piedmonthealthcare.com/too-much-social-media-may-harm-a-womans-body-image/>
- Park, S.Y., & Baek, Y.M. (2018). Two faces of social comparison on Facebook: The interplay between social comparison orientation, emotions, and psychological well-being. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 79: 83-93.
- Runciman, W.G. (1966). *Relative Deprivation and Social Justice*. Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Schmuck, D., Karsay, K., Matthes, J., & Stevic, A. (2019). "Looking Up and Feeling Down". The influence of mobile social networking site use on upward social comparison, self-esteem, and well-being of adult smartphone users. *Telematics and Informatics*, 42: 1-37 (Art. No. 101240). <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0736585319301546>
- Schulze, M., & Krätschmer-Hahn, R. (2014). Relative Deprivation Theory. In Alex C. Michalos (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Quality of Life and Well-Being Research*. Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-0753-5_2457
- Smith, H.J., & Pettigrew, T.F. (2015). Advances in Relative Deprivation Theory and Research. *Social Justice Research*, 28: 1-6.
- Srinivas, M.N. (1977). The Changing Position of Indian Women. *Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 12(2): 221-238.
- Stouffer, S.A., Suchman, E.A., DeVinney, L.C., Starr, S.A., & Williams, R.M. (1949). *The American Soldier: Adjustment to Army Life* (Vol. 1). Princeton.
- Tankovska, H. (2021). Global social networks ranked by number of users 2021. www.statista.com/statistics/272014/global-social-networks-ranked-by-number-ofusers/

- Tropp, L.R., & Wright, S.C. (1999). Ingroup identification and relative deprivation: an examination across multiple social comparisons. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 29(5-6): 707-724.
- Verduyn, P., Gugushvili, N., & Kross, E. (2021). The impact of social network sites on mental health: distinguishing active from passive use. *World Psychiatry*, 20(1): 133-134.
- Vogel, E.A., Rose, J.P., Roberts, L.R., & Eckles, K. (2014). Social comparison, social media, and self-esteem. *Psychology of Popular Media Culture*, 3(4): 206-222.
- Wang, J.L., Gaskin, J., Rost, D.H., & Gentile, D.A. (2018). The reciprocal relationship between passive social networking site (SNS) usage and users' subjective well-being. *Social Science Computer Review*, 36(5): 511-522.
- Haythornthwaite, C. & Wellman, B. (2002). The Internet in Everyday Life: An Introduction. In B. Wellman & C. Haythornthwaite (Eds.), *The Internet in Everyday Life* (pp. 3-44). Blackwell Publishing.
- White, J.B., Langer, E.J., Yariv, L., & Welch IV, J.C. (2006). Frequent Social Comparisons and Destructive Emotions and Behaviors: The Dark Side of Social Comparisons. *Journal of Adult Development*, 13:36-44.
- Wills, T. A. (1981). Downward comparison principles in social psychology. *Psychological Bulletin*, 90(2): 245-271.
- Wood, J. (1989). Theory and research concerning social comparisons of personal attributes. *Psychological Bulletin*, 106(2): 231-248.

Performance and Role Conflict among Women Police in J&K: A Sociological Analysis

Journal of Society in Kashmir

11(1) 16-33

ISSN: 2249-667X

© 2021 Author(s)

<http://sociology.uok.edu.in/Files/c2d3b27>

8-4cf7-49a5-9525-

af5e352f2900/Journal/7064206a-b3e1-4d27-

84e5-29e3b77651b8.pdf

Mansoor Ahmad*

Abstract

Traditionally in Kashmir the working women have to perform dual functions, one in home and the other outside. Both the fronts are interrelated, interdependent and sometimes make conflicting demands. When women enter into hard job like police where work requirements are totally different than other professions. It creates more complex situation for women to choose between home and work. In other words it leads to role conflict. Role conflict occurs whenever a person is required to perform two or more roles whose expectations are to some extent inconsistent. Role conflict is, therefore, a type of stress arising from a condition in which the player of focal role or roles perceives that he is confronting with incompatible expectation. Often she has to face conflicting situations and has to sacrifice in the interest of her family for the sake of work, career and at others her occupational career is endangered because of heavy family responsibility, yet they perform their roles effectively. Therefore the present study has looked into the aspect of work and role conflict of women police in Kashmir. In addition an attempt has been made to identify the reasons for role conflict is experienced and to find out coping strategies adopted by the women police for balancing career and family life as well as to assess the impact of Police profession on their family.

Keywords

Women Police, Role Conflict, Kashmir, Performance, Family

Introduction

The deployment of women in law enforcement has been a controversial issue. Even in country like the United Kingdom, which was pioneer in this area, in 1920 police women were described by an English M.P. as an “extravagant eccentricity” upon whose entertainment public money should be wasted (Ghosh,1981). Traditionally, law enforcement has been

* Research Associate, Department of Sociology, University of Kashmir, Srinagar, J&K, India

Email: darmansoor2224@gmail.com

preserved as a field exercised involving substantial physical powers and therefore has tended to remain mostly a masculine job. The possibility of women functioning as full members of a police force and playing a role for achieving its objective was not well perceived, in the early years of evolution of police system. Those women who opt for police roles due to special circumstances are likely to confront negative sanctions from their male counterparts, relevant others and are also likely to be looked down upon by the society. In spite of having proved useful in performing specialized tasks, women police have not been given an equal share in various areas of police work. Entry of women into policing would not only create problems for women but it would also have certain consequences for the policemen who are till recently considered as the natural incumbents. They are likely to resist women being accepted in policing. They are bound to create a bogey of the limitations of women's physical strength and endurance. So long as the inconsistencies between the nature and structure of police roles and family roles are there and police are stigmatized, the new role would remain unattractive to women. It is relevant to mention that they were appointed not because the police service wanted them, but because women working for the betterment of conditions for women demanded them. Thus, the idea that women should enter male dominated areas seemed quite impossible to some but with the turn of the century, the movement of policewomen sponsored by the National Council of Women of Great Britain, the League of Women Voters and other Women's social Groups in the USA and International Council of Women strengthened the idea of policing by women. But still, women in unusual profession e.g. army, air force, police are small in number, as these jobs require heavy duties, responsibilities, and commitments. In India police force is not only considerably short of women, it is also plagued by prejudice, with women given menial duties, bypassed for promotion and scared to report sexual harassment by male colleagues. The situation in J&K vis-à-vis women in police force is not good and is one of such states after Assam and Meghalaya where there are very less number of women in Police force. In J&K state only 3 % women are part of the huge police force, having such a vast police force is yet to give due representation to women in police.

Data and Method

The present research has looked into the aspect of work and role conflict of women police in Kashmir. Moreover an attempt has been made to identify the reasons this conflict is experienced and to find out coping strategies adopted by the women police for balancing career and family life as well as to assess the impact of Police profession on their family.

Therefore this study employed mixed methods of research using both qualitative and quantitative methods, which involved 50 in-depth interviews conducted in Kashmir.

Table 1: Distribution according to the Rank of Police Department

Participants as per Rank	ASI	01	02
	HC	02	04
	SGCT	19	38
	CT	13	26
	Followers and SPOs	15	30
	Total	50	100

Sample of 50 woman police was taken based on random sampling, were taken into consideration. Women police were selected randomly from various departments of police in District Srinagar for example, Women's Police Station, Districts Police Lines, Police Control Room, Police Headquarters etc. it covers women police working at different units and it also covers women police working at different ranks of police department. In order to collect the information both primary and secondary sources of data has been used respectively. Primary source of data had been obtained from *Interview Schedule*, complimented with *Observation*. The analysis of data resulted in generation of different themes that described the participants' experiences about work and family life. Moreover in order to maintain privacy, every participant was assigned a number and names were not disclosed.

Women Police in Jammu and Kashmir

The erstwhile state of Jammu and Kashmir (in India), is situated between 32° 17' and 36° 58' North Latitudes and 73° 06' and 80° 30' East Longitude, territory in the northwestern part of the Indian subcontinent (Jahangir and Shafi, 2013). The society is traditionally a patriarchal and patrilocal society. Patriarchy has always been an instrument of oppression and exploitation against women resulting in the various forms of gender based violence (Shafi and Jahangir, 2013). In the contemporary Kashmir, however, they have undergone significant changes mainly due to the impact of modernization. The freedom movement of 1930's acted as a catalyst for women, in general, in Kashmir to take significant strides in the direction of modernization. Women started undergoing basic change and developed new role and status for themselves as well as for the entire women folk. Consequently, the process of change brought about a sharp rise in the proportion of

women's engagement in gainful employment outside the home. The working women are a correlatively new phenomenon in Kashmiri society. Traditionally, her role was confined to house hold work but the pressing economic needs, the education of the women and the changing concept of work-values have enabled the women to seek employment opportunity (Aneesa, 2002). Thus, in the changing scenario women belonging to all classes, groups and communities started coming out of their homes for the attainment of formal education and even taking up careers in different governmental and nongovernmental organizations. Their participation is also found in social fields, welfare activities, administrative services and other bureaucratic jobs. They are contesting elections and participating in the deliberations of state legislatures. In short they have made their presence in every field of life (Nisa, 2009).

As in the rest of world, police existed from the very beginning of civilization in one form or the other. Same is the case with Jammu and Kashmir, police was present in one way or the other right from the beginning. During the time of Rajas, Srinagar had a *perfect* who was called 'Nagaradhikrta'. His duty was to collect fines levied on people by the government, and to look after their morals. Under the Sultans these duties were performed by the *Kotwal* and the *Muhtasib* (Hasan, 2005). Although the post may date back to Mauryan times (323-185BC), the clearest description of its activities comes from Moghul sources, especially the *Ain-i-Akbari*. The *Kotwal* was to raise and maintain a police force, to regulate night patrolling, to maintain surveillance over visitors, spies and migrants, to arrest criminals, to keep the prisons and to eliminate prostitution and consumption of alcoholic beverages. The *Kotwal* is usually pictured as being ruthless, cruel, arbitrary and effective when it was in his interest to be (Siddique, 2001). The *subahdar* was vice-regent of the emperor; and carried on the administration of the *subah* on his behalf in accordance with the rules and regulations set forth from time to time. His appointment was made under an imperial Farman called *farmani-sabti*, in which directives and guidelines were laid down. There were no hard and fast rules prescribed for the appointment or duration of the office. As an administration and executive head, the *subahdar* looked after all branches of revenue, police, military affairs, judiciary and general administration, every step was taken to maintain law and order by the *subahdars*. Thus the, maintenance of peace both internal and external and the efficient running of the provincial administrative machinery was the prime responsibility of the *Subahdar* (Mattoo, 1988)

Lawrence, in his book 'The Valley of Kashmir', describes police and its functions as under: (Lawrence, 2005)

“a wise Kashmiri whom I was conversing on the subject of the alleged oppression of the police said in answer to a question of mine, of course, the police annoy us, and I presume that this is purpose for which they are employed there is no crime in the country, and the police must have something to do”.

In the valley of Kashmir, during the period of Ranbir Singh, the police had their own way of investigating offences it was a wretch and useless body, lacking in intelligence and perseverance. It depends on sheer will of a police officer whether he would make an enquiry of an offence reported or not. During the period of Gulab Singh, the police officer who was designated ‘Thanedar’ would dispose of petty cases (Qadri, 1989)

The Jammu and Kashmir Police or JKP, was established in 1873 and is the law enforcement agency, having primary responsibilities in law enforcement and investigation within the twenty two districts of the state of Jammu & Kashmir in India. The department serves an area of 85,806 square miles (222,240 km²) and a population of 12,548,926 people as of the 2011 Census. Since then the Police in J&K has undergone several re-organizations, The employee strength of Police in J&K in the year 1889-90 was 1040, which further rose to 1570 in the year 1903 and forty years later, in 1943-44, the strength of J&K Police was 3179 and at present it has exceeded 83000 mark (Police-Official Website). In the year 1914 onwards, the police was reorganized. The pay, strength and other things were modified. it was during this period that formation of first volume of the police rules was taken in hand. At present, the police force is governed by the Police Act. 1861, Jammu and Kashmir police manual, 1960. The criminal procedure (1933 AD) contains power of investigation and prosecution of police in Jammu and Kashmir. They exercise same power of discretion which police exercises in the rest of the country (Qadri, 1989) Presently, there are 193 Police Stations, including two Women Police Stations one each at Srinagar and Jammu (Police-Official Website).

The women police wing was established in 1965 with a staff of 1 sub-inspector, 2 assistant sub-inspectors, 3 head constables and 27 constables. Their duties include assistance to investigating staff in arrests, searches and interrogation of women offenders and suspects. They are also used against women demonstrators and mob. The most important duty done by them was screening of women passengers at Jammu and Kashmir Srinagar airport (Ghosh, 1981). Jammu and Kashmir have set-up two women police stations in 1990 (Paranjape, 2006); One in Jammu and another in Kashmir, exclusively headed by women officers. In addition to these there are four satellite women cells functioning one each at Anantang, Baramulla, Udhampur and Rajouri districts on internal arrangement basis (Greater Kashmir, 2014).

As compared to national level representation of females (5.33 percent) in the Police department, the record of the state police is quite apathetic. The data received by RTI Activist Raman Sharma under his Right to information Application from the Police Headquarter reveals that during last ten year only 973 females are included in Jammu and Kashmir Police whereas the total number of appointments was more than 27, 832 (Rising Kashmir, 2014). There are total 81 women police officers of different ranks among a total number of 2185 women personnel in the Jammu and Kashmir police. Against the total strength of 72760 personnel there are only 2185 women (Greater Kashmir, 2014). The women in state police constitute only 3.42% of total strength of the JKP. This percentage is less than the national average of 5.33 (Daily Excelsior, 2014).

Table 2: Actual Strength of Women Police in J&K (rank- wise) as on 1.1.2011

Rank-wise	Number of women
DGP/Spl DG/ ADGP	01
IGP	00
DIG	05
AIGP/ SSP/SP/ COM	00
ADDLSP/ Dy. COM	00
ASP/ Dy.SP/ Asst. COM	14
INSPECTOR	28
S.I.	69
A.S.I.	55
Head Constables	139
Constables	1738
Total	2049

Source: (Bureau of Police Research & Development.2012 BPR&D, New Delhi)

Findings and Discussion

Division of labour based on sex differentiation has given rise to three broad types of occupations. Some are exclusively male, others predominantly female and a third open to both single or jointly. The major task associated with womanhood is that of bearing and rearing children. Occupations which require physical exertion are allotted to men (Mahajan, 1982). The traditional socialization pattern for women, duties and responsibilities expected from the women *police* are contradictory to each other. Work pattern, work conditions, work culture of women working in the stereotyped occupations are totally different. While working as a police, women need to modify traditional social and

psychological set up created by society to suit and to adopt policing work. At the same time, they have to care for their *so called* natural, inheriting qualities (Deshpande, 2007). In this way, work of the women police is challenging and demanding in nature. Therefore they face role conflict in managing between family and police profession.

Role Conflict (Home and Work)

Traditionally in Kashmir the better place for women is family and household but due to modernization, education etc. women start to take up gainful employment in different government and private departments. Taking up employment is liable to affect her entire personality, her marital and familial relations. When women enter into hard job like police where work requirements are totally different than other professions. It creates more complex situation for women to choose between home and work. In other words it leads to role conflict.

Role conflict occurs whenever a person is required to perform two or more roles whose expectations are to some extent inconsistent. Role conflict is, therefore, a type of stress arising from a condition in which the player of focal role or roles perceives that he is confronting with incompatible expectation. Similarly working women have to perform dual functions, one in home and the other outside. Working women being subjected to the dual demands of home and work is liable to face a crisis of adjustment. Often she has to face conflicting situations and has to sacrifice in the interest of her family for the sake of work, career and at others her occupational career is endangered because of heavy family responsibility (Aneesa, 2002). The dual responsibility, at work and at home front is in itself a testimony of the capacity and traits of women police. Both the fronts are interrelated, interdependent and sometimes make conflicting demands.

Table 3: Difficulties in Performing Both the Roles (Home and Work)

Role conflict	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	35	70
No	15	30
Total	50	100

The very first theme includes Difficulties in Performing Both the Roles (Home and Work). Findings advocate that most participants were facing role-conflict in performing dual roles of work and home. Since the police profession is demanding in nature with long and uncertain hours of duty. It clearly depicts that women in police face role-conflict in managing dual

roles. Above all this proves that police women are torn between the two roles, each requiring full strengths and dedication.

Assistance available for Domestic Work

There is no denying the fact employment of women enhances their status in family and society, yet they are burdened with double responsibility of home and job. However, it varies with the nature of the family, number and age of children and family's financial condition and so on.

Table 4: Assistance for Domestic Duties

Assisting	Frequency	Percentage
Parents	03	06
Domestic servants	02	04
Husband	05	10
Parents-in-law	04	08
Managing by own	36	72
Total	50	100

After facing the role conflict the support and care of others become an important means to cope with the conflicting situation. It includes the assistance available for domestic work to participants as findings suggests that majority of participants manage home affairs and duties by their own without help from anyone. Though there are participants who were helped by others like parents, Domestic servants, Husbands and Parents-in-laws but they were very few. Therefore, from the analysis, it is found, to overcome the overburden of domestic and office work it is important to take help for domestic work either from family members or from servants, as majority of the participants have no help from others.

Time spent with Family

For smooth functioning of family, women play an important role as traditionally she is supposed to spend time with family. It is important for a female to fulfill the expectations of various members of the family. In order to fulfill the traditional role of women, she is bound to spend time with family. Since working women spend most of the time outside home, in this case women might not devote as much attention as they otherwise, would to primary obligation to the family. Approval of family in choosing career is detrimental in the performance of working women, where working women are appreciated by their family members, they are

more satisfied with their jobs as compared to those women who are not appreciated by family members.

Table 5: Time Spent with Family

Spent sufficient time with Family	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	29	58
No	18	36
Indifferent	03	06
Total	50	100

Even though good number of women police spends sufficient time with their family but they worked hard to meet the demands of both family and work. Besides, those participants who were not able to spend sufficient time with family, cited reasons like no fixed hours of duty and hectic work schedule which leads to time strain. Therefore police women had to work hard to meet the demands of family vis-à-vis job. Hectic nature of work and irregular hours of duty has caused time strain in policewomen and they have the sole responsibility to manage between the work and family failed which has to face the wrath of family members in home and higher officials in office.

Participation in Family Functions and Festivals

As we know festivals and functions are inheriting part of our society. Women have their own significance in traditional festivals and functions in Kashmir. One of the areas of household functions is the maintenance of good relations with relatives and neighbours and participation in social life. In Kashmir these roles were traditionally segregated on the basis of difference in sexes.

As already mentioned festivals and functions are inheriting part of our society and holds important position in social milieu. But majority of the women police due to work schedule and limitation of time were unable to participate in family functions and festivals. And those participants who were taking part in family functions and festivals tried hard to manage time and faced lot of difficulties because most of the time they were rebuked by male officers for leaving early from the office. Therefore women in police, have to leave home early in the morning and come back in the evening, at times late evening or after night especially during night shifts. So, they spend most of their time in offices and at work places. Resultant would be time conflict among women police and little time to participate in family functions, festivals and other important social gatherings.

Table 6: Involvement in Family Functions and Festivals

Participation in Family Functions and Festivals	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	17	34
No	29	58
Indifferent	04	08
Total	50	100

Looking after Children/ Child Care

The care of infant and children is a very important function of the family. In most societies the care of children is allocated to the women folk, especially the mother. When the mother takes up employment outside the home, the care of children especially the infants becomes a problem if there is no other female in the house hold (Deshpande, 2007). Similarly, in our society the care and bringing up of children is considered primarily the responsibility of the mother. Home keeping and child rearing is a complete profession and working mother can only pursue it successfully if she gets a close cooperation from her husband or in-laws. In case desired cooperation is not available, she fails to provide an environment of affection, protection and security to her child. Sometimes they suffer from a sense of guilt because they feel that their children get neglected because of their work. The age and number of children a working woman has an important bearing on the burden she has and consequently on the possibility of role conflict (Shafi, 2002). The participants who had children in the age group of (1-12 years) were asked to report as to who takes the care of children when they are at work.

Table 7: Child Care

Child Care	Frequency	Percentage
Self	10	20
Crèche	02	04
Parent In-laws	02	04
Own parents of participants	04	08
Servant	01	02
Not Applicable	31	62
Total	50	100

The child care was one of the biggest challenges faced by the participants as most of the participants had to look after children by own, no matter what comes. And significant number of participants left their children with their own parents rather than kept them with their in-laws. It was also found that there are no proper crèche facilities in police department available for policewomen having kids of small age. Participants argued that it is very hard to leave small kids without mother's care for long and uncertain hours. Therefore facility of crèches should be available nearby the working area. Moreover in Kashmiri society the duty to look after children or child care still hangs with the mother and in very rare cases this work is shared by others.

Relation with In-Laws

After marriage the bride not only lives with her husband but also with other members of his family. For happiness and smooth living the attitude of husband and in-laws is important particularly for working lady. For some working women presence of in-laws is boon and for some it is a curse.

Table 8: Relation with In-Laws

Relation with in-laws	Frequency	Percentage
Cordial	33	66
Strained	11	22
Not Applicable	06	12
Total	50	100

As most of the participants were living separately from in-laws so they had cordial relations with in-laws. Subsequently, they were not having regular contacts with in-laws, and were mostly living in nuclear families. While those participants who were living with in-laws had strained relation with them mostly due to occupation of police women. So the police occupation in our society is still not considered good for women because of the long and uncertain hours of duty.

Coping Strategies (Career and Family)

A working woman is generally burdened with work as she has to play dual role of an earner and a house keeper. The magnitude of house hold responsibilities varies with the size of family, the age of children and family's financial status. In nuclear family generally wife is assisted by her husband, grown up children or servants, while in the joint family, she is more or less assisted by her in-laws and other relatives (Aneesa, 2002).

The work of police involves long and irregular hours of duty and thus, it is necessary for police women to take help from family members, husbands, siblings etc. for domestic duties. Occupational nature of women has impact on family roles and functions.

Table 9: Managing Balance between Career and Family Life

Coping Strategies	Frequency	Percentage
By own (managing time and, work till late night)	35	70
By Cooperative attitude of in-laws	04	08
By cooperative attitude of husband	05	10
By supportive family	06	12
Total	50	100

Nearly everyone of the participants managed the responsibilities of both work and home by themselves. They had to work till late night in home to carry out household responsibilities like cooking, cleaning, washing etc. and to wake up early in the morning to prepare daily meals for family members. No doubt in some cases in present study husbands, in-laws, supportive family including grown up children, parents, servants and so on were cooperative and help them in many ways and have gained the economic freedom which is positive sign but they had not been relieved from their traditional responsibilities of home maker.

Consequently, it is clear from the data that police women are by and large responsible for their household duties by themselves and get cooperation from other family members and in-laws only from time to time. All household responsibility stills looms on their shoulders.

Work in Night Hours (Night Shifts)

Working during night shifts is not easy affair for women especially in Kashmir, which is traditional in nature where women are not allowed to venture outside home. However change has emerged in the traditional attitudes towards female employment. But still women are not allowed to stay outside home after a particular period of time. It is considered against cultural ethos of our society.

Although most of the participants were not performing night duties but those who were working during night shifts underline performing night duties over burdens their work from home front, as household responsibilities are mostly on the shoulders of women. No matter what comes, they had to manage home and work by their own. They are

working through day and night. Moreover, working in night shifts leads to health problem like headaches, backaches and so on. After spending night on duty instead of taking rest and relaxing for a while, they had to look after home and children.

Table 10: Work in Night Hours (Night Shifts)

Family approve	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	05	10
No	35	70
Occasionally	10	20
Total	50	100

Roles Preferred by Participants in Police Work

Women in police were asked to report their preference for the roles they want to perform in police profession. It was found most of the women police were inclined to play traditional or modified roles as they are less demanding and helpful to minimize role conflict between home and work. It can also be assessed that police women with low occupational commitment preferred more traditional and fixed roles as compared to others. Women police are still traditional bound and shy to play active role in police organization. Even though participants in present study were given their choices for preferred roles but whatever duties are assigned to them, they have to perform them. They are duty-bound to obey the orders of high officials in police organization. Furthermore, women police themselves are tradition bound and shy to play active role in police profession due to the socio-cultural setup of our society.

Table 11: Roles Preferred

Role	Frequency	Percentage
Integrated role (where Policewomen should perform the same duties as policemen)	12	24
Modified role (where Policewomen should perform similar duties to policemen except where violence is anticipated)	17	34
Traditional role (where Policewomen should not do the same work as policemen, but should specialize in duties such as female offenders and victims, juveniles, and missing children)	21	42
Total	50	100

Relation with Male Colleagues

For working women the behaviour of colleagues or the seniors is quite important. This is more so if the latter are males. The adoption of working role by women necessarily meant a day-long stay at their places of work. It also meant a necessary and constant interaction with their colleagues and unknown persons in their office who came here for official work (Dabla, 1991:100).

Table 12: Views about the Behaviour of Male Colleagues

Behaviour	Frequency	Percentage
Very Cooperative	02	04
Cooperative	24	48
Indifferent	02	04
Not so cooperative	09	18
Uncooperative	07	14
No Response	06	12
Total	50	100

Although in most of the cases male colleagues were cooperative to participants and treat them with same respect as male fellow colleagues besides extend same cooperation as extended to male colleagues. Whereas, there are many cases where male colleagues were not so cooperative because their male colleagues treat them as inferior counterparts, at times they had been subjected to harassment (mainly verbal) by their male colleagues and male counterparts keep a watch on their activities as well as were jealous of them.

Changes in Personality due to Police Job

Historically and traditionally, law enforcement has been viewed as a crime repressive task performed by men only (Ghosh, 1981). Policing is treated as a *masculine power job*. Therefore, policing is yet male dominated field. It is also assumed that after years of experience in policing women lose 'so called' feminine traits. Qualities like sensitivity, nurturing, tenderness, tolerance, and kindness are so-called 'feminine' traits. While qualities like confidence, insensitivity, intolerance, roughness are so-called 'masculine' traits. In other words, it is argued that police is a masculine job and it affects femininity of females who join this profession. For instance, Garskof advocates that when women take up roles of authority, become active and independent, assertive and firm; they are

viewed as being unfeminine (Garskof, 1971). Sherman states that the profession of police connotes the predominance of male attributes (viz., authority, assertion, brutality, physical strength, roughness), working at odd hours, dealing with criminals/deviants (Sherman, 1973). Consequently, it was asked to women police, whether they think that women compromise so-called feminine traits to adopt masculine traits due to the nature and work experience of police occupation.

Table 13: Changes in the Personality

Lose feminine traits	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	30	60
No	16	32
Can't say	04	08
Total	50	100

Due to the nature of job participants felt that they lose feminine traits, reasons given for adopting *masculine traits* like boldness, strictness, rudeness etc. because police job demands in certain situations to be tougher and bold. Especially while dealing with criminals or protestors. Therefore majority of participants in present study compromise with some or other *feminine* attributes but do not adopt the male police culture fully. Mostly they adopted rudeness and boldness in place of politeness and shyness, and these changes were not seen negatively by women police as nature of their job demands to be tough. There were instances where some participants were often reminded by family members that they were not policewomen at home.

Reasons for not Preferring

In order to know the policewomen's perception about the attractiveness of police job, they were asked whether police job is preferred to women. And vast majority of women police were of the opinion that police as a career choice for women is unattractive. So it is necessary to know the causes of *unattractiveness*, which are being highlighted in table 14.

Mostly participants had assigned five reasons for *unattractiveness* of police profession which can be discussed subsequently. Participants considered that social stigma is attached to police profession, that women who joins police job are of easy morals and lose her modesty, is main reason for women's *unattractiveness* towards this job. Besides police is traditionally masculinized (male) job, which also leads to *unattractiveness*.

Table 14: Reasons for not Preferred

Reasons	Frequency	Percentage
Social stigma that women who joins police job are of easy morals and lose her modesty	13	19.40
Traditional notion that police is a masculinized job	20	29.85
Police work exposes women to deal with anti-social elements at odd hours.	09	13.43
Police profession is demanding job	21	31.35
Lack of proper management to attract women by police department and less vacancies	04	5.97

Further, nature of the police work which exposes women to deal with anti-social elements at odd hours is another reason for *unattractiveness*. Furthermore, less vacancies and lack of proper management to attract women by police department are the reasons for *unattractiveness* of police job, which is also responsible for less entry of women into police profession. Moreover participants argued that it is a demanding job which creates role-conflict and hamper familial obligations. So, the data clearly revealed that police job is still considered as a male's domain and demanding in nature which hinders the entry of women into police work.

Conclusion

Issues pertaining to women, especially of working women, are universally prevalent across societies and are assumed to be a natural phenomenon (Ashraf and Jahangir, 2018). The findings and discussion in the present study revealed that the role conflict faced by the women police due to the demanding nature of police work and the various coping strategies adopted by women police to handle the dual responsibilities of home and work. When women enter into hard job like police where work requirements are totally different than other professions, it creates more complex situation for women to choose between home and work. Working women being subjected to the dual demands of home and work are liable to face a crisis of adjustment. Both the fronts are interrelated, interdependent and sometimes make conflicting demands. However, with the help of supportive family, cooperative attitude of husband, by domestic servant and favourable attitude of in-laws role conflict can be minimized to great extent. Further it was observed that unmarried women face less role conflict than

married working women. Because family, child care and household work is still considered the exclusive responsibility of women irrespective of the fact of her being in paid employment. It was also observed that due to hectic job schedule women police are not able to participate in family functions and festivals as well as are not able to maintain social contact with their relatives and friends.

References

- Ashraf, F. and Jahangir, M. S. (2018). Widowhood among Muslim Women: Living Experiences of Conflict and Suffering in Kashmir' *Journal of Emerging Technologies and Innovative Research*, 5(9), 518-528
- Daily Excelsior, 9 June, 2014
- Deshpande, Trupti Metha. (2007). *Women Police: A Socio-Economic Analysis in Urban Background*. New-Delhi: Commonwealth Publishers.
- Garskof, M. (Ed.). (1971). *Roles Women Play*. California: Brooks Cole.
- Ghosh, S. K. (1981). *Women in policing*. New-Delhi: Light and Life Publishers.
- Greater Kashmir, 29 January, 2014
- Hasan, Mohibbul. (2005). *Kashmir under the Sultans*. Delhi: Aakar Books.
- Jahangir, M. S. and Shafi, A. (2013). Status of Human Rights in Democratic Setup: Experiences from Kashmir, *Journal of Law and Conflict Resolution*, 5 (3), 41 – 47
- Lawrence, Walter R. (2005). *The valley of Kashmir*. New-Delhi: Asian Educational Services.
- Mahajan, Dr. Amarjit. (1982). *Indian Policewomen-A Sociological Study of A New Role*. New-Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications.
- Mattoo, Abdul Majid (1988). *Kashmir under the Mughals: 1586-1752*. Kashmir: Golden Horde Enterprises.
- Nisa, Sham Sun. (2009). *Working Women and Child Development: A Sociological Study*. New-Delhi: Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd.
- Paranjape, Dr. N. V. (2006). *Criminology and Penology* (12th edition). Allahabad: Central Law Publications.
- Qadri, Syed M. Afza (1989). *Police and law-a socio-legal analysis*. Srinagar: Gulshan Publishers.
- RisingKashmir, 25 April, 2014

- Shafi, A. and Jahangir, M. S. (2013). Women at Risk: Understanding Power and Violence in Kashmir' *Social Work Chronicle*, 2 (1), 53-68
- Shafi, Aneesa. (2002). *Working Women in Kashmir-Problems and Prospects*. New Delhi: APH Publishing Corporation.
- Sherman, L. J. (1973). A Psychological View of Woman Policing. *Journal of Police Science and Administration*, I(4), 383-394.
- Siddique, Ahmad. (2001). *Criminology problems and perspectives*. Lucknow: Eastern Book Company

Inequalities and Social Justice: An Analysis of Classification and Welfare for the Weaker Sections in Jammu and Kashmir

Journal of Society in Kashmir
11(1) 34-48

ISSN: 2249-667X

© 2021 Author(s)

<http://sociology.uok.edu.in/Files/c2d3b27>

8-4cf7-49a5-9525-

af5e352f2900/Journal/82e86ef0-932f-447d-

8ea8-6045858d1750.pdf

Sheikh Idrees Mujtaba *

Abstract

The progress of any particular nation is protracted from the growth and development of the masses in its lower echelons. Jammu and Kashmir, the northernmost erstwhile state of India is also pressing its gears for eliminating the different forms of inequalities and injustice in the socio-economic and political frame from these echelons. Owing to the geographical, cultural and religious diversities in the (now) union territory, it is worth discussing that how far the tagging of the lower classes and welfare policies and programmes designed for their development, thus far, are appropriate? Employing the secondary sources, it draws out the fact that that amidst the development hoax, a considerable population proportion is still facing the brunt of inequality and social injustice. The extrapolation from the results is not encouraging and there is a strong need for its revival to feel that (genuine) less fortunate sections of the society are actually empowering.

Keywords

Social injustice, welfare, development, growth, empowerment, Jammu and Kashmir.

Introduction

In India, the inequalities have emanated from many quarters of the society. With every new dawn there are many new issues of this kind. Social Justice is a broad term that encompasses all matters related to these forms of inequalities. The erstwhile state of Jammu and Kashmir, like many other states has designed many laws and policies in this respect so as to alleviate those living at the bottom of the social hierarchy with the mainstream population. The paper analyses these endeavors by the J & K

* Assistant Professor (Contractual), Department of Sociology, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, U. P.

Email: idrees.mujtaba@gmail.com

administration towards the different groups like Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, etc in the province. It would be very interesting to see how these downtrodden and the backward sections of the society are empowered using the philosophy enshrined in the constitution and translated into action by various legislative enactments, policies and schemes. Nonetheless, it would be interesting to see that how far these efforts of the governments permeate to the target groups and wanting sections therein.

Methodology

The paper is descriptive in nature based on deductive research strategy. It is the analysis of the reservation scheme applied in Jammu and Kashmir. Based on rich secondary data from different sources both at the central and the provincial level, the paper assesses the classification system of reservation scheme applied to J & K. For clear understanding of the arguments that follow, a clear picture of the concept of social justice is drawn beforehand.

Social Justice: The Concept

The concept of social justice is of recent origin in European society. Formally, the concept began to be used from the beginning of the 20th century for establishing a non-hierarchical, non-exploitative egalitarian society which provides the necessary conditions and opportunities for the development of its members. Different theorists ranging from Aristotle, John Rawls, Brain Barry, David Miller, have discussed the concept of social justice at length. However, the terms like 'social justice' are subjected to the different social settings and hence vary with space and time. Nonetheless, the near to universally accepted definitions for the concept have been put forth by Rawls and Miller.

The philosophy of social justice emanated from the elaboration of justice by Rawls when he put forth two principles of justice as:

1. Each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive basic liberty compatible with a similar liberty for others.
2. Social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so that
 - a) they are to be of the greatest benefit to the least-advantaged members of society, consistent with the just savings principle. (the difference principle)
 - b) offices and positions must be open to everyone under conditions of fair equality of opportunity. (John, 2013; Lotter, n.d.; Upadhyay, 2014)

Whereas in 'Social Justice', David Miller has condensed this explanation while focusing on the contextualization as far as the applicability is

concerned. He says that “the subject matter of social justice is the manner in which benefits and burdens are distributed among men (strictly, sentient beings) whose qualities and relationships can be investigated” (Miller, 1976). The benefits or the advantages as Miller calls may comprise of the money, property, jobs, education, medical care, child care, care for the elderly, honors and prizes, personal security, housing, transportation, and opportunities for leisure, whereas the burdens or the disadvantages may encompass military service, dangerous work, and other hardships.

India, owing to diverse social structure and the forms of social stratification cannot simply apply the European ideologies in its own courtyard. Hence many scholars and jurists have presented their views to define the concept in the Indian ambiance. Justice V K Krishna Rao, is of the opinion that, “The concept of social justice thus takes within its sweep the objective of removing all inequalities and affording equal opportunities to all citizens in social affairs as well as economic activities” (Iyer, 1987). Ahmad and Ali opine that, ‘Social justice means availability of equal social opportunities for the development of personality to all the people in the society, without any discrimination on the basis of caste, sex or race. No one should be deprived, because of these differences, those social conditions which are essential for social development. The issue of social justice is associated with social equality and social equality and social rights and these are dependent on economic equality and rights. Social justice can be made available only in a social system where the exploitation of man by man is absent, and where privileges of the few are not built upon the miseries of the many’ (Ahmad, Ali, & Ashrafali, 2006). Whereas Madhav Menon has encompassed number of parameters to his sense of social justice, which according to him is, “the collective sense of freedom, equality and fraternity that the people believe they enjoy in a fair measure in a just society” (Menon, 1988). From these definitions it is clear that the social justice must hold the human dignity and honour, distribution of economic benefits, equality of political rights and uplifting the broken, depressed and downtrodden for the overall progress and development.

Inequalities and Parameters of Social Justice

‘Every culture provides at least reasonably well for those at the top of its social order, the crucial test is how it treats those at the bottom’.

Wallace Mendelson†, in this statement has made too lucid that the progress, development and the matters of justice are meaningful only when the welfare of the exploited and excluded sections at the bottom of the hierarchy is ensured. Hence, it is imperative upon the ruling bodies together with the policy framers to design and develop the welfare measures for the greater good of the territory. The society, nation or the kingdom is stable and peaceful when there are serious concerns to ward off the exploitations and the marginalization faced by the lower echelons of the composition. India a great union is also a country of paramount diversities. While as the unity led its freedom from the clutches of imperialism, the diversities continued to pose some serious threats to the federal structure and to the lofty Constitutional goals like *liberty, equality, fraternity* and *justice*. Hence, rightly after independence, the nation became focussed at mitigating these structural and the cultural differences primarily inflamed by the caste and its attributes (Sharma, 2007). It was indeed of paramount importance to address the issues of the downtrodden and marginalized fearing an outbreak of instability at the dawns of independence. Being well aware of the situation, the chief architect of the Constitution of India, Dr B. R. Ambedkar had also warned that ignoring the interests of these sections of the society will threaten the existence of the stability in the country. In his last speech in the constituent assembly, he says,

“We must begin by acknowledging first that there is complete absence of two things in Indian Society. One of these is equality; on the social plane, we have in India a society based on privilege of graded inequality which means elevation of some and degradation of others. On the economic plane we have a society in which there are some who have immense wealth as against many who are living in poverty... In politics we have equality and in social and economic life we have inequality. We must remove this contradiction at the earliest possible moment, or else those who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of political democracy which this Assembly has so laboriously built”‡.

The caste system with its faces of inequalities, discrimination and social injustice was a great challenge before the constitutional committee of experts. There were even religious and racial discriminations which have been institutionalized to such an extent that the limits of social lives of these different resultant groups and sub-groups are drawn by those

† Professor Emeritus, Department of Government , The University of Texas; copied from <http://www.wmendelson.com/>

‡ Retrieved from <www.parliamentofindia.nic.in/Is/debatesvol11p11.htm retrieved on 25th June, 2016>

stationed at the top of this hierarchy. Number of sociologists like G. S. Ghurye, M. N. Srinivas, Andre Beteille etc. have extensively discussed these caste rules and regulation based on the notions of purity and pollution. Amongst them Marc Galanter has consolidated the caste confinement and restriction rules applicable in the society which have been perpetuating the discrimination and the menace of untouchability.

- Denial or restriction of access to public facilities, such as wells, schools, roads, post offices and courts.
- Denial or restriction of access to temples where their presence might pollute the deity as well as the higher caste worshippers.
- Exclusion from any honourable, and most profitable, employment and relegation to dirty and menial occupations.
- Residential segregation, typically in a more extreme form, than the segregation of other groups, by requiring them to remain outside the village.
- Denial of access to services such as those provided by barbers, laundrymen, restaurants, shops and theaters.
- Restrictions on style of life, especially in the use of goods indicating comfort or luxury. Riding on horseback, use of bicycles, umbrellas, footwear, the wearing of gold and silver ornaments, the use of palanquins to carry bridegrooms-all of these were forbidden in many areas.
- Requirements of deference in from of address, language, sitting and standing in presence of higher castes.
- Restrictions of movement. Untouchable might not be allowed on roads and streets within prescribed distance of the houses or the persons of higher castes.
- Liability to unremunerated labour for the higher castes and to the performance of the menial cervices to them. (Galanter, 1984:15)

Thus, considering the enormous practice of discrimination and untouchability, the people at the helm of affairs began their deliberations on the concepts of equality and non discrimination and design some policies that could minimize the gap between the two highly polarized sections of the society believing that that meaning of 'equality' based upon individual equality was too spurious in the caste ridden society where group identification and ascription were always used for the purpose of discrimination and prejudice (Singh, 1988, p.162). Thus, the framing fathers of the Constitution had taken the plight to ensure *justice-social economic and political*, as set forth in the Preamble and thus inserted an extraordinary phase for the upliftment of the masses of humanity from the morass of subhuman social existence, abject poverty and economic

exploitation. It adopted a policy of preferential treatment, or the protective discrimination, in favour of these weaker sections of the society to make up for the effect of these inherited inequalities and remedy historic injustice.

The Constitution has thus envisaged in many of its provisions to ward off the practice of all forms of discrimination and untouchability based on caste, race, sex, religion, region, etc. The Articles like 15, 16 and 17 have highlighted the rights of the disadvantaged sections of the society. It treated equals equally while considering the menace of untouchability and discrimination as a punishable offence. The meaning of the expression is also brought out by Article 46, which aims at protecting the weaker sections from 'social injustice' (Basu, 2009:4). There is clear directive for J & K to align the mode of dispersal of justice in such a way that the weaker sections are getting due consideration rather they should be prioritized to protect them from all forms of exploitation[§]. Even this was never felt enough for social justice, as many legislative provisions were enacted for example the Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955 and the Protection of Civil Rights (PCR) Act, 1955 to safeguard the depressed and oppressed sections. These sections were also availing the different welfare schemes which provide them the impetus in their education with scholarships, economy with providing subsidies and political say with reservations, certifying their overall social welfare. Thus the disadvantaged sections be it Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Other Backward Classes, Women, differently-abled, children and old, all were protected with special rights and were awarded with some measures under the policy of protective or positive discrimination in order to ameliorate their conditions with the rest of the population.

Classification of Weaker Sections in Jammu and Kashmir

The Union Territory of Jammu and Kashmir, owing its special status in the constitution of India by virtue of Article 370, can make its own laws in all the matters except in the fields of defense, communication and foreign affairs. However, the rest other legislative acts are applicable to this part of the country only after their approval from the provincial government. Hence, like in other states of India, there are also the three disadvantaged groups, Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs) and Other Backward Classes (OBCs). The identification of the SCs is due to their "extreme social, educational and economic backwardness of castes, arising out of the traditional custom of untouchability" to identify the

§ Sadharam Bansal v. Pulin Behari Sarkar, AIR 1984 SC 1471 (paras 29, 70, 73) : (1984) 3 SCC 410

Scheduled Castes. (Lokur Committee report: Page 6), whereas the STs are identified on the following essential characteristics:

- Indications of primitive traits,
- Distinctive culture,
- Shyness of contact with the community at large,
- Geographical isolation, and
- Backwardness^{**}.(Kulkarni, 1994:3074)

As far as the identification of OBCs is concerned, a great stir was followed the application of historic Mandal Commission report in 1980. It had proposed different parameters from the social, economic and educational backwardness, based on which a class or a group of people were declared as the members of OBC category. However, the area also plays an important role as far determining the backwardness is concerned. Professor Shah in '*Job Reservation and Efficiency*' considers the domestic environment detrimental to create differences among the different disadvantaged sections of the society. He says that, "the existing differences between hereditary groups can be explained largely on the basis of difference in the domestic environment, in the way children are socialized, in the kind of nutrition and healthcare they receive, and finally, the schools and colleges they are sent to" (Shah, 1996). Focusing on the development of the area as a whole, the province of Jammu and Kashmir, instead, of OBCs have introduced another category for reservation called as '*Residents of Backward Areas*' i.e. RBAs. Under the category an entire area is being declared as RBA and the area avails the benefits like reservation in educational institutions, jobs etc in J & K handsomely like those of OBCs in other states. 'This reservation has been provided under SRO 126 of the J&K Government'^{††}. This category is however listed under "*socially and educationally backward classes*", in the Jammu and Kashmir Reservation Act, 2004. It defines the category as, "socially and educationally backward classes" mean—

1. persons residing in the backward area;
2. the persons residing in the area adjoining Actual Line of Control; and
3. weak and under-privileged classes (social castes), declared as such under notification SRO-394 dated 5-9-1981 read with notification SRO-272 dated 3-7-1982 and notification SRO-271 dated 22-8-1988 as amended from time to time.

It is evident that the act has mentioned the category by 'Socially and Educationally Backward Classes' where as the major share of the

^{**} Report of the Lokur Committee, op.cit., p.7, Para 12

^{††} Bhat, R. M., The RBA Lollypop, Greater Kashmir, dated 17.04.2013

reservation goes to the RBAs category. **The Jammu and Kashmir Reservation Rules, 2005** has put forth a detailed reservation scheme in the direct recruitment via SRO-294 on 21.10.2005, through Social Welfare Department as follows:

(a) Scheduled Castes	... 8 Per cent
(b) Scheduled Tribes	... 10 Per cent
(c) Socially and Educationally Backward Classes other than Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes:	
(i) <i>Weak and under privileged Classes (social caste)</i>	... 2 Per cent
(ii) <i>Residents of areas adjoining Line of Actual Control (ALC)</i>	... 3 Per cent
(iii) <i>Residents of backward areas</i>	... 20 Per cent
(d) Ex-servicemen	... 6 Per cent
(e) Physically Challenged Persons	... 3 Per cent

The JK Reservation Act, 2004 also press for pro-rate reservation in SCs, STs and socially and educationally backward classes. However, in all cases and situations, the reservation shall in no case exceed 50 per cent. Two things are worth mention here:-

- I. As the census shows that in some districts of Kashmir region of the erstwhile state, one hardly finds Schedule Caste members in that very region. If and when the mode of recruitment or admission is inter-district then the posts reserved for the SC's should be distributed proportionately in the other categories including the unreserved ones of the same district. 'The 8per cent reservation for SCs is fair at the erstwhile state level and unfair for district and divisional level recruitments'(Tajuddin, 2012).
- II. The reservations which are displayed in every paper of advertisement or admission process are unjust, owing to the fact that the composition of the different categories in a population fluctuate with time and space. The recruitments and admissions taking place witness the application of the same process and reservation rules inconsiderately.

Furthermore, the RBA as a category creates many healthy doubts as there is no exclusion from the list if it is presumed that the development is progressive particularly since an area has been marked backward. The composition of the RBAs shows that there are numbers of well ranked government and other white collar officials. J & K has not witnessed the exclusions from the list of RBA whereas it has seen successive additions to the list. The irony is that those areas are now being included in the lists of backwards that were listed earlier as forward.

As there are problems with the territorial criteria of classification (RBA), there is similar case with respect to the Scheduled Castes who are named

religion-wise. The Census 2001 reports that “Hinduism is the predominant religion of the Scheduled Castes (98.7 per cent) of Jammu & Kashmir. The SCs professing Sikhism are 1.3 percent (10,159). Buddhist SCs are 194 only”[‡]. There are no Muslims in the SCs despite the fact that many castes are present in Muslims too that have the same characteristic based on which a caste is scheduled as SC in India. M. Tajuddin has highlighted this state indifference towards these sections among Muslims, saying that, “...no Muslim group can be identified as SCs, but *Jolaha*^{§§} and *Watal*^{***} in the J & K SCs Order are communities which are exclusively Muslim” (Tajuddin, 2012). The OBCs and the Scheduled Tribes identification sans such identification perplex vis-à-vis different religious groups.

Welfare Measures

Apart from the pledge and promise by the provincial and the federal constitution together with the acts of legislature, the government has framed many welfare measures, few of them independently and lots other with the assistance of the central government to tone down the differences between the different strata of the society. Department of Social Welfare of the Government deals with designing and implementation of these schemes. Some of the important schemes in this regard are listed below:

1. Post Matric Scheme of Merit Cum Means for Minority Students
2. Pre-Matric Scholarship (General)
3. Pre-Matric Scholarship to Minority Students
4. Post Matric Scholarship for Minority
5. Post Matric Scholarship (General)
6. AamAadmiBimaYojna
7. Contributory Social Security Scheme for marginal workers
8. Financial Assistance to Gad Hanjis
9. Grant-in-aid to Non-governmental Organization
10. Prosthetic Aid
11. Integrated Social Security Schemes
12. National Social Assistance Programme

There is no doubt that these schemes have reaped significant results. It has increased the literacy rates, augmented the economic conditions and

‡ Retrieved from <http://censusindia.gov.in/Tables_Published/SCST/dh_sc_jk.pdf> on 12.12.2105

§§ *Jolaha* is a small group among Muslims of Jammu province with weaving as their traditional hereditary occupation.

*** *Watal* (means scavenger in Kashmiri) is a Muslim caste whose hereditary occupation is sweeping and cobbling.

secured a say in the political affairs of the J & K province. They have entered into many professional activities by virtue of the preferential treatment they are met with. For the better part of understanding the development let's analyse the educational aspect of Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs) in this part of the country.

Scheduled Castes comprise of 7.38 per cent of the total population of J & K figured in census 2011 as 12541302. The successive censuses show the progressive increase in the literacy rate of the SCs in the union territory (UT) and at the national level as well, the relationship lucidly illustrated in Table 1 below:

Table 1: SCs Literacy rate comparison (in per cent) with J & K and national level of the census years 2001 & 2011

Categories/Groups	Census 2001	Census 2011	Increase in literacy rate
All SCs (J & K)	59.03	60.55	1.52
Jammu and Kashmir	55.50	67.16	11.66
All SCs (India)	54.69	66.07	11.38
India	64.84	72.99	8.15

Source: Census 2001 and 2011

However, the graphical representation of the increase in the literacy rates of the scheduled caste categories reveals many other hidden facts as Figure 1 displays. The data extrapolated highlights the fact that the growth of the SCs in the province of J & K is merely 1.52 per cent from the earlier census of 2001. There is whooping difference while comparing it with SCs at the national level or with JK and the national level increase as the following figure portrays (Figure 1).

The fate of another important category i.e. the Scheduled Tribes (STs) is no different in J & K than the scheduled castes but is a bit gloomy. The STs comprise of 11.91 per cent of the J & K population. At the literacy rate, the figures are dismal than SCs with only 40.29 per cent. The data shows that the ST have a greater gender gap in literacy than SCs. Table 2 shows the literacy rates of STs at different levels juxtaposed with that of JK and that at the national level.

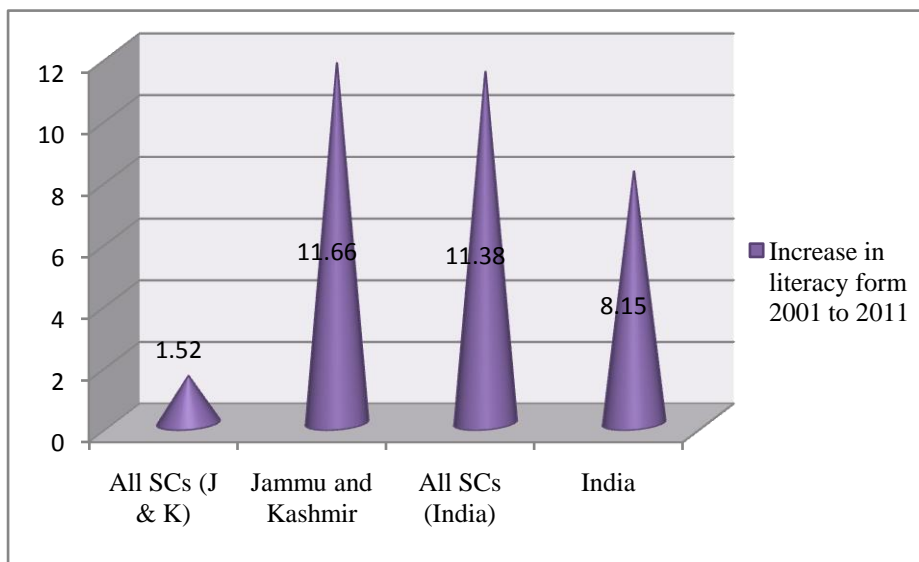


Figure 1: SC's increase in literacy rate from 2001 to 2011

Table 2: STs Literacy rate comparison (in per cent) with J & K and national level of the census years 2001 & 2011

Categories/Groups	Census 2001	Census 2011	Increase in literacy rate
All STs (J & K)	37.50	40.29	2.79
Jammu and Kashmir	55.50	67.16	11.66
All STs (India)	47.10	58.96	11.86
India	64.84	72.99	8.15

Source: Census 2001 and 2011

The graph extrapolated from the gist of the above data shows that the scheduled tribes are lagging too behind than other reserved categories in J & K. The scheduled tribes although figuring badly than the scheduled castes in terms of literacy, but the increase in the literacy rate is much better than the SCs. From 2001 to 2011 the literacy rate of the SCs progressed to 1.52 per cent than 2.79 per cent in case of STS. The representation is highlighted below in Figure 2.

The STs at the national level have increased their literacy rates by almost 12 percent, while for STs in J & K it went up to 40.2 from 37.5. These figures require serious attention as far as the efforts to development in this globalized era are concerned. The policy of protective discrimination seems to be having some grave loopholes which have to be identified and rectified for the greater good of the society. There are problems with the group as a whole and there are problems within the sub-divisions of the group. For example, there are many sub-classes or sub-groups among the

SCs, STs, and OBCs, that are still reeling under the darkness they were before. There seems to be least or no difference among them with the implementation of the different parameters of welfare like acts, schemes etc. These are those sections to whom, the welfare measures have not percolated and thus left them wanting as always. The benefits are reaped by the higher-ups, referred to as creamy layers or well-offs, in each of these categories. The loopholes are dug deeper by the absence of the ceiling and the extent of reservation in. The quotas and reservation go on from ages and are shared by the generations of generations. It is of least importance to know that of whose sons and daughters the rewarded the advantages.

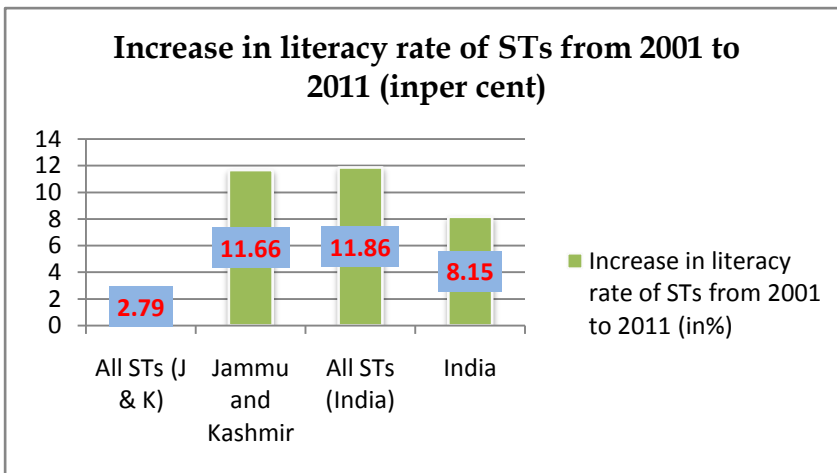


Figure 2: Increase in Literacy rate of STs in J & K

This leads to hindrance and then subsequent alienation of these lower echelons to the system. It creates an unsatisfactory condition which has become one of the major reasons for the 'spread and intensification of Naxalism in large enough tracts of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Maharashtra and its links with the Maoists from Nepal and other such outfits operating in the North eastern part of the country' (Verma, Verma, & Singh, 2006). Many fierce agitation by some groups of people from past were carried out to accommodate themselves in any of the quotas for example the Gowari stampede, that took place in Nagpur in 1994, killing 114 people^{†††} who were demanding to be included in STs. Similarly, the recent Jat agitation in Haryana and Patel *andolan* (agitation) in Gujrat also share the same thoughts.

^{†††} Retrieved on <<http://www.nagpurtoday.in/nmc-pays-tributes-to-gowari-community-martyrs/11231158>> on 15.12.2015

Nonetheless, despite so many long years of reservations since independence, the policies and welfares are going on and on with new additions. In addition to it, it has perpetuated the mindset of stratification deep inside the society in the form of these categories. Satish Deshpande viewed this system of reservation as not being able to fulfill the intentions it has been created for. In 'caste and classlessness', he states that the purpose of equality as was intended by the rights of equality and non-discrimination was a nationalist effort to mount an all round assault on caste. However, the caste reservations are still there as a hindrance for the dream as this is an unbridgeable divergence. This way according to Deshpande, "makes the 'annihilation of caste' seem more like a disabling dream than an empowering utopia". (Deshpande, 2013)

Conclusion

The objective social justice will not be achieved until there is proper design, implementation and accurate periodic assessment of the outcomes. After the passage of nearly 7 decades since independence, India is yet to translate the spirit of the Preamble or for that matter of the Constitution into action. The direction of social justice is still missing from the general masses and the percolation of the welfare measures by the government are yet to be documented.

J & K, like other states of the country applied the policy of protective discrimination and classified the disadvantaged sections in many groups like SCs, STs, and RBAs etc. Many welfare mechanisms are being carried on to mitigate their differences with the rest of the population. However, there are many lacunas as far the proper designing, effective implementation and fair assessment is concerned. The problems are worse particularly in the classification of RBAs and SCs. The absence of the assessments to the reservation policy has created many bottlenecks that have been obscuring the lower and more deserving sections from availing the advantages. With the result the polarization amongst the masses is constantly extending. It is high time for the scholars, academicians, policy makers, social activists, Government officials as well as the genuine representatives of SCs, STs and RBAs to sit across the table and deliberate upon the welfare measures and hence come out with a more acceptable welfare programmes that can percolate to dry areas for the redressal.

Particularly, in the wake of the Jammu and Kashmir being robbed off its statehood on August 5th, 2019 and thus likely its special status, by which it had its constitution, it remains to be seen how and in what manner, the reservation policy in the UT of J & K is to be implemented. Only the time will answer that will there be fiddling with the percentage of reservation

to SCs and STs? And will the state created RBA be converted into the centrally administered OBC category? All eyes and ears are to the provincial and central administration as to which way they draft to row the boat. In either of these cases, the downtrodden and the genuinely weaker sections should be empowered via reservations and the policies.

Recommendations

Jammu and Kashmir has got greater distortions as far as the policy of protective discrimination is concerned. The time and the situations may not be overruled in J & K when there will be fierce battles from amongst the lower sections, to whom the light of the different welfare policies are eclipsed by the well offs atop their respective categories. There must be some proper redressal mechanism to walk along the goals of egalitarianism and social justice. Few other recommendations may be enumerated as:

- A committee to be framed, which may be shouldered the responsibility to redesign the policy of protective discrimination.
- The different classes/categories under the backward sections should be reassessed on the lines of verifiable indicators to prove their backwardness.
- The cap of religiosity and territory must be warded off in reservations particularly in this era of progress and development of the states.
- The 'creamy layers' amongst the groups must be delisted in order to pave way for the percolation of the welfare.
- Reservations will do seldom good to the people who are finding it hard to get their both ends meet. Hence, the economic aspects must be considered before discussing the other frames.
- A cap on the reservation will hinder the inheritance of reservation from one generation to other.
- If there is any restructuration of the reservation policy document, the downtrodden and the genuinely weaker sections should be prioritized.
- Empowerment can be better assessed through the economic condition of the households rather than any caste, class or regions based reservation.

References

- Ahmad, S. W., Ali, M. A., & Ashrafali, M. (2006). SOCIAL JUSTICE AND THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, 67(4), 767-782.

- Basu, D. Das. (2009). *Shorter Constitution of India* (Vol. 14). New Delhi: LexisNexis Butterworths Eadhwa
- Deshpande, S. (2013). Caste and Castelessness: Toward a Biography of "General Category." *Economic & Political Weekly*, XLVIII(15).
- Galanter, M. (1984). *Competing Equalities*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Iyer, V. K. K. (1987). *Social Justice : Sunset or Dawn*. New Delhi: Eastern Book Company.
- John, R. (2013). *A Theory of Justice*. Harvard University Press (Vol. 53). London. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004>
- Kulkarni, S. (1994). Identifying Scheduled Tribes :The Gowari Thagedy. *Economic & Political Weekly*, 29(49), 3073-3074.
- Lotter, H. (n.d.). Rawls, Young, and the Scope of Justice. *A Journal of Social and Political Theory*, 94, 90-106. <https://doi.org/10.3167/sa.2007.510101>
- Menon, N. R. M. (1988). Social Justice and The Indian Legal System. In N. R. M. Menon (Ed.), *Social Justice and Social Processes in India* (pp. 8-31). New Delhi: Indian Academy of Social Sciences.
- Miller, D. (1976). *Social Justice*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Shah, A. M. (1996). Job Reservation and Efficiency. In M. N. Srinivas (Ed.), *Caste Its Twentieth Century Avatars*. Gurgaon: Penguin Books.
- Sharma, K. L. (2007). *Indian Social Structure and Change* (Reprint 20). Jaipur: Rawat Publications.
- Singh, P. (1988). Social Consequences of Reservation Policy. In N. R. M. Menon (Ed.), *Social Justice and Social Processes in India* (pp. 162-201). New Delhi: Indian Academy of Social Sciences.
- Tajuddin, M. (2012). Scheduled Castes' Reservation in J & K: Promises and Failures. *Indian Journal of Federal Studies*, XII(1).
- Upadhyay, A. K. (2014). RAWLSIAN CONCEPT OF TWO PRINCIPLES OF JUSTICE. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, 54(3/4), 388-397.
- Verma, R. B. S., Verma, H. S., & Singh, R. K. (2006). *Empowerment of the Weaker Section of India*. New Delhi: Serials Publications.

Status of Tribal Education in Ladakh: A study of Dard Tribe

Journal of Society in Kashmir

11(1) 49-61

ISSN: 2249-667X

© 2021 Author(s)

<http://sociology.uok.edu.in/Files/c2d3b27>

8-4cf7-49a5-9525-

af5e352f2900/Journal/c9dcbf9c-8774-4743-

8df5-a238f32298b1.pdf

Manzoor Hussain*
Fayaz Ahmad Loant†

Abstract

The article examines the status of tribal education in Dard tribe of cold desert Ladakh and explains the reasons of high school dropouts and non-enrolment among tribal children as well as to identify the determinants responsible for the poor quality of educational infrastructure. Educational achievements between males and females in tribal social groups vary significantly. The literacy rates among tribal population are not only low but also shows higher level of gender disparity. Even today, the tribal literacy falls below national average. In addition to this, there are problems of low levels of learning achievements, lower participation of girls among tribes. Drop-out rate has been high among tribal groups than overall child population in elementary education. Based on a sample of 600 respondents selected from the thrust areas of Dard tribes from Ladakh (India), the study uses a descriptive research design and multi-stage sampling technique. The findings showed that the Dards of both clusters of Ladakh present a dismal picture of education.

Keywords

Tribal Education, Status, School Dropouts, Reasons, Dard Tribe, Ladakh

1. Introduction

India has the largest concentration of tribal population in the world next to Africa. As per 2011 census of India, total population of schedule tribe is 10.42 crore, of which 1.04 crore live in urban areas. Schedule tribe constitutes 8.6 percent of total population; 89.97 percent of them live in

* Senior Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Kashmir, Srinagar, Jammu and Kashmir

Email: dr.manzoor_hussain@yahoo.co.in

† Documentation Officer, Centre of Central Asian Studies, University of Kashmir, Jammu and Kashmir

rural areas and 10.03 percent in urban areas. The decadal population growth of the tribal 2001 to 2011 has been 23.66 percent against the 17.69 percent of the entire population as per census report 2011. The sex ratio among Scheduled tribes was 990 females per 1,000 males; a significant increase from 978 in the 2001 Census.¹ Inequalities in education are inherent in Indian society. Educational achievements between males and females and between different social groups vary significantly. The literacy rates among tribal population are not only low but also shows higher level of gender disparity. Even today, the tribal literacy falls below national average. In addition to this, there are problems of low levels of learning achievements, lower participation of girls among tribes². Drop-out rate has been high among tribal groups than overall child population in elementary education. While the drop-out rate has been 45.90% for overall population, the drop-out rate counts to 62.54% for tribal groups (SES, 2007-08)³. Though there have been number of developments towards the augmentation of the education system in tribal communities, but the tribal individuals are experiencing setbacks. There are number of problems and challenges that are overwhelming tribal communities, these are, poverty, illiteracy and deprivation. Due to the occurrence of problems, they remain in a secluded and backward state. The tribal communities have their own traditions, customs, cultures, norms and values, on the basis of which they carry out their daily life routine. One of the major problems that the tribal communities experience is the problem of language. Due to differences in language, it is difficult to communicate with the tribal population. In schools too, the tribal students are unable to neither communicate nor acquire an efficient understanding of the academic concepts and the primary cause of this are the differences in language^{4,5}. Tribes are usually educationally and economically backward and have been discriminated in the past. *Dards* of Jammu and Kashmir are markedly underdeveloped as compared to the non-tribal or other groups of people. Their livelihood is based on primitive agriculture, a subsistent economy based on low level of technology. Their socio-economic structure is generally dictated by forest produce and agriculture etc. The absence of technological aids is another structural feature of their economy⁶. Despite constitutional provisions and safe guard with various government initiatives and programme, educating tribal children is still a major concern for the government. There are so many socio-cultural, economical, geographical, and administrative obstacles⁷. There is a vast sociological literature on the transmission of economic disadvantage from generation to generation, and especially on the degree of mobility in

education and occupational status (Bjorklund & Jantti 2000⁸; Erikson & Goldthorpe 1992⁹; Goldthorpe 1980¹⁰; Halsey, Heath & Ridge, 1980¹¹).

The available literature clearly underlines that in spite of constitutional guarantees and persistent efforts, tribal communities continue to lag behind the general population in education. The reasons for this can be categorized as external, internal, and socio-economic and psychological. The external constraints are related to problems and difficulties at levels of policy, planning, implementation, and administration. Internal constraints refer to problems associated with the school system, content, curriculum, medium of instruction, pedagogy, academic supervision, monitoring, and teacher-related problems. The third set of problems relates to social, economic, and cultural background of tribal's and psychological problems of first-generation learners¹².

2: Research Methodology

2.1: Universe and Sampling Design of the Study

The universe of the present study includes two research universes, scarcely scattered across a vast area of Ladakh with the lowest population density (8 persons per square kilometer as against 59 at the state level). At the first stage, a list of Dard villages from two districts: Kargil and Leh were drawn. Kargil universe (major cluster-A) of Dards consists of well-demarcated village settlements in Drass valley on the left bank of the Suru river. The Leh district universe (major cluster-B) of Dards consists of half a dozen hamlets grouped in five revenue village settlements, on lower gorges of the Indus River. The main consideration for the selection of clusters is that these clusters are exclusively inhabited by Dard tribes. Multi-Stage Cluster Sampling Method was deemed to be the most appropriate sampling procedure. The total sample chosen for the study was 600 respondents. The sample subjects were drawn based on the district, block, village, and household clusters. It was the most appropriate to select two blocks-Kargil-Drass, Khamtsi-Leh, and three village clusters from each district with due consideration to the demography and representative traits of the sample.

2.2: Objectives of the Study

The main objective of the present study is to know the status of tribal education in Dard tribe of cold desert Ladakh. The study is also an attempt to examine the reasons of school dropouts among the Dard tribal's as well as to identify the determinants responsible for the poor quality of educational infrastructure.

2.3: Research Question and Hypotheses

The research question to be answered was “why Dard tribal’s have poor educational and what are the reasons for their poor educational infrastructure”? The major hypotheses of the present study are:-

1. Dards have low educational status as compared to other tribal’s groups of the region;
2. Lack of minimum educational infrastructure and also lack of educational awareness are significantly co-related to poor quality of life in the Dard tribe.

3: Analysis and Discussion

3.1: Educational profile of sample subjects

Table 1: Showing educational profile of sample subjects, n= 600

Primary Cluster	Illiterate	Primary	Secondary	Graduate	Post Graduate	Profession	Civil Services	TOTAL
Cluster A	39 [13.00]	67 [36.00]	108 [22.33]	50 [16.67]	27 [9.00]	8 [2.66]	1 [0.33]	300 [100.00]
Cluster B	72 [24.00]	136 [45.34]	69 [23.00]	22 [7.33]	0 [0.00]		1 [0.33]	300 [100.00]
TOTAL	111 [18.50]	203 [33.84]	177 [29.5]	72 [12.00]	27 [4.50]	8 [1.33]	2 [0.33]	600 [100.00]

Source: Based on fieldwork, 2018 carried in Ladakh Division of J&K

As is observed in the above table, the study attempts to collect the data pertaining to level of education (formal schooling) of the respondents selected for the study. It was observed that most of the respondents 203, i.e. (33.83%) had education up to primary level followed by 177 (29.5%) at secondary level. The sample included 72 respondents, 27 graduates and post-graduates, respectively which account for 12% and 4.5% of the sample selected for the study; 8 professions; doctors, engineers, vet specialists and 1 civil service officer (1.33) and (0.33) completes the educational profile of Dard tribal’s in two primary clusters of Kharboo, Shimsha, Thasgam Drass block of Kargil and Dah, Hanu Yokma and Hanu Thang clusters of Khamtsi Block Leh, Ladakh. It is further observed that a significant number of sample subjects 111 (18.5%) were illiterate. In this category 72 (24%) illiterate belong to primary cluster B as against 39 (13%) are from cluster A. Except primary category where respondents of cluster B number higher than cluster A; i.e. 136 against 67 (45.33-22.33) correspondingly. In higher secondary, graduation and at post-graduate levels the former are far behind with 69, 22 and 0 in comparison to 108, 50 and 27 of the later. There is no post-graduate in Dard tribal respondents

of cluster B no and civil service officer. On the contrary, 27 respondents had post-graduation and 7 out of 8 had professional education while as there is only professional degree holder from cluster B.

Kharboo, Shimsha and Thasgam were traditionally developed in terms of educational facilities; besides economic pressures, their proximity to urban centre of district headquarter and their location. On the most and only strategic one way Zojilla highway, their relationships trade, religious affinity and continuous contacts with comparatively developed communities of Kargil and Srinagar etc., were other factors to develop themselves educationally. Their fellow ethnic brethren from Gurez, Bandipora (Kashmir) fared well in Kashmir administration and police apparatus and were always a role model for achieving success through educational achievement. Above all educational achievement was considered a gateway to get a govt. service which in turn guaranteed a constant monthly flow of cash, blockade or no blockade, crop success or crop failure.

Dah, Hanu and Thang hamlets still remains a restricted and therefore, isolated from developmental measures. However, recently for their tourist attraction some elementary developmental measures are increasingly showing their impact on education and socio-cultural milieu which for centuries had minimal human interference. Their housing patterns are found a steep mountain slopes usually nearest to the small terrace type fields. Developmental measures in the fields of agriculture, education and other amenities are quite a recent phenomenon as observed in educational profile. Their demography and cultural practices no doubt carried them for a long time and were content with their self-sustaining, subsistent-traditional and agro-pastoral life style. On the contrary, being isolated and with dwindling numbers had no clout in socio-political and developmental spheres of the state administration. Now educational sector is given first priority by LHDC Leh and commendable efforts are done by his holiness Dalai Lama through Janmgyal Educational Institute, Leh. They have provided boarding and free education at Leh. They catch them young at the very village sites in consultation with the Goba (village head) parents and village councils.

Remoter hamlets have been so far at a disadvantage to measures of development so far as education is concerned. The problem is aggravated by virtue of connectivity and sparse population. Opening of schools at primary or secondary level has been determined more by concentration and population density of a particular area than connectivity and accessibility. Till recently, education of the child in clusters B1.2.3 was more a luxury than a factor for social development.

The Drass Muslim Dards defy established norms of crude birth rate (27.17) that despite understanding the needs and benefits of small families, conducive for availing health, family welfare and above all educational facilities, have less adopted large family size, than Dards of Dah and Hanu. Although being exclusively an agro-economy with almost a non-existent non-farm sector, the family sizes are small and crude birth rate is lower than other ethnic groups of Ladakh at state and national level. Although it couldn't be definitive as this section of sample subjects is educationally, economically and socially at the lowest ebb of development as compared to Muslim Dards, Bots, or other ethnic groups, have even no idea of benefits of small families, contraceptive measures even then they opt for small family pattern. Chronic inbreeding and polyandry practices for a long time might have been responsible factors, in addition to remoteness, the small isolated terraced land-holdings, and the dispersed settlement patterns, which reinforced individualism rather than collectivism.

3.2: Number of educational institutions in sample clusters

Table 2: Depicts number of educational institutions in sample clusters

CLUSTER	Common primary school	Common middle school	Common high school	Common higher Secondary school	Girls primary school	Private school	Total
Cluster A	6	4	3	1	3	4	21
Cluster B	2	2	2	0	0	0	6
Total	8	6	5	1	3	4	27

Source: Fieldwork, 2018 carried in Ladakh Division of J&K

The table reveals a significant variation so far as availability of education infrastructure is concerned. As compared to cluster A which boasts of 6 common primary schools, 4 common middle schools, 3 common high schools and a higher secondary school; Cluster B holds 2 common primary, 2 common middle schools and high schools. In addition, cluster A has 3 girls' primary and one girl's middle school, besides 4 private schools with the respective cluster villages. Private schools for cluster B fall at 52 km and 70 km from the cluster and higher education institute like college, and university at 152 and 170 km at Leh. The overall education scenario of cluster B is dismal. Comparatively, sample villages of cluster A are better at levels of education reflected more in their job profile. Not only the traditional subjects but professional and technical

courses are preferred. On the other hand, common middle school at Dah was upgraded after two decades. Some NGOs and LHDC have taken serious initiatives to address this issue. For example, the initiative of Jamyang School at Leh was established by the support of households. The Dalai Lama Trust in 2008 has done a commendable job to lure poor Dard children from Dah Hanu and put them in boarding at impressive campus. Besides, poor admission in the elementary classes at pre-primary and primary level, the remoteness of the area was infested with the absenteeism and dropout rate. The teachers at Dah and Hanu took their postings as a punishment. Living in a typical culture 'although Buddhists' had many cultural practices far removed and contradicting Buddhist way of life; teachers mostly complained about communication barrier in primary classes as the enrolled infants spoke their mother tongue (Brokshast) archaic Shina unintelligible for the instructions. At the same time instructions in Ladakhi or English medium fell on deaf ears. It was fruitless and frustrating for both teachers and the taught. As a result there is a high rate of dropout. In absence of locals as teaching staff, non local used to be posted. Some NGOs had engaged some local boy's way back in 1999-2000 to bridge the gap of communication between non-local teacher and local pupil at Dah Middle School. These too are first generation learners. Ironically only half of the number of total local teachers is posted out of Dah and Hanu villages. As was observed Dah male folk appears to be merry making and lethargic lot by nature. The burden of economic activity (especially farming and marketing of farm produce) falls on Dard women's folk. Except goat and sheep rearing and occasional labour in MES, they are usually idle and chronic alcoholic.

The primary objective of Jamyang institution was to isolate the young buds from an atmosphere which they thought was significantly discouraging for imparting education to them. In boarding, the pupils are under the constant supervision of teaching staff and provided with the best quality education and upbringing free of cost.

There are any constraints in universalization of primary education in these remote clusters. Though tireless efforts have been made through various NGOs and institutions yet there is neither supply push nor the requisite community demand for new schools or up-gradation of the established ones in cluster B1.2.3. For its inertia, lack of awareness and poor literacy rate; education seems to be a luxury from this traditional community. They are settled agriculturists and pastoralists and their archaic cultural practices, low levels of technology and skill, the worldview shaped by mythology and a distinctive lifestyle qualifies these Dard settlements for primitive tribe category. The lowest socio-economic development and a mindset averse to change owes more to remoteness

and isolation cut-off from the main arteries of communication and a simple self-sustaining economy maintained through socio-cultural mechanisms of polyandry and monkhood.

Notwithstanding official claims in literacy rate of these Dards, the disinclination of younger generation towards education owes much to the low adult literacy rate and adult education achievement. As a matter of fact in remote area of Dah and Hanu where job opportunities are a few, any reduction in expenditure by way of removing children from the school and any addition to the family income is welcomed at the cost of child's schooling either directly like sending child to Leh or Khaltsi for petty labour or indirectly like relieving an adult for labor if the child takes care of grazing. Although, there is generally no inhibition of co-education and girl education in Dah Dard community, the girl education is the first causality, which looks after siblings and helps in family chores. In a way majority of respondents reported that despite recognizing long term education benefits the cost of schooling appears high, high enough to engage them in grazing cattle and herding livestock which guarantees immediate economic gains.

Dah and Hanu sample subjects generally woefully suffer from ignorance and apathy, regarding available developmental avenues including education. Secondly, absence of employment for dropouts or degree holders depresses promotion of education; unfortunately, the pass outs and degree holders are disinterested in doing casual labour or farm work. For a household which directly or indirectly has invested in a child's education such failures appear to be a total loss and further reduce his inclination towards education. Educational attainment after middle schooling phase suffered due to the lack of institutional facilities, lack of schools and dwindling family assets. To send a child to Leh or Khaltsi for secondary schooling was cost effective and such investment was thought to be risky as there are no guaranteed immediate returns. This tendency is also inflicting Cluster A more strongly as job market for a large number of pass outs as compared to lesser number off pass outs in cluster B is more stifling.

In Cluster A for its relatively less remoteness, as it is situated at the main communication link between Srinagar-Ladakh, the better infrastructure support and the education scenario is far better. It owes more to its historical development specifically its role in Trans Himalayan trade and Silk Route Trade.

Ancestors of Dards of cluster A, Kharboo Shimsha and Thasgam formed a class of transporters and couriers on whom the logistics of the trans-Karakoram trade depended. These were the community of professional potters and pony men who plied between Srinagar to Kargil, Kargil to

Leh and Yarkand (Xingiangi). The occupation benefitted Dards of their region by way of employment opportunities and a high social interaction—a requisite for social networking. In a resource poor environment of Drass valley, the farm produce was hardly enough to cover even subsistence needs, the transportation of men and material essential as well as exotic, across J&K enabled them to not only avoid starvation and enmass migration but also provide subsistence earnings and wider socio-economic contacts resulting in better understanding of worldly affairs. Furthermore, they continuously got exposed to new trends and currents sweeping across a vast region. Through European travelers they got the peep into the modern ways of life during their expeditions. These provided the most necessary logistic support for being habitual to the hardships of the travel on the treacherous mountain passes (See also, Francis Younghusband, Seven Heden, Lord Dunmore, E. Phillipd. Phillip)

This mode of earning through carriage service contributed more to family's survival than farm produce therefore, cattle, pony, sheep and other livestock was more cherished. In summers and winters crossing across Zojila was exclusive reserve of Dards of Drass. Even during winter months Zojila never shuts for foot passengers. Dards continue to cross except during actual snow blizzards. The closure is actually the result of motorable transport. From the very beginning Dards of Cluster A1.2.3 were in know of advantages the formal education carries with it especially, the benefits of getting job and a continuous supply of cash income.

Modern education for these Dards conjured a picture of schools, full of neat and clean children, knowledge of many languages like Urdu and English and a social prestige appended to the educated person. Education attainment in post-1947 period is a success story for these Dards. Besides, many benefits, it meant a new identity— an image of a learned man, distinguishing him from the rest of the community. The study showed that there is not only educational infrastructural improvement but proximity to urban centers of Kargil and Srinagar provides a vast field for quality education private as well as public. Most of the school going children at primary, secondary, college and university levels is third generation learners at an average. Government service professional courses are the latest trend. 28% of school-going children are enrolled in private schools at Kargil, besides almost 50% of 10+2 students attend coaching classes at Kargil, Srinagar, Jammu and Chandigarh for admissions in professional technical courses. It owes more to diversify and differentiated economic system where Xylo taxi and passenger buses have replaced ponies and horses and the success story of parents offer

role models for young ones to excel in education domain. Adult education coupled with access to quality education develops into a syndrome reinforcing progressive tendencies towards development.

If occupational profile of the sample villages is any reflection, then it can be summed up that the small arid isolation hamlets of Kharboo, Shimsha and Thasgam have been fertile ground for grooming literate and educated, graduates, post-graduates, doctors, engineers, professionals, KAS officers and administrators. The educated class has taken full advantage of being listed as scheduled tribe, in seeking scholarships, subsidies, reservations in the jobs. The educational attainment has enhanced community pressure for better life conditions, good quality education, healthcare and share in power structure and resources. It again reflects through political awareness and political participation.

Other constraints besieging education system in these hamlets are common to any system in the valley of Kashmir and Ladakh; absenteeism, lack of teaching staff and irregular school openings which are chronic. In relative remote tribal area of cluster B, it is mild as the universe is resource rich in local teaching staff and therefore, there is hardly any communication gap between teacher and taught. The content is easily communicable.

Previously, education content was metaphorical and religious and its extent limited to the clergy (Aghas) of the area. It got replaced by modern universal education which is characterized by scientific, rational, liberal and secular content. Besides, it is replete with a pragmatic world view, equality and humanism. So far as the attitudes are concerned, the study subjects reveal a positive approach and high inclination for education, co-education and girls education. The trend cuts across all barriers of sea, age, religiosity and social standing of sample subjects. 85% of Cluster A and 56% of Cluster B reveal that educational attainment is the fundamental prerequisite for social transformation. It holds key for boy and girl education, however, sample subjects strongly agree that modern education makes younger generation critical of traditional practices and tribal customs.

Interestingly, out of 300 respondents 67 respondents of Cluster A consider 'Imamat', and 'monkhood' as the highest virtue and respectable position, however, the respondents reported only 3 cases of induction into monkhood over last 10 years and only 11 persons have send their wards to religious seminaries (Darul Ulooms) for exclusive religious training. Ironically, the reasons for induction into religious institutions were revealed to be more economic; except two boys, all the inducted from both clusters belonged to the lower income group of sample

subjects. The other two boys belonged to the large size families of 6 and 7 children.

The problem of educated unemployment is more pronounced in cluster A because of its larger number of pass outs, degree holders and but they have coping strategies; improved physical mobility, wider social networking and contacts encourage pass outs to move out of native villages and towns to try at state and national level. Secondly, they have started taking advantage of various schemes for self employment and entrepreneurship and skill development. They also explore non-governmental institutions, private institutions and coaching centers, mobile and electronic repairing units, catering and tourism, poultry and sheep breeding etc.

There is a significant correlation observed between parental characteristics and child's education in both clusters. Notwithstanding, a small number of educated mothers in cluster A and cluster B, the father's educational level as well as occupation is observed as a potent factor influencing the education attainment of the children.

That educated parents in cluster A have shown concern for the improvement in the efficiency of the primary education and want an active role of Panchayat in checking absenteeism of teachers and dropout rate. 34% of this category believes that there has been a significant improvement in elementary education; while as 69% reveals a marginal improvement. The same trends are observed in the literate sample subject parents of cluster B. It can be concluded that higher rates of dropout's children belong to illiterate parents as well as marginal farmers and labour households. Midday meal scheme, scholarships, free books and uniform have nevertheless reduced opportunity cost, which is reflected in the reduction of dropouts and attitude change of parents.

4. Conclusion & Recommendation

The study concludes that that the Dard tribals have low levels of education. As the data collected from the study reveals that most of the respondents had education up to primary level followed at secondary level, and a significant portion of sample population was illiterate. Only 8 professions; doctors, engineers, veterinary specialists and civil service officer (1.66)% shows the educational profile of Dard tribal's in two primary clusters of Kharboo, Shimsha, Thasgam Drass block of Kargil and Dah, Hanu Yokma and Hanu Thang clusters of Khaltsi Block Leh, Ladakh. Remoter hamlets have been so far at a disadvantage to measures of development so far as education is concerned. The problem is aggravated by virtue of connectivity and sparse population. Opening of schools at primary or secondary level has been determined more by

concentration and population density of a particular area than connectivity and accessibility. There are many constraints in universalization of primary education in the remote clusters. Though tireless efforts have been made through various NGOs and institutions yet there is neither supply push nor the requisite community demand for new schools or up-gradation of the established ones. It is recommended therefore, that a special drive for educational uplift of Dard tribals should be carried out. There is a need to formulate measures and programs that are necessary to bring about improvements in tribal education. In tribal education, there is a need to bring about improvements in teaching-learning methods, infrastructure, facilities, amenities and the overall environmental conditions of the educational institutions. Apart from acquisition of education, it is essential for the tribal communities to generate awareness in terms of modern and innovative methods to enhance their overall quality of lives.

Funding Information

This research paper is based on the major research project titled, "Poor Life Conditions of Tribal People in Ladakh: A Study of Dard Tribe" is sponsored by the Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR), New Delhi.

References

1. Socio-Economic Activities for Tribal Development (2017). New Delhi: Ministry of Tribal Affairs Government of India, p .26.
2. Education of Scheduled Tribes in India: A Cultural and Pedagogical Inquiry. Available From: https://www.Researchgate.Net/Publication/322756792_Education_Of_Scheduled_Tribes_In_India_A_Cultural_And_Pedagogical_Inquiry [Accessed May 25 2021].
3. Sedwal, M., & Kamat, S. (2008). Education with Social Equity with a Special Focus on Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Children in Elementary Education.
4. Akula, S. (2013). Education for Children of Tribal Community - A Study of Adilabad District. *American International Journal of Research in Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences*, 4(2), 192-196.
5. *Problems in Tribal Education*. Available from: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/334479483_Problems_in_Tribal_Education [accessed May 25 2021].
6. Hussain, M. & Hussain, A. (2018). Status of Educational and Occupational Mobility in Dard Tribe of Kashmir, India, *Kashmir Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. 8, pp. 69-77

7. MHRD (1986). *National Policy on Education*, New Delhi: Ministry Of Human Resource Development, Government of India.
8. Bjorklund, A., & Jantti, M. (2000). Intergenerational Mobility of Socio-economic Status in Comparative Perspective. *Nordic Journal of Political Economy*, 26 (1), 3-33.
9. Erikson, R., & Goldthorpe, J. H. (1992). *The Constant Flux: A Study of Class Mobility in Industrial Societies*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
10. Goldthorpe, J. H. (1980). *Social Mobility and Class Structure in Modern Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
11. Halsey, A. H., Heath, A.F., & Ridge, J.M. (1980). *Origins and Destinations: Family, Class and Education in Modern Britain*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
12. (PDF) *A critical study of Tribal Education: With special reference to women*. Available from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/276174073_A_critical_study_of_Tribal_Education_With_special_reference_to_women [accessed May 26 2021].

From Victimization to Resilience: Contextualising women in Partition through the lens of memory

Journal of Society in Kashmir

11(1) 62-75

ISSN: 2249-667X

© 2021 Author(s)

<http://sociology.uok.edu.in/Files/c2d3b27>

8-4cf7-49a5-9525-

af5e352f2900/Journal/89209879-90f7-447e-

a063-aabaa1771d6b.pdf

Aditya Sharma*

Abstract

Partition was one the most catastrophic and cataclysmic events in the history of South Asia. Partitions throughout the world gave serious jolt to the societies with the millions of people getting killed, displaced and it largely affected the hitherto existing social fabric of the societies. India also underwent the same experience as it was partitioned into two nation-states India and Pakistan. The understanding of Partition from perspective of the nationalist discourse is popular in many writings on Partition. But looking at Partition from the perspective of common masses gives a human dimension to the history of Partition. By looking at the gendered dimension of Partition the paper tries to highlight how the memory of Partition exists in the popular discourse particularly in the writings on Partition both fictional and non-fictional. The paper also brings out the victimization of women of during Partition and the role of their agency in rebuilding their lives post-Partition. It argues that Partition is still a living reality in the lives of women and it has altered the social fabric of country. The women had to face the brunt of cultural and national burden and their journey in the course of the Partition catastrophe has been multilayered and multifaced.

Keywords

Partition, Memory, Literature, Women, Trauma

Introduction

Women have been the victims of conflict worldwide and particularly they are the major victims of conflict situations. The honour of the community is usually attached to the women and as a result they have to bear the double brunt of violence and outrage in the conflicting times. Partition has been such an event in the history of South Asia where violence was at its peak. In the sub-continent, the Partition was announced and within

* Assistant Professor (Sociology) GDC Majra Mahadev, Pauri Garhwal, Uttarakhand, India
Email: persistence.as@gmail.com

months of the announcement the Partition was formulated and passed. The events unfolded in such a hurry that the future of the territories and smooth passage of people inhabiting those territories was not taken into consideration. As a result of which it left a trail of unimaginable destruction with at least one million dead and ten million getting displaced. The figures of loss of life, honour, especially for women, livelihood and home were perhaps unparalleled in history (Bianchini *Et al*, 2005). The understanding of Partition is incomplete without the understanding of gendered aspect of Partition. The gendered narrative of Partition gives unique dimension to the phenomenon of Partition. The atrocities faced by women in conflict situation are manifold since they not only got affected in the turmoil but the onus of rebuilding the families after such traumatic event was also on them. The violation of sexuality of women in the name of the honour of the community during the Partition disaster and the choices which they had in order to choose for their existence in terms of their identification with the respective nation-states have been looked at in the present study. Women in particular experienced the phenomenon of Partition in a very idiosyncratic way and in different parts of the country they confronted different trajectories of problems and issues. During the partition, pre-partition and post-partition times the existential experience of women has been of trauma, tragedy and humiliation. Women were forced to leave their families, got raped, lost their husbands and saw their children and families die in front of them. But simultaneously there are stories of women overcoming the trauma and achieving triumph wherein they stood as bread-winners for their families and built up their families post-partition. So, the women's agency during Partition has a unique social world and their memories have been depicted through the various writings focusing on women's agency during Partition. Since, memory of any phenomenon signifies the way in which that particular phenomenon has been understood by the people so it is significant to look at the memory of Partition which is pertinent for the broader understanding of the phenomena of Partition. As Halbwach argues that personalized aspect of memory of every individual is unique and different from others, due to very social fact that each individual is positioned in many social groups for instance in relation to gender, caste, kinship and the like (Radstone *Et al.*, 2003). Keeping this idea in backdrop the paper looks at the fictional and nonfictional writings on Partition keeping women at the centre of discourse around Partition. The memory of Partition is quintessential to understand the plight of women during those times and their course of life thereafter. Memory is a significant sociologically not only to unearth the realities of a historical event but also to give voice to the voiceless in

the larger narrative around the event. In the words of Connerton (1996) memory is often linked to the understanding of the past and the experience of the present is largely dependent upon the understanding of the past. The way we experience our present world in a context is causally connected with the past events and objects which are not being experienced when we are experiencing the present. Further, we will experience our present differently in accordance with the different pasts to which we are able to connect in the present. Hence, it is difficult to extract past from the present not simply because present factors tend to influence but also the past factors tend to influence or distort the experience of the present. Memory is considered the thread binding and helping to understand the present and past and how people are influenced and directed by both the memories of past and present.

Memory and Literature - Locating women in Fictional Writings of Partition

Fictional writings on Partition have been a great source of gaining insights into the event and how the event shaped the lives of people and their memories associated with the event in general. The role of literary fiction has been highlighted by Coser (cited in Lewis *Et al.*, 2008), wherein he demonstrates the relationship between sociology and literature in his work through eclectic collection of literary fiction. He argues that, writers of fiction have provided their readers with an immense variety of richly textured commentaries on man's life in society, on his involvement with his fellow-men to the extent that literature can constitute a key form of social evidence and testimony. The role of memory in Partition experience is indeed crucial in the words of Pradip Kumar Bose as he argues that, 'Memory begins where history ends' (as cited in Samaddar 1997). Memory, and especially collective memory, needs material supports to endure, such as monuments, movies, music, but also books and especially stories to allude to or recount historical events. Literature is one of the numerous possible supports for memory and helps to expand in time and space. Literature is also the site for communication and sharing, for a literary work is always meant to be read. Literature, is an eternal sight of memory that preserves the memory of the past, passing it down to from generation to generation to readers who have not themselves experienced the events. Hence, in case of an event like Partition it keeps the memory of those times alive.

Amrita Pritam's (2009) novel "Pinjar" is a work which brings to forth the plight of women during Partition, how they got severely affected as a result of this catastrophic event. The story depicts the situation in Punjab and the life of a girl named Puro who is very joyful and of innocent

nature loved by her family. The tragic turn in her life takes place when she is kidnapped by a Muslim man Rashida whose family was under debt by Puro's family of sahuks and her family had exploited the Sheikh cultivators sometime back. So, to seek the revenge Rashida to settle scores with her family kidnaps Puro. The family of Puro was not willing to lodge a complaint of her abduction as they were of the opinion that if someone gets to know about this no one would marry her. The kidnapping of Puro was representative of many of the kidnappings cases which took place during the time of Partition.

In the later part of the novel Puro somehow manages to escape from clutches of Rashida and returns back home but her parents do not accept her and tell her that she has died for them and instruct her to go back from where she had come. The social world of Puro was demolished in that fraction of seconds as her parents even did not even listen to the fact that nothing had happened to her and she was not sexually violated after abduction. In order to avoid the cruelty her family could face from the Sheikhs as they were the part of dominant Muslim village her family refused to accept her. She returned back to Rashida just as a skeleton (*pinjar*) with nothing left in her life. The women had no voice for them to express themselves and the Partition made the things worse. Their pathetic condition can be judged from the fact that even the parents turned a blind eye and a deaf ear towards the happenings she had to go through. The female existence and their identity was just associated with their body and if any physical and sexual assault had happened to her she was no more considered the member of her family. The tragedy meted out to women was really extreme and being woman was depicted as a curse since women were abducted, raped and killed by the men of other religious community to attack the honour of the family. Even women who were considered mad and mentally retarded women were also not spared they were also the targets of sexual violence by men. In addition the novel also narrates the cases of looting of property and Hindus were captured by Muslims in the Punjab part of Pakistan and their property and clothes were also looted. The gender inequality prevalent at that point of time can be envisaged by the instances in the novel which clearly mention that after Puro's kidnapping and her return, her mother played no role to in keeping her back to home and she just listens and follows the dictates of Poru's father who decides that she should go back to Rashida's custody. The novel also brings out the Hindu-Muslim unity even in case of Rashida and Poru. Rashida was in love with Puro and when Puro asks for his help to find Lajjo (sister of the man whom Puro was supposed to get married before her abduction) he helps

her and rescues Lajjo (a Hindu girl) from the house where she was kept secretly (Ibid.).

The tragedy of women during the communal riots that broke out during Partition has been talked about by Bhisham Sahni (1973) in "Tamas" in which talks about the riots taking place in the Lahore and Karachi (parts of present Pakistan) prior to the partition of India. It is the personal account of the bloody legacy of the Partition. The work elucidates the communal tension started developing among communities due to the incidents which took place, radicalization started building with certain Hindu groups killing old Muslim men as they started identifying Muslim community as their enemy. Parallely the Hindu organizations like Arya veer started mobilising the young people and training them for protection and fighting against Muslims. Simultaneously, there are instances of elderly people having strong inter-community ties and friendly relationships. The neighborhood consisting of both the communities and they offered a great support to each other and were ready to stand for each other's cause. They were helping each other to fight the communal upsurge which was starting to build up. Sikh women tried protecting Muslim master (teacher) in Lahore against the Sikh and Hindu attackers. Even Muslim neighbors promised and extended their support towards Hindus and at the same time they knew that these tensions were generated by some manipulative political people and not by the ordinary masses. But slowly people of Hindu families who lived in Muslim dominated areas started moving towards their Hindu relative's homes and those Muslims who stood by the Hindus were looked down upon by other Muslims. This led to a rift among them also as they saw other Muslims being killed at different places. The passage of people who left their homes was indeed a very daunting and full of remorse. Their survival was at stake as their women were pregnant, old ladies and they had to travel on foot. Even some of the ladies who were old enough to walk were carried on their back by their husbands and children. People in minority areas particularly Sikhs had occupations running in Rawalpindi and Lahore so they were reluctant to move out from these areas. Some of them dug the ground and kept their money and jewellery safe there as they still had the hope that they were not going forever and they would come back and would take their money and jewellery from there. On their way back men decided that if they would be attacked by someone they would kill their women first and then kill themselves. They decided that in no case they will let their women fall into the hands of rioters. Muslims looted and destroyed the property of Hindus and so did the Hindus of the Muslims. The Sikhs looted and destroyed the Muslims and Muslims killed and looted the Sikhs (Sahni, 1973). Dividing and quitting

was the policy adopted by the Britishers and the problems of conflict, violence, riots were not controlled by them despite the fact that army, police and other forces were still under their control. The common masses did not themselves initiate the bloodshed and a killing on their own. It was these groups who triggered the feeling of hatred against each other. The tragedy of Sikh females is talked about in the novel as it explains case of the village Syedpur where the Sikh females jumped into the well and committed suicide to protect themselves from being raped by the rioters. They also pushed their children into the wells with their own hands because they couldnot see the enemy killing them in front of their eyes.

In 'Madness and Partition: The Short stories of Saadat Hasan Manto' Stephen Alter (1994) focuses specifically on Manto's short stories brings about the sense of despair and dislocation brought about by the Partition of India and Pakistan. In the short-story "Loosen Up" (Khol do) Manto explains the hypocrisy of men and their attitude towards women. This story talks about the old man, Sirajudin, whose daughter Sakeena disappears from a train carrying refugees from India to Pakistan. The old man is unable to trace his missing daughter and seeks help from a group of young Muslim men. They promise to find the girl and bring her back to her father. After searching and risking their lives they find the girl, but instead returning her safely to her father, they rape her repeatedly until she became unconscious. Manto shows this hypocritical behaviour of men in those times when they pretend to act out of sense of honour and piety but are reduced to bestiality and violence. The time of tumultuous crisis like Partition brings about the true innate side of the human nature which is full of sexual disdain and violence.

Gulzar's (2017) in "Foot Prints on Zero Line" through the medium of poem titled 'Two Sisters' shows the story of two sisters who were rendered homeless by Partition and both get raped. One of them gets pregnant and she still carries the scars of that man by cursing herself when she continuously looks at her swollen belly. Even after the birth of the child she always gives a harsh look to him and there is always a fear stricken whenever she looks into the eyes of that boy. When the boy grows little young her motherly feeling couldnot resist the feeling of killing her child as he was a constant reminder of the sexual humiliation and torture she had gone through the hands of the man who she gave birth to. So, finally she kills the child by throwing him into the well and puts an end to her torture.

The silences associated with the women narratives have been the dominant part of the writings on Partition. The need to uncover these silences is important to highlight the women voice in the narratives. These silences have been understood by 'A will to say or unsay' in which

Parvinder Mehta focuses on the works on Rajendar Bedi's Lajwanti, Shauna Singh Baldwin's 'What the body remembers' and Sabiha Sumar's 'Khamosh Pani'. Through these stories the notion of subalternity connected with women voices have been brought to light. The silence associated with women's voice is uncovered in 'Khamosh Pani' through Ayesha who is originally a Sikh woman named Veero and gets married with the man who abducted and raped her and converts her to Islam and takes her to Pakistan. When she is found by her brother Jaswant he seeks her recovery back to home in order to meet his dying father. She refuses to go back stating that he wanted to kill her at the time of Partition like the other family women who jumped to save the honour of men and their community. Ayesha's voice of resistance is representative of the female questioning the very rhetoric of honour invoked by men to sanction their dehumanizing violence against women. However, the voices of silence are the part of the larger discourse which is silent in the writings of the representation of women on Partition and there is a critical tension that exists between the discourse and silence associated with women voices (Singh, *Et al*, 2016).

Victimization, trauma and lost world – Women in Post- Partition times

In the words of Figley (1985) trauma is "an emotional state of discomfort and stress resulting from memories of an extraordinary catastrophic experience which shattered the survivor's sense of invulnerability to harm. The memory and trauma associated with partition in the cities of Lahore and Amritsar have been brought out through the firsthand accounts of people who have witnessed the event by Ian Talbot (2006) who talks about the Punjabi refugee migrants in Lahore and Amritsar that have undergone the process of drastic change from a stable social communal living to complete cultural transformation to mass migration. He argues that the minority community's importance in the life of both Lahore and Amritsar meant that the fate of these cities was contested in 1947. The neighbourhood and railways which used to be common meeting places for people turned into battle ground. The account of woman through the interview of Narender Kaur who was thirteen years old at the time of Partition reveals that how the economic relations between the communities broke down in Lahore as the rumours were circulating that the fruit sellers were injecting poison into the fruits they were selling. The air of suspicion was so much dominant that everyone walking in the streets would pause and look back as if they were their enemies not their co-citizens. Similar situation prevailed among the Muslim residents in Amritsar who felt threatened and were having anxiety as narrated by Zain-Ul -Abdeen who was fifteen years old at that

time. She recalls that their street was connected with host of other streets and eight iron gates were installed all around their street. The people were divided into different groups to ensure safety and guarding the area as they were anticipating the possibility of assault from Hindus. Since, most of the houses were single storey the Hindus and Sikhs could launch attack on the Muslims by using ladders through the roofs. To meet this danger they had kept sand and red chillies mixture as their protection. Fikr Taunsvi in his narration records that death found many bizarre ways to show its presence during the movement of refugees for the new home in India and Pakistan. No weapons were needed to kill, one could die of stiffness on a truck, one could die of stench in refugee camps, and one could die of thirst and hunger or due to watching one's younger daughter being raped.

The case of abducted women during Partition and the state intervention thereafter also exacerbated the plight of women. The number of abducted women during Partition recovered by both the countries over an eight year span included 30,000 Hindu, Sikh and Muslim women. According to official estimates the number of abducted women was 55,000 Muslim women in India and 33,000 Sikh and Hindu women in Pakistan. But the process of their recovery worsen the plight of women as most of the women had been married with their abductors were having children and had started new lives in the respective countries. For all those women the process of recovery was abduction again and many of the women questioned Mridula Sarabhai (Head of Rehabilitation committee for abducted women) for recovering them then as it was too late. The state recovery of women on religious lines was more contradictory and emotionally jolting for the women who felt twice abducted after this recovery process. Many of the women who were recovered refused to move and marry again and some of them settled in widow homes for the Partition displaced women. The recovery also suggested the reinforcing of ethnic differences and the necessity of regulating women's sexuality in the interest of national honour. It also highlights women as boundary markers of the ethnic and national difference and there by becoming reproducers of national and cultural boundaries. However post Partition time gave opportunities for women to open up their wings and start new lives, receive education, entering into professional fields but for some it was a nightmare which haunted their memories, experience and changed the course of their lives. (Menon *Et al.*, 2017).

In 'Partition of India and Women's Experiences: A Study of women as Sustainers of their families in Post -Partition Delhi' Bhardwaj (2004) talks about the women's experiences in Delhi following the Punjab Partition of 1947. She argues for the case of women focusing on rehabilitation,

sustenance and rebuilding amidst widespread violence, abduction, evacuation, dislocation and mass migration. The life of women after Partition took different turns and they were affected by destitution and they lost their identity which got subsumed under the identities of 'community', 'religion' and 'nationality'. The women did not know and understood the reality of Partition and how it made people to fight and kill each other. They were not able to understand why Nehru and Jinnah were unable to control riots and the high politics which surrounded the process of Partition was not comprehensible to them as they got caught in communal frenzy in Punjab as soon the Partition plan was announced. The interviews conducted with women bring about different experiences of women for whom Partition was still a part of their lives and they felt uprooted even in the later years of their lives. As, revealed by Darshana Rani living in Bhogal in her late eighties that she felt uprooted and unattached. She fondly recalled her days in Lahore and how Partition led to loss of freedom which she enjoyed in Lahore. She told that they came to Hindustan but our home still remains in Lahore. She recalled that they lived cordially with the Muslims, and she can feel the smell (sugandh) of the land which belonged to her ancestors. Her longing for that place is still intact and she wanted to visit and meet her friends Shahana Bibi and Fatima Bano with a fear in her mind whether they would be alive or not. In "No Woman's Land" Ritu Menon has described the memories, troubled thoughts, anguish and sheer helplessness of women during Partition through the writings of women on Partition from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. The abducted women and their plight and traumatic tales associated with women from these three countries that got victimised as the result of this horror event of history are presented by her. In one of the essays Begum Anees Kidwai tells about the striking similarities in the talks of horror prevalent on the both the sides of the border in her essay "Darkness and Light". The tragedies and horrors meted on both the sides of the border had so much familiarity that one was compelled to think that somebody had planned the whole scheme, made two copies of it and handed one over to each side. She also elaborates how the Muslims in the villages around Delhi were intimidated and were forced to vacate the villages and colonies and go to the other side of the border. As they were ready for their departure with their belongings on their way they were looted by organized attacks in which both the army and police participated. The clothes of the women were taken away and those children and aged who tried to run away were killed by the bullets of army and police. After that the army would arrive and take the injured to the hospital and young women and girls were distributed as their share of loot among the police, army and

attackers. Along with this there were also people who felt ashamed and showed humanity like the police officer of Pakistan who told the Indian incharge of the investigating committee for the abduction cases that the women of this locality committed suicide by jumping into the well to avoid getting raped and molested. He was ashamed of the fact that they could do nothing to save those women and how would they be judged by the future generations of those who had died (Menon, 2017).

The story of 25 to 30 Sikh women of Muzaffarabad in POK (Pakistan Occupied Kashmir) who were abducted, converted and married to local Muslims was brought about by Ranjit Kaur a retired headmistress from Srinagar who visited them in 1985. The women were in Purdah and most of them have accepted their new religious faith. But there were exceptions like woman who killed every child born to her of the Muslim abductor who married her forcibly. This was her protest against the forced marriage but finally when there was no hope of rescue, she allowed her two children to live. There is an interesting story of Jatin and Ismat narrated by Kamlaben Patel who was the social worker involved in the recovery of women in abduction. The boy Jatin was the son of Hindu businessman from Amritsar and Ismat was the daughter of a Pathan family from Rawalpindi, who would meet regularly during their annual holidays which they would spend in Kashmir before the Partition. Both of them fell in love but after that Partition happened and their holidays stopped. Ismat, after a month of Partition went to the refugee camp pretended to be a Hindu girl and persuaded the camp authorities to send her to Amritsar. Somehow she was able to trace Jatin and both of them get married and lived a happy life but not for long. The Indian and Pakistani Governments came into an agreement to recover the abducted women during Partition riots. So, following that Ismat's parents lodged a complaint and she was found in Amritsar by the Rehabilitation Ministry and Search Service Bureau in Amritsar. The Ministry was anxious due to the fact the failure to send her back would hinder the recovery of Hindu women from Pakistan and she was sent back to meet her parents without her will. But, Jatin insisted on accompanying her to her parents but he was denied the permission to do so. After few days she got in touch with Kamlaben Patel and she saw a completely changed Ismat who was different in appearance and behaviour and she hated Jatin so much and wished she could cut him into pieces and send them to dogs. The love-stricken Jatin almost destroyed himself after losing his wife. The similar stories of agony and cruelty like that of women in Jalandhar, who after spending eight years in Pakistan were forced to return to India against their will (Menon, 2017). The larger point which comes out of these stories related to the women on all the sides of the countries is that the

element of consent of women found no space anywhere and there was the most troubling question which aroused was that "Do women have a land?" This fundamental question marked the existence of women following the Partition in the South Asian continent as the events which shaped the women's lives following Partition made it feel that they do not have a land (Ibid.).

Women's Resilience and role of their Agency Post- Partition

During and after Partition, Indian women faced violence and hardship through both colonial British and Indian patriarchal structures. Rebuilding homes and communities and supporting families in a new community across the border in India presented unique challenges to the women of India. "Resilience has been defined as an individual trait that helps an individual to function well despite exposure to considerable adversity and also as a dynamic developmental process reflecting evidence of positive adaptation despite significant life adversity (Sleijpen, 2016). In "The Trauma and the Triumph" Jasodhara Bagchi (*Et al.*, 2007) bring forth the struggle and triumph of women in the Eastern part of India. The area of Eastern-India had a unique experience of Partition with women being not only at the receiving end and facing tragic hostilities but they also stood against the existing realities and proved a great asset for their families in recovering from the tragic times. The same women who had been through a journey of miseries refused to succumb to the dictates of the fate and restructured their shattered existence. The majority of writings on Partition portray a stereotypical image of women being the victims of Partition catastrophe. That image is being challenged and through this path-breaking work the author shows the optimism and relentless capability of women to reshape their families. They argue that the marginalization of women in their own community was also evident in those times and the fear of rape was enough to marginalize women and to prevent them from being the part of their own community. But despite facing all the atrocities and trauma women showed resilience and exercised their agency during post-Partition times (Ibid.).

The active role of women in overcoming the troubling times of Partition has been an achievement in post-Partition time. The role of women in building their homes post-partition in the development of Refugee colonies in South Calcutta has been represented in Rachel Weber where she brings out the brighter side of women's life world which has now been transformed and she shows how women not only crossed the borders but they also crossed the borders of a highly segregated world to more public and visible sphere. Men were really proud of their wives and working daughters and readily accepted that the women had been

liberated by their experiences. In “Becoming a Breadwinner” the struggle and overcoming the trauma associated with women post partition has been discussed by Bithi Chakravarti. Kamla was just 14yrs old when she had to leave her ancestral home at the time of Partition. From being the witness of great killings in 1946 at Calcutta and seeing her relatives and neighbourhood girls being kidnapped and stabbed to death and missing her school for four years, her life was full of hardships. Her family consisted of five brothers, two sisters and father. Her father was seriously ill. Her sisters only used to have water before going for exams and there were days when all the family members starved. She graduated and got scholarship worth ninety rupees for further studies and after that she got the job of teacher and became the sole bread-winner of her family. Her journey and continued efforts made it sure that her family members lived a stable life. Later, she got married after settling her brothers and sisters in stable jobs (Ibid.).

The onslaught of Partition deterred the life chances of many women as they lost all their property and wealth. But many women like Bibi Ram Pyari displayed an example of true struggle and existence inspite of all the curses which Partition had brought into their families. Bibi Ram Pyari had four children and after Partition her husband was diagnosed with Tuberculosis and he was not in a position to work. The family situation was getting worse as the bread winner of the family was not earning anything. Instead of cursing her luck and becoming the victim of patriarchal structure she showed resilience. She started working and opened a small counter where she used to sell candies. In 1956 her husband died and she had to face a lot of trouble. But with time she started adding more items to her shop and the shop which was barely a means of survival turned to a popular general store in Rajendar Nagar. Now, she is bed-ridden and her health is declining day by day. But she feels contented in her life as she did not go to anyone for charity. Her efforts are exemplary of many other women who really stood up and transformed their families and made them recover from the troubling times of Partition (Bhardwaj, 2004)

Conclusion

Partition has indeed been an everlasting reality in the lives of victims and especially women. Looking at the gendered dimension of Partition through the lens of memory brings out human dimensions in the history of Partition and it gives a nuanced understanding about the event. A gendered narrative of Partition elucidates the way in which common masses especially women were exposed to this dreadful event, the ways in which they negotiated with it and carved out a space for themselves.

The memory of Partition existing in popular discourse in the form of fictional work and in the form of life testimonies of victims gives the legacy of Partition a definitive meaning as it gives space to unheard voices by locating them in the domain of memory and creates space for specific stories associated with the women. The journey of women during the Partition was full of miseries as they became widows, got raped and committed suicide. The honour of the community was attached to them and they also internalised this fact which forced them to commit suicide in order to safeguard the honour of the community. The recovery of women after along religious lines further escalated their state of miseries as they became subject of national and cultural burden. They had no existence of their own and no voice to represent them. But still they managed to overcome those harsh times and showed resilience by rebuilding their families. Along with carrying the trauma they also showed triumph by becoming the sole bread winners of the families. They also questioned the patriarchal notions which forced them to end their lives by carrying the cultural burden. To summarise it can be said that the patriarchal character of the nation-state makes the existence of women all the more difficult in the times of conflict and it won't be wrong to say the women bear the brunt of national burden. But women have not been passive subjects during the times of Partition and Post-Partition. Instead they exercised their agency, rebuilt their families, took up the traditionally defined male roles and refused to succumb to the dictates of fate.

References

- Alter, Stephen. 1998. Madness and Partition: The short stories of Saadat Hassan Manto. *Alif Journal of Comparative Poetics*.14.Vol. 12: 18-26.
- Bagchi, Jasodhara and Dasgupta, Subhoranjan. (eds.). 2004. The Trauma and the Triumph- Gender and Partition in Eastern India, Kolkata: Stree.
- Bhardwaj, Anjali. 2004. Partition of India and Women's Experiences: A study of women as sustainers of their families in Post- Partition Delhi. *Social Scientist*, Vol.32, (No.5/6):69-88.
- Bianchini, Stefano, Chaturvedi. S, Ivekovic, R and Samaddar, R. 2005. *Partitions- Reshaping States and minds*. Milton Park. Frank Class 2 Park Square.
- Connerton, Paul. 1996. *How Societies remember*. Great Britain: Cambridge University Press.

- Gulzar. 2017. *Foot Prints on the Zero Line – The Writings on the Partition*. Noida. Harper Collins Publishers.
- Figley, C. 1985. *Trauma and its wake: The study and treatment of post traumatic stress disorder*. New York: Brunner Mazel.
- Lewis, David Lodger, Dennis and Woolcock, Michael. 2008. "The Fiction of Development". *Journal of Development Studies*. 44 (2):1-18.
- Menon, Ritu. (ed.). 2004. *No Women's Land: Women from Pakistan, India and Bangladesh write on the Partition of India*. New Delhi: Women Unlimited.
- Pritam, Amrita. 2009. *Pinjar- The Skelton and other Stories*. Punjab: Tara Press.
- Radstone, Susannah and Hodgkin, Katherine (eds.). 2003. *Regimes of Memory*. London: Routledge.
- Sahni, Bhisham. 1973. *Tamas*. New Delhi: Penguin Books.
- Samaddar, Ranbir. 1997. *Reflections on Partition in the East*. Calcutta: Vikas Publications.
- Sleijpen, M, Boeijie, H.R, Leber, RJ, & Morren, T. 2016. Between power and powerlessness: A metaethnography of sources of resilience in young refugees. *Ethnicity & Health*, 21(2).156-160.
- Talbot, Ian. 2006. Partition, memory and trauma: Voices of Punjabi refugee migrants in Lahore and Amritsar. *Sikh Formations*. Vol.2 (1):3-16.

Religion and Politics: Revisiting 13th July of 1931

Journal of Society in Kashmir

11(1) 76-86

ISSN: 2249-667X

© 2021 Author(s)

<http://sociology.uok.edu.in/Files/c2d3b27>

8-4cf7-49a5-9525-

af5e352f2900/Journal/a21663ce-0a7e-4449-

97ee-791aac1edf4a.pdf

Aushaq Hussain Dar*

Abstract

The event of 13 July, 1931 marked the beginning of overt political protest in Kashmir. It was after this event that Kashmiris openly began to voice their grievances against feudal and autocratic State. The academic research on the uprising of 1931 is handcuffed to contesting interpretations. A category of writers view it "Muslim uprising against Hindu State". Another category of writers view the event as 'Communal outburst against Hindus'. The third category of historians and writers while recognizing mass discontent against feudal monarchy opine that the 1931 event was clothed in communal ideology. The seething discontent and resentment against feudal autocracy is also viewed by some writers at the root of the movement. Therefore, to free the history of Kashmir from communitarian ideologies a humble attempt has been made in the present paper to examine 1931 uprising and to place it in its proper perspective. The paper discusses the class character of the uprising and views it as a part of global movement in favour of civil liberties, equality and justice which had its origin in French Revolution of 1789. It has also been our endeavor to analyze that though the uprising had a potential to vitiate inter-community relations in Kashmir but it could not affect the ethos of harmony at local level. The conflict remained confined to few quarters of Srinagar and could not spread to the rural areas. But due to elite mechanization, the distorted memory of the event played a significant role in subsequent history of Kashmir.

Keywords

Kashmir, 1931, Communalism, Muslims, Pandits, Dogra rule

Speaking in the context of Indian National Movement, the third decade of the twentieth century was very significant. Due to the World War I followed by the economic depression, the condition of the working classes turned from bad to worse. The life of common man became

* Assistant Professor (History), Government Degree College (Boys), Pulwama, Jammu and Kashmir
Email: ashighussaind@gmail.com

unbearable as a result of inflation in the prices of essential commodities of life. All this caused a discontent and disgust against the British rule. It appeared that people were not ready to continue under British subjugation any more. It was under such circumstances that Indian National Congress launched the famous Civil Disobedience movement. The movement received an overwhelming support of Indians in general and the artisans and toiling masses in particular. No doubt, the movement was silenced by the British government, but the course of the movement left no doubt about the fact that the people of India were determined to overthrow the Raj as early as possible.

Indian national movement had broken its silence towards the Princely States in mid-1920's and had formed All India States' Peoples' Conference in order to assist the people of the states' towards the achievement of the responsible government. All this laid a profound impact on the politics of the Princely States and it was in 1930's itself that various political organisations in the form of Praja Mandals were organised in the states. The people of Kashmir who were groaning under the oppression of feudal rule began their assertion since 1924, when there was a revolt in the Srinagar Silk Factory against the corruption and high handedness of the corrupt officials. It was in the same year that the prominent Kashmiris from Srinagar presented a memorandum to Lord Reading, the British Viceroy, on his visit to Srinagar on October 14, 1924. No doubt the autocratic state dealt with the memorandumists harshly, but the incidence pointed to the beginning of assertion against the feudal state. In the late 1920's and the beginning of 1930's, young Kashmiris had returned from various Indian universities, especially from the Aligarh Muslim University and were ready to blaze the trail of freedom in Kashmir.

The 13th July was a watershed day in the annals of Kashmir, when the Kashmiris, broke their centuries silence and in reaction to the dictatorial attitude of the state laid down their lives at Central Jail Srinagar. The 13th July event had its genesis mostly in the labour unrest and agrarian crisis. But unfortunately different historians had looked on it with varied spectacles. The present article is a humble endeavour to look into the various perspectives and analyse the event in a professional approach.

The academic research on 1931 uprising is handcuffed to contesting interpretations. A group of writers view it as religious revolt against a Hindu state. Mohammad Yousuf Saraf in his *Kashmiri's fight for freedom* highlights the religious roots of the uprising. He is of the view that Muslims suffered innumerable religious and secular disabilities and 1931 event was out burst of that anger which Muslim masses had harbored under Hindu monarchy (Saraf, 1979).The author ignores the general

character of medieval monarchical states to which Dogra state was no exception. Ian Copland in his paper, 'Islam and Political Mobilization in Kashmir' views 1931 event as Muslim assertion against prejudicial Hindu dominated state structure (Copland, 1981).

Another group of writers view this event as communal outburst against Hindu community. These writers view it as continuation of systematic persecution of Hindu community since the arrival of Islam in Kashmir. Mohan Koul in his *Kashmir Past and Present: Unraveling the Mystique* hails Dogras as harbingers of peace and prosperity in Kashmir. He views the Muslim assertion against Dogra state as a communal movement aided by British (Lal, 1994). A. K. Kaul in his paper "Kashmiryat: A Counter Point" published in *Kashmir and its People: studies in Evolution of Kashmiri Society* regards the assertion against the Dogra state in 1930's as handiwork of British and aided by outside Muslim communalists motivated by the cry of 'Islam in Danger' (Kaul, 2004).

The third category of historians and writers while recognizing the mass discontent against feudal monarchy opine that the event of 13th July 1931 was clothed in communal ideology. P. N. K. Bamzai writes that the event was engineered by educated Muslims who were influenced by the ideology of pan-Islamism and patronized by British government (Bamzai, 1994). U.K. Zutshi views the 1931 agitations as handiwork of educated Muslim elite for creating niche in existing power structure. He concludes his account by writing that the agitation of 1931 was communal in character and the mass political awakening came to be enveloped by communal ideology inevitably accompanied by communal discord (Zutshi, 1984).

P.N. Bazaz presents the outbreak of agitation as a specific historical development, brought about in the wake of the 'dawn of modernism'. He views miserable plight of peasants, artisans and the grievances of Muslim middle class at the root of the agitation (Bazaz, 1941). He recognizes the changing political tide around the globe and its impact on educated Muslim middle class. However, it is evident from his work that the mass agitation was launched by using emotive slogans of 'Islam in Danger' (Ibid). He also acknowledges the influence of outside 'communal' organizations and British government (ibid). Chetralekha Zutshi is of the view that the 1931, inaugurated the emergence of much dreaded term 'communalism' in the political discourse of 'non-communal' Kashmir. She says after the incident the new Muslim leadership more concretely linked religious affiliations with political demands claiming right for Kashmiri Muslims based on ideal of just Islamic society. However, she recognizes the politico-economic context of the incident by writing, there is no doubt that despite the articulation of secular grievances on religious

lines by the leaders of both the communities and avowed jumping of Hindu Muslim elements from British India into the fray to support their respective Kashmiri brethren, the tussle between Kashmiri Hindus and Muslims in the aftermath of 1931 was more about political and economic representation than religious antagonism (Zutshi, 2004). Mirdu Rai presents the 1931 event as expression of resentment against feudal autocracy fueled by wrong policies of the State. While citing archival sources she suggests that the problem was aggravated by disapproval of Maharaja's policies freely expressed in British India. She however, acknowledges the role of outside organizations and individuals in shaping political opinion in Kashmir (Rai, 2004).

There is a need to situate the 1931 uprising which marks the beginning of political movement in Kashmir in global context and to view it in its proper perspective. I argue that the 1931 agitation was part of global movement in favour of civil liberties like equality, freedom of thought and expression and other democratic rights which had its origin in French Revolution of 1789. The revolution with its slogan of 'liberty, equality and fraternity' kindled nationalism in Europe. The country after country felt its glow during nineteenth century. Greece, Germany, Belgium, Italy, Poland and Hungary were moved by nationalism, freedom and unity. Then the Asian countries like Japan, Turkey, Iran, China and India fell under its spell (Chand, 1961). The use of religious and cultural idioms during the 1931 agitation was not peculiar to Kashmir but a common phenomenon in the national movements of late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It was because of the absence of well-developed class consciousness religion provided ideology of revolt in class movements.

The event of 1931 was not a spontaneous development but a vehement expression of the grievances of Kashmiri Muslims. Different sections of Kashmiri population were seething with discontent but could not express their grievances openly owing to ban on press and formation of political organization. About 80% of Muslim population was comprised of peasantry who were deprived of their proprietary rights and subjected to exorbitant taxation policy. State appropriated major portion of peasant's produce in the form of various taxes (Wingate, 1888). Bazaz remarks that 'owing to exorbitant taxes and loot of corrupt officials of the government the most of the cultivators had given up their lands and abandoned the profession of cultivation' (Bazaz, 1941). Besides, these poor peasants were subjected to inhuman practice of *Begar* (forced labour). The officials of the state exploited the institution of *Begar* for their personal advantages. The poor peasants were reduced to the status of virtual serfs by the state and its supporting structure. The condition of artisans was too pathetic. The decline of shawl trade after the Franco-Prussian war of

1870 worsened the condition of artisans. The colonial intervention in agrarian structure and ending the state monopoly of grain trade led to the entry of private individuals in the grain market thus, restricted the poor artisan's access to cheap grain. Politically, the Kashmiri people were deprived of all basic rights and civil liberties. Public opinion was non-existent in the state, owing to ban on freedom of thought and expression and formation of political organizations. Educationally like most of the people of Princely states Kashmiris were backward. There was mass illiteracy all around. The abject poverty and conservative attitude of their religious leaders had kept them away from modern education. It was only the rich class of Kashmiri population particularly Pandits and later Sayyids who first responded to modern education. Rest the bulk of population was reeling under the darkness of illiteracy. The educated middle class particularly of Muslim community faced employment problems and were further perturbed by the regulations of Civil Service Recruitment Board formed in 1930 which laid out difficult conditions for the recruitment to government services.†These people were made to be silent which turned them perturbed and restive (Khan 1980).. The educated middle-class youth was frustrated by the state policies. 'They had imbibed the spirit of the new age. Their minds were full of the onrushing tide of democracy in the West. They had read about the political movements of Turkey, Ireland, Egypt and the role played by young men in these movements. They were also inspired by political movements of British India.' (Bazaz, 1941) The simmering discontent was further fueled by agrarian downswings and great depression of 1929 (Rai, 2004).

In such a surcharged situation the incidents like ban on *khutba* and *Tuhin-i-Quran* provided only spark to the already accumulated mass of explosives, which culminated into the Central Jail incident of 13 July, 1931. The Reading Room party formed by educated Kashmiri's in 1930 for amelioration of their grievances, convened a mass meeting at *Khanqa-i-Maula*. The meeting was attended by about fifty thousand people. It was in this public meeting that a group of representatives consisting of seven members was selected by voice vote to represent the peoples' grievances. They were authorized to present the popular demands to Maharaja. It was at this time that a man namely Abdul Qadeer (a butler of a European

† Kashmiri Pandits constituted a miniscule section of population and majority of them enjoyed privileged position during Dogra rule. State due its medieval character depended upon the majority community (peasants and artisans) for its sustenance. Therefore, this class remained busy in filling the coffers of State and lived in abject poverty, only a small section of Sayyids and middle-class Muslims were educated and faced the problems of unemployment.

official) appeared on the scene and delivered a forceful speech. He spoke about the religious disabilities faced by Kashmiris under autocratic rule. He exhorted them for the restoration of their honour. His speech was recorded by CID and was arrested at Naseem Bagh. His venue of trial was shifted to central Jail Srinagar. This was the first political trial in the State (Rashid, n.a.). It evoked the feeling of general public who realized that a coreligionist outside the state has courted his arrest for the vindication of their rights. On 13th July 1931, Molvi Muhammad Abdullah advocate presented himself as principal defense counsel. Thousands of Muslims assembled outside the central Jail. They were raising the slogans *Islam Zindabad*(Long Live Islam), *Abdul Qadeer Zindabad*(Long Live AbdulQadeer)and *Justice Zindabad*(Long Live Justices) (Khan, 1980). After the entry of the Session Judge, they demanded permission to enter the compound. At this stage Molvi Addulllah advocate requested them to remain peaceful. They withdrew from the gate and stayed silently waiting for the news from inside. At 1 pm Muslims lined up for *Zuhar*(mid-day) prayer. In the meantime the governor arrived and snubbed the police for not having taken into the custody those who had foolishly attempted to enter the jail compound. Thereafter police arrested five persons which turned the gathering restive. The crowd then attempted to forcibly enter the jail compound and demanded release of people which caused commotion. Government felt unnerved and ordered the police to open fire on unarmed people which resulted into on spot death of seventeen people. Five people later died at Jamia Masjid due to non-availability of medical facility. The angry crowd put the dead bodies on cots and used the blood drenched shirts of martyrs as flags and marched in the form of procession while reciting the verses of Holy Quran and occasionally raising slogans against the government. At this moment government attempted to snatch dead bodies from the crowd. The crowd confronted army near *Mallakha* (Rainawari, Srinagar) but army failed in its design. The dead bodies were brought to Jamia Masjid, Srinagar, where a huge gathering of people had assembled (ibid.). Army cordoned Jamia Masjid which made it difficult to procure medical treatment for the injured that result into further loss of life.

Communal strife raised its head at this critical movement. A fracas ensued between the Muslims and the Punjabi Hindus with the result a tonga driver, Ghulam Nabi was ruthlessly beaten by the Hindus (ibid.). Unfortunately some Muslim miscreants took an undue advantage of the situation. They looted the Hindu shopkeepers at Vacharnag, Bohrikadal and Zainakadal. Muslims raised vengeance against the government and in their mind, Hindus represented the government. Hindus also took revenge by looting Muslim houses and shops at HabaKadal, Ganpatyaar,

Kralkhud and Barbar Shah (Hussain , 1992). When Muslim leaders heard of this, they regretted the event and put an immediate stop on rowdyism. Shaikh Abdullah remarks in his autobiography *Atish Chinar*: (Abdullah , 1986)

I received the news at my residence Nawabazar that the Muslim procession is carrying the dead bodies towards the city. I became anxious about the loss of precious lives and was worried that the event should not take shape of communal strife. I directed Molvi Abdul Rahim who was with me to handle the situation and not to allow the procession to proceed ahead of Jamia Masjid. After some time Molvi Abdul Rahim returned with the news that there is a surcharged atmosphere and the processionists have resorted to loot at ZainaKadal and BohriKadal.

In the meanwhile, a section of native Pandits made a common cause with the non-Kashmiri Hindus against the Muslims. The relation between native Hindus and native Muslims became strained. Several areas in the city were racked by communal strife. Within two or three hours of jail incident the entire city presented a gloomy scene. Everybody looked panic stricken. The Muslim leaders were arrested and imprisoned in the fort of Hariparbat (Khan, 1980) Government adopted the policy of suppression. Such a policy of repression made Muslims to believe that government and non-Muslims are one. The hostile attitude of Pandit elite towards the 1931 uprising created an impression in the hearts and mind of common Kashmiri Muslims that Hindus were no less enemies to them and their cause than the government itself (ibid.).

It is pertinent to mention the poor sections of Pandit community also suffered under feudal monarchy (Bazaz, 1941). But it was due to the hostile attitude of their elite towards the movement that they could not identify themselves with the changing tide. Bazaz aptly remarks 'Kashmiri Pandits did not like easily to abandon monopoly on one hand and create a rival in the shape of Muslim on the other. Class consciousness blinded them to the fact that Muslim young men had as much right to get their legitimate share in services as they themselves had' (ibid.). The Muslim leaders followed the policy of caution. They advised the people to maintain peace. The Muslim leaders also appealed Hindus to abandon their hostile attitude towards the movement. It was also made clear by the Muslim leadership that the agitation would continue unabated until the grievances of the people were redressed and their demands granted.

The political developments after the 1931 event culminated into formation of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference in October, 1932. It was under the banner of this organization that the Kashmiri

leadership began to pursue their secular demands. However, despite its secular character the organization continued to use religious idioms for mass mobilization which probably caused suspicion in the hearts and minds of non-Muslims. But, there were some progressive minded Kashmiri Pandits like Prem Nath Bazaz who supported the secular demands of Muslim Conference and tried to make it an inclusive movement of Kashmiris in favour of civil liberties and democratic rights. It was the result of his efforts, the ideological impact of some prominent leaders of Indian National Congress especially Pandit Nehru and Saifuddin-Kitchloo and inherent character of the movement that the Muslim Conference was changed into National Conference in 1939, in order to ensure a common platform for the freedom struggle. However, the endeavour met little success.

It is pertinent to mention here that rioting of 1931, did not attain a mass base and remained confined to Maharaj Bazar and Vicharnag, area and its neighbouring quarters. Though the event led to the intensification of competing identities of Hindus and Muslims which played a significant role in the future politics of Kashmir, but it could not embitter the relations between the two communities at local level, owing to its limited social base. The Barjour Dalal Committee, appointed by the Maharaja to inquire into the causes of the 1931 uprising, described it a Muslim movement against the Hindus of Kashmir (Dalal, 1931). However, the Glancy Commission report clearly described economic distress of Kashmiri Muslims as the bed rock of movement. (Glancy, 1932) The response of British paramount power towards the grievances of Kashmiri Muslims has been presented by many writers as British support to 'Muslim communalism' for weakening Maharaj's position. While dismissing Nicholas Dirks's argument for hollowing of Indian crowns under colonialism, Mirdu Rai argues that colonial rule helped the Dogra rulers to secure their hold on power in ways unparalleled in pre-colonial India (Rai, 2004). However, one cannot deny the role of colonial state in creating context for construction of competing religious identities. The colonial knowledge of social taxonomy and census reports made religion its fundamental ethnographic category for ordering and classifying demographic and developmental data (Bandyopadhyay, 2015)

One of the significant developments of 1931, event was that the role of Punjabi Muslims became more frequent in Muslim politics of Kashmir. The engagement of Punjabi Muslim organizations in Kashmir politics has been viewed by many writers as influence of 'communal' ideology. But considering the internal rivalries of Punjabi organizations (Ahmadiyas and Ahrars) and competition to spread their influence, which intensified the fissures among Kashmiri leadership, the application of the term

'communal' to the political context of Kashmir is misappropriation. Soon after the 1931 agitation the Muslims of Kashmir got politically divided under the leadership of Shaikh Abdullah and Mirwaiz Yousuf Shah. The Muslim leadership in Kashmir was itself politically divided, therefore, can't be called 'communal'.[‡] There were the Punjabis of Kashmiri origin, who had migrated in the past due to political and economic instability in Kashmir. It was this diaspora that whole heartedly supported the cause of their brethren in the Valley. The processions were carried out in Punjab demanding Government of India's intervention in amelioration of the grievances of Kashmiri Muslims. The Punjabi Muslims who voiced the growing discontent of their Muslim brethren in Kashmir were representing two rival sets— Ahmadiyas and Ahrars. All India Kashmir Committee formed within a week after 13, July event was dominated by Ahmadiyas. It called for an inquiry into the incident of 13 July 1931 by the government and declared 14 August as 'Kashmir Day' in order to express their solidarity with Kashmiris. (Tribune, 1931)

Ahrar agitation in the state had converged with series of grievances felt by the largely Muslim cultivators of Jammu province. The protests spread to Mirpur, Rajouri and Kotli. The Muslim in Jammu provinces gave vent to their political economic grievances in the form of rioting (ibid.). The peasants of Mirpur were subjected to exorbitant taxation and other illegal exactions. Due to political uprising in the Valley and infiltration of Ahrar *Jathas*, they started no-revenue campaign under the leadership of Sardar Gouhar Rehman and Mufti Ziauddin. (Rashid, n.a.) The assertion of the Jammu Muslim cultivators was directed against tax collectors and urban and rural Hindu creditors, who were accused of disposing them of their lands at a time of agrarian crisis.

The foregoing discussion suggests that on the eve of 1931 agitation the different sections of Kashmiri society particularly peasants and artisans were seething with discontent. The anger they had accumulated against autocratic state and its corrupt and prejudicial state structure was ignited by the wave of democracy that had swept south Asia during late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The situation is aptly stated by P.N. Bazaz as:

'Any man could see that old structures were shaking and breaking in the state. The earth was running under their feet; the times were moving fast and everything was going out of joint

[‡] Ayesha Jalal argues in favour of deconstructing the term communalism in south Asian context considering internal contradictions within religious communities. Jalal, Ayesha, "Exploding Communalism: The Politics of Muslim Identity in South Asia" in Bose Sugata and Jalal Ayesha, ed. *Nationalism Democracy and Development: State and Politics in India*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998-99, p. 18.

before their very eyes. Yet seeing the authorities saw not, nor, did they understand. Such was their colossal incompetence!

To conclude, it is abundantly clear that the uprising of 1931 was primarily rooted in class conflict and was part of the global movement for civil liberties and democracy. The economic and religious identities of Hindus and Muslims coincided, therefore, the class conflict was falsely perceived as 'communal'. However, one cannot deny the role of religion as mobilizing tool. It was so because of the poor class consciousness, and in the absence of class ideology, religion provided the ideology of revolt. As Bipan Chandra says, 'modern politics compel people to organize on the basis of wider collective identities, if such organization does not occur on the basis of nation or class, it would occur on the basis of religion or some other basis.' (Chandra, 2015) Therefore, the 13th July 1931 event should not be viewed as 'communal' conflict rather the beginning of a movement in favour of civil liberties, equality, individual freedom, democratic rights and above all a responsible government, which had its origin in French Revolution of 1789. The revolution kindled nationalism in Europe. Then the Asian countries like Japan, Turkey, Iran, China and India fell under its spell.

References

- Abdullah, Shaikh Mohammad. (1986). *Atish-i- Chinar* (Urdu). Srinagar:Ali Mohammad and Sons
- Bamzai, P. N. K., (1994). *Culture and Political History of Kashmir*, Vol.III, M D Publications, New Delhi
- Bandyopadyay, Sekhar. (2015). *From Plassey to Partition and After: A History of Modern India*, Second edition, Hyderabad: Oriental Black Swan
- Bazaz, P. N. (1941). *Inside Kashmir*, Srinagar: The Kashmir Publishing Co.
- Chand, Tara. (1961). *History of Freedom Movement in India*, Vol.I, New Delhi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting
- Chandra, Bipan. (2015). *Communalism in Modern India*, New Delhi: Har Anand Publications
- Copland, Ian. (1981). 'Islam and Political Mobilization in Kashmir, 1931-34', *Pacific Affairs*, 54 (2)
- Dalal, Barjor. (1931). *Report of the Srinagar Riot Enquiry Committee*, Srinagar: Partap Government Press
- Glancy J. (1932). *Report of the Commission appointed under the order of His Highness, the Maharaja Bahadur dated 12th November, 1931 to*

enquire into Grievances and complaints, Jammu: Ranbir Government Press

- Hussain, Mirza Shafiq. (1992). *History of Kashmir: A study of Documents (1916-39)*, Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and cultural Research
- Kaul, K. (2004). 'Kashmiryat – A Counter Point' in M. K. Kaw (ed.), *Kashmir and its People: Studies in Evolution of Kashmiri Society*, New Delhi: APH. Publishing Corporation
- Khan G. H. (1980). *Freedom Movement in Kashmir*, Delhi: Life and Light Publishers
- Lal, Koul Mohan. (1994). *Kashmir Past and Present: Unravelling the mystique* New Delhi: Manav Publishers
- Rai, Mirdu. (2004). *Hindu Rulers Muslim Subjects: Islam Rights and History of Kashmir*. New Delhi: Permanent Black
- Rashid, (n.a.) Tasir, *Tariekh-i-Huriyat-i-Kashmir*
- Saraf M. Y. (1979). *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom*, vol. I, Lahore: Feroz Sons
- *Tribune*, 29, August 1931, p. 9; 4 September, p. 8; & 29 July, p. 8
- Wingate, A. (1888). *Preliminary Report of Settlement in Kashmir and Jammu*, Lahore: W, Ball & Co.,
- Zutshi, Chetralekha. (2004). *Languages of Belonging: Islam, Regional Identity and the Making of Kashmir*, Delhi: Permanent Black
- Zutshi, U. K. (1986). *Emergence of Political Awakening in Kashmir*, New Delhi: Manohar

Consumerism and Environmental Sustainability: A theoretical understanding

Journal of Society in Kashmir

11(1) 87-94

ISSN: 2249-667X

© 2021 Author(s)

<http://sociology.uok.edu.in/Files/c2d3b27>

8-4cf7-49a5-9525-

af5e352f2900/Journal/25158791-6573-4660-

8aa5-e257608b69f9.pdf

Hilal Ahmad Kumar*

Abstract

Nature and capitalism are two mismatched entities and they have always been in opposition to each other. Due to the capitalist development, nature is exploited and sacrificed. Ruthless capitalist development induces irreversible destruction to our nature. A prosperous, growing, and safe country needs water, clean air, forests, and arable land. Under current trends, these components of the natural resource foundation threaten to decline significantly as population and per capita incomes rise. Despite the urgent need for society to mitigate environmental catastrophe and shift towards a sustainable way of living, the problem of wasteful consumerism is only increasing. This research explores why this is the case through an analysis of meaning and motivation for modern consumerism. To address the tension between the problem of wasteful consumerism and sustainability, this research analyses the emerging discourse on sustainable consumption lifestyles.

Keywords

Capitalism, consumerism, environment, sustainable development

Introduction

Consumerism is best defined as a cultural state in which economic consumption has taken on a life of its own (Miles, 1998). It's a situation in which the activity of consumerism is taking over more and more cultural functions, colonizing more and more areas of human experience. (Bauman, 1998 Habermas, 1984 Jackson, 2006, Jahangir, 2014). It refers to the ways in which an expanding number of 'social discussions' are used to pursue hedonistic pleasures or to mark status and identity, in addition to the well-worn arguments surrounding the uses of consumerism to

* Research Scholar, Department of sociology, University of Kashmir, Srinagar, Jammu and Kashmir
Email: hilalahmad006@gmail.com

pursue hedonistic pleasures or to mark status and identity. (Jackson, 2006) such as questions of morality, meaning and the good life are mediated through processes of consumption. As a result, consumerism is defined by high levels of economic consumption, which leads to increased material consumption and accelerated environmental destruction. In a nutshell, whereas balancing the act of "sustainable consumption" is at least possible, balancing the act of "sustainable consumerism" is significantly more difficult.

Objectives of the study

- To have conceptual analysis of consumerism and environmental sustainability by surveying relevant review of literature;
- to analyze the dialectics between the problem of wasteful consumerism and sustainability and
- to analyze the emerging discourse on sustainable consumption life styles and identities.

Methodology

This study used mostly secondary data. A deductive approach, as opposed to inductive approach, was used in this study. Deductive theory is an approach in which the researcher uses knowledge and theories that have been previously developed on a particular topic to test using a hypothesis and ultimately subject to empirical testing (Bryman, 2001). Ultimately, the goal of this study is to understand the dichotomous relationship between consumerism and environmental sustainability as well as emerging approaches.

Consumerism and capitalism

Capitalism forms the context in which most of the world now responds to global environmental change. It has engendered widespread adverse effects on social welfare, the environment, and human rights; has engendered inequalities and widened poverty within and between states; and has unleashed an attack on the welfare state (Jahangir and Shafi, 2015). Besides, it produces (and is produced by) particular types of environmental change, and forms the basis of the political institutions and social relations which define our collective ability to effectively respond to environmental change. This is increasingly at odds even with establishment rhetoric and policy debates about a new green deal, the 'greening' of capitalism or calls for an altogether different capitalism: one less prone to crisis and instability and consistent with tackling climate change. Clearly there is a great deal of important work on issues such as payments for ecosystem services, attempts to value and commodity

water, carbon and forests (Bakker, 2004; Corbera and Brown, 2008), or about more generic attempts to 'marketise' environmental governance (Newell, 2008). But the Mainstream global environmental change community rarely writes openly about capitalism and ecology. There are of course many critical and radical journals that have no such inhibitions (Capitalism, Nature, Socialism and Antipode being two obvious examples) and some disciplinary journals devote greater attention to the analysis of capitalism, such as *Geoforum* or *Transactions*, but again only a handful of articles explicitly address the relationship between capitalism and ecology in those terms. There are also large bodies of work, cited below, which look at the relationship between capitalism and ecology in generic terms but, thus far, they have remained outliers in the orthodox study of global environmental change. Why is that and does it matter?

Approaches to sustainable development and environment

There has been extensive academic literature produced on the concept of sustainable development; this literature has emerged from various disciplines such as development studies, environmental studies, sociology and economics which adopt differing views of the emergence, practice and goals of sustainable development. Differing approaches towards sustainable development have also emerged between mainstream perspectives, such as those of the United Nations and the World Bank, who approach sustainable development primarily in terms of economic conditions and critical perspectives, such as Environmental Marxists and Poststructuralists, who adopt a more ecologically focused approach. The substantial debate surrounding sustainable development is reflected by the broad range of literature available on the subject (Castro 2004). However most if not all approaches to sustainable development have reached a consensus that it is mainly concerned with maintaining conditions for the future generations. Most definitions acknowledge the three interdependent pillars on which sustainable development is based; the environmental, economic and social dimensions and they recognize that the ultimate goal is to simultaneously achieve maximum progress across all three areas. The majority of approaches also accept the necessity of establishing a compromise between economic development and environmental sustainability so that economic growth can be pursued in an environmentally sustainable manner in both the developed and the developing world. The most established mainstream perspective of sustainable development is provided by the approach of the UN which is widely recognized. Mainstream approaches emphasize that environmental degradation in the developing world is caused by a combination of poverty, poor

governance and the ignorance of the general public. Mainstream sustainable development also accepts the persistence of contemporary neoliberal capitalism and the approach of dominant developmentalism rather than challenging them (Adams 2009, p. 116). The most established mainstream perspective of sustainable development is provided by the approach of the UN which is widely recognized as the initiator of serious international discussion on sustainable development as a global challenge. The UN views poverty and inequality as an underlying cause of environmental degradation, therefore it focuses on addressing the underlying causes of poverty and inequality in order to prevent further environmental degradation and ensure greater environmental sustainability in the future (WCED 1987). Greater economic growth in developing nations, according to the UN, will alleviate and finally eliminate poverty and inequality by creating freer markets and transferring knowledge, capital, and technology from the developed world. The World Bank has a neoliberal approach to sustainable development, emphasizing the role of the free market and market mechanisms in achieving ecologically friendly practices. The United Nations and the World Bank's strategy is based on orthodox environmental economics, which claims that economic growth in the periphery is required to avoid additional environmental damage. Environmental economics emphasizes the need of determining the economic implications of environmental policies in order to establish effective environmental policies that maintain environmental sustainability without constraining economic growth. It considers nature to be a form of capital or an asset, and hence the goal of sustainable development necessitates that the change in capital stocks over time is not negative. This view has been criticized on many levels; philosophically as nature cannot be viewed as a commodity of the economy and methodologically as a price cannot be set on nature (Castro 2004, pp. 200-202). It is argued that the mainstream approach to sustainable development is more concerned with sustaining economic development than with achieving environmental sustainability. Those critical of the approach have claimed that it seeks to manage environmental conditions in order to ensure maximum long-term capital accumulation rather than to achieve practices of sustainable development. The view of the mainstream approach that global environmental factors can be addressed by slightly adjusting existing market mechanisms and without altering the fundamental character of the capitalist economy has also come under severe criticism, particularly from those who approach sustainable development from a critical perspective (Castro 2004, p. 207, Escobar 1995, pp. 75-77). Environmental Marxists also provide a detailed critique

of the possibilities of achieving environmental sustainability in a capitalist society. They take an opposite position from environmental economists in most issues; according to environmental Marxists mainstream sustainable development is basically economic growth on capitalist terms and economic growth cannot be avoided or prevented under the current capitalist system (Castro 2004, pp. 214-216). Environmental Marxists highlights that capitalism and sustainable development have contradictory goals; capitalism causes a metabolic rift in relations between humans and nature as long distance trade moves energy and matter from one place to another and that the fundamental features of capitalism such as capital accumulation and the forced transformation of societies cannot continue if sustainable development practices are to be implemented. Environmental Marxism recognizes that sustainable development cannot be achieved in a capitalist system as this would be based on viewing the environment as a commodity; nature as capital that produces goods and services (Marx 1981, p. 754). It is essential to consider the environmental Marxism perspective of sustainable development as it seriously challenges the mainstream approach and provides a real alternative in the establishment of a truly democratic, just and sustainable society (Castro 2004, pp. 220). It is necessary to consider both the mainstream and critical perspectives of sustainable development in addition to the various approaches of different disciplines in order to gain an in-depth understanding of the concept. In practice, mainstream sustainable development dominates; this is reflected by international agreements such as the MDGs and the national policies and strategies of developed and developing countries that have been implemented in an attempt to achieve the three pillars of sustainable development. The MDGs and national economic and environmental policies have attempted to reconcile economic growth and environmental sustainability; while mainstream sustainable development deems this to be challenging but possible, the critical approach argues that the mainstream approach has overlooked significant issues and is contradictory in its aims. Other critical perspectives argue that sustainable development cannot be attained while neoliberal capitalism prevails.

Discussion

Sustainable lifestyles are ways of action and consumption, used by people to relate and identify themselves from others, which: meet basic needs, provide a better quality of life, minimize the use of natural resources and emissions of waste and pollutants over the lifecycle, and do not jeopardize the needs of future generations (Mont, 20071). Sustainable consumption is related to the process of purchasing products and

services, consuming and disposing, while sustainable lifestyles include a broader set of activities, such as interaction, leisure activities, sports and education, including, but not limited to, material consumption (Mont, 2007). A resolution of this tension can be found in the related concepts of sustainable lifestyles - which addresses the issue of meaning - and alternative hedonism (Soper, 2006) - which addresses the issues of pleasure and desire. The language of 'sustainable lifestyles' is becoming ubiquitous in media, comment and environmental policy and yet there is still a good deal of ambiguity as to what this actually means or entails. Part of this has to do with the difficulties involved in defining the concept of 'lifestyle'. Indeed, it has been suggested that the term can simultaneously refer to everything and mean absolutely nothing (Sobel, 1981). Nevertheless, as with consumption/consumerism, social and cultural theories have a wealth of insights to offer here and there have been some serious attempts to use these in explicating the concept of 'sustainable lifestyles' (for example Bedford, 2002 Spaargaren, 2003).

A good way of thinking about 'lifestyles' is as an assemblage of social practices, that represent a particular way of life and give substance to an individual's ongoing narrative self identity and self-actualization (Giddens, 1991). Again, there is an important symbolic dimension at play here but this does not mean -as the likes of Campbell (1995) suggest - that the analysis of lifestyles is the analysis of tastes rather than values or the triumph of aesthetics over ethics. Indeed, Giddens (1991) is keen to point out that these assemblages of practices should form a coherent life politics that takes into account questions of the right way to live one's life. It is important not to overplay the extent to which lifestyles are matters of reflexive choice as opposed to structural disposition (Bourdieu, 1984) and on this note, Spaargaren's (2003) analysis of sustainable lifestyles and sustainable consumption highlights the ways in which individual choices and social practices are both constrained and enabled by structural and institutional processes which, following Giddens (1984), he terms systems of provision.

Conclusion

The present discussion revealed that consumption behavior is influenced by both internal (socio-psychological, culture) and external (institutional, economic, infrastructure) factors which needs to be addressed, Government, business and consumers all need to act to enable sustainable lifestyles. The study emphasized that the government needs to get the incentive system right to promote the low carbon economy that we need. Different people will vary in their willingness and ability to change and will therefore require different approaches and incentives. The rebound

effect is hindering progress from improved resource efficiency and must be considered in policies aimed at improving production efficiencies. The present discussion also revealed that lifestyle analysis require a consumption perspective taking account the full lifecycle impact of everything we buy and use, which has a direct bearing on sustainable consumption. The study further revealed that there is a need of understanding local contexts conditions such as the influence of factors such as income, household size, education, culture, and so forth to establish factors that drive higher impact lifestyles. A global climate change agreement that involves both environmental and development issues must be realized to progress towards the drastic cuts in emissions needed. Once we have met our basic needs, further consumption doesn't seem to make us any happier. However, in the developed world we are increasingly consuming goods to satisfy non-material needs.

Bibliography

- Abeliotis, K., Koniari, C., & Sardianou, E. (2010). The Profile of the Green Consumer in Greece. *International Journal of Consumer Studies*, 34(2), 153-160.
- Antecedents and Outcomes of Consumer Environmentally friendly Attitudes and Behaviour. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 26(13/14), 1319-1344.
- Barbarossa, C., & De Pelsmacker, P. (2016). Positive and Negative Antecedents of Purchasing Ecofriendly Products: A Comparison Between Green and Non-green Consumers. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 134(2), 229-247.
- Jahangir, M. S. (2014). Reinventing Marx in Manuel Castells' Idea of Global Capitalism, *Journal of Society in Kashmir*, 4(1) 123-140
- Jahangir, M. S. and Shafi, A. (2015). Globalization and the resulting Inequalities within Nations: Case of India, *Journal of Society in Kashmir*, 5(1) 132-148
- Kumar, P., & Polonsky, M. J. (2017). An Analysis of the Green Consumer Domain within Sustainability Research: 1975 to 2014. *Australaian Marketing Journal*, 25(2), 85-96.
- Leonidou, C. N., & Leonidou, L. C. (2011). Research into Environmental Marketing/Management: A Bibliographic Analysis. *European Journal of Marketing*, 45(1-2), 68-103. Leonidou, L. C., Leonidou, C. N., & Kvasova, O. (2010).
- Liobikienė, G., & Bernatoniėnė, J. (2017). Why determinants of Green Purchase Cannot be Treated Equally? The Case of Green

Cosmetics: Literature Review. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 162, 109- 120.

- McDonagh, P., & Prothero, A. (2014). Sustainability Marketing Research: Past, Present and Future. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 30(11-12), 1186-1219.
- Nguyen, T. N., Lobo, A., & Greenland, S. (2016). Pro-environmental Purchase Behaviour: The Role of Consumers' Biospheric Values. *Journal of Retailing and Consumer Services*, 33, 98-108.
- Nguyen, T. N., Lobo, A., & Greenland, S. (2017). The Influence of Cultural Values on Green Purchase Behaviour. *Marketing Intelligence & Planning*, 35(3), 377-396.
- Olson, E. L. (2013). It's Not Easy Being Green: The Effects of Attribute Tradeoffs on Green Product Preference and Choice. *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, 41(2), 171-184.
- Polonsky, M. J. (2011). Transformative Green Marketing: Impediments and Opportunities. *Journal of Business Research*, 64(12), 1311-1319.
- Prothero, A., Dobscha, S., Freund, J., Kilbourne, W., Luchs, M. G., Ozanne, L. K., & Th gersen, J. (2011). Sustainable Consumption: Opportunities for Consumer Research and Public Policy. *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 30(1), 31-38.
- Romani, S., Grappi, S., & Bagozzi, R. P. (2016). Corporate Socially Responsible Initiatives and Their Effects on Consumption of Green Products. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 135(2), 253-264.
- Steg, L., Bolderdijk, J. W., Keizer, K., & Perlaviciute, G. (2014). An Integrated Framework for Encouraging Pro-environmental Behaviour: The Role of Values, Situational Factors and Goals. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 38, 104-115.
- Tilikidou, I., & Delistavrou, A. (2014). Pro-Environmental Purchasing Behaviour During the Economic Crisis. *Marketing Intelligence & Planning*, 32(2), 160-173.
- UNEP. (2015). UNEP 2014 Annual Report. Retrieved 16 April 2016, from United Nations Environment Programme <http://www.unep.org/annualreport/2015/en/index.html>
- UNEP. (2016). UNEP Frontiers 2016 Report: Emerging Issues of Environmental Concern. Nairobi, Kenya: United Nations Environment Programme

Knowledge, attitudes and practices of family planning: A review of literature

Journal of Society in Kashmir
11(1) 95-111

ISSN: 2249-667X

© 2021 Author(s)

<http://sociology.uok.edu.in/Files/c2d3b27>

8-4cf7-49a5-9525-

af5e352f2900/Journal/e4aab283-30e5-4853-

99f6-3c624ec09c9d.pdf

Nadeem Ahmad Wani*

Abstract

Family planning is a key aspect of reproductive health and is also an important factor in individual and family well-being, with direct implications for overall physical and mental health and for general quality of life. Public opinion on family planning is important both because it reflects important contraceptive-related issues dealt with by individuals on a daily basis, and also because it has implications for national policy. The public opinion has, one way or the other and at different times, been getting reflected in the academic discourses. The present paper, as such, makes an attempt to explore the reflection of the family planning in available literature by reviewing some of the main contributions.

Keywords

Family planning, fertility, quality of life, procreation, religion

Introduction

Family planning is a key aspect of reproductive health and is also an important factor in individual and family well-being, with direct implications for overall physical and mental health and for general quality of life. Public opinion on family planning is important both because it reflects important contraceptive-related issues dealt with by individuals on a daily basis, and also because it has implications for national policy. All the societies and the major religions of the world were basically pro-natalist since their inception while population control and scientific family planning are very recent phenomenon. At the same time it is also noteworthy that human beings have interfered with their fertility since time immemorial go through the full fecundity.

* Member, Juvenile Justice Board (Pulwama), ICPS, Government of Jammu and Kashmir

Email: nadeemwanijb@gmail.com

With the human population now exceeding 7 billion and food and energy prices rising, the longstanding question of the adverse consequences of expanding populations in the developing world and rising consumption everywhere is commanding the attention of growing numbers of scientists and policymakers. In addition to the depletion of environmental resources and the impact of global climate change, other potential adverse effects of rapid population growth and high fertility include poor health among women and children, slow economic growth and widespread poverty, and political instability in countries with large numbers of unemployed young people. Since the 1960s, alongside efforts to increase levels of education and improve health conditions, the main policy response to rapid population growth has been the implementation of voluntary family planning programs that provide information about, and access to, contraception. This policy has permitted women and men to control their reproductive lives and avoid unwanted childbearing. The choice of voluntary family planning programs as the principal policy to reduce fertility has been based largely on the documentation of a substantial level of unwanted childbearing and an unsatisfied demand for contraception (Bongaarts et.al., 2012) Family planning being a viable solution to control such fast growing populations, not only helps in spacing and limiting the number of children, but also improves maternal and child health, empowers women and boosts economic development (Kumar and Singh, 2013).

Review of literature

The issue of family planning is a multidimensional; consequently it has been the focus of attention for many authors, organization and governments of all nations. It has subsequently sought the attention of academia also. Many books have been written on family planning and religion, abortion and birth control. A large number of books, reports and studies are available which consider the concepts and theories after a critical and empirical evaluation. Following is humble overview of some of the major works carried out in this field.

Ahmed (1990) examined determinants of desired family size of rural Bangladeshi women. The study had taken 5513 sample size of ever-married women between 10-49 years. It was a two-stage analysis. In the first stage, numeric and non-numeric responses for desired family size were examined. In the second stage determinants of desired family size of those women who expressed numeric desire of the desired family size were examined. Logic and multiple-linear regression models were adopted. The results indicated that older women, uneducated women without work experience and Muslim women expressed non-numeric

response for the desired family size. Wife's education and work experiences were positively related to expression of numeric response. One of the interesting finding of the study was that those women whose husbands were engaged in agricultural activities desired they have more number of children than those women's husbands who were engaged in non-agricultural occupation.

Hirschman (1990) analyzed the fertility determinants of four South Asian Societies viz. Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines and Thailand. The analysis was based on the micro data samples of eight-population census for the four countries from 1970 to 1980. Education and employment were taken as indicators of women's status. A multi level model of fertility was applied to draw the results. The results of the study revealed that education of women had a stronger impact on fertility than employment in the early period of investigation but in later period it was women's employment in the modern sector rather than education which had a stronger effect.

Donahoe (1996), *Men and family planning in Bangladesh* deemed it a duty to investigate whether men in Bangladesh have interest in practicing family planning or not. The author covered variety of topics which include: Male fertility preference, opinions about methods of men's contraception, family planning, decision making and the effort to involve Bangladesh men in family planning programmes. The author explains further that men in Bangladesh are suitable targets for family planning programs. The average men do not want more than two children and do not want them spaced but closed together. According to the author, it seems that the concerted efforts to involve men in family planning have been few and far between up to their time.

Sandhya (2000) examined variable proportion about fertility and family planning across different communities. The study was based on data collected from a survey of 800 eligible couples (men and women), twenty-three service providers and thirteen opinion builders. Analysis was carried out at the village level, household level and among eligible couples. The variable, which is taken as fertility measurement was the total number of conception and total number of living children. Three types of multivariate analysis applied includes multivariate analysis, regression analysis, general linear modeling and discriminate analysis. The findings showed that the number of conception was higher among adopters than among non-adopters in the younger age groups. Muslims had higher number of conception than Christians and Hindus irrespective of age, occupation of women and education and occupation of husbands, and religion of spouses.

Mahrizi (2000), focuses on the character of women with regard to family affairs and woman's participation in the social life. He also makes it known that modesty and chastity is the main essence of Islamic veiling. He again criticized some collections of Hadith which seek to undermine the integrity of Muslim women and therefore considered such collection as weak and false. The author, however, did not talk about the recent high birth rates recorded in some Muslim communities which put much burden on the woman.

Underwood (2000) believe that Muslim religious leaders are often viewed as real or potential obstacles to family planning. Research is needed to understand more fully their knowledge, attitudes and beliefs about family planning and how they differ from those held by the general public. He also points out that child spacing or family planning is permissible. With respect to contraception, Muslim scholars universally accept the legitimacy of a Hadith wherein the Prophet indicated that withdrawal is permitted after all if God wanted to create something, no one could avert it. Furthermore, he pointed out that the Quran says God does not wish to burden a believer which implies that the quality life of children overrides concerns about quantity.

According to the study conducted by Underwood, eighty percent of men, 86per cent of women, 82per cent of male religious leaders and 98per cent of female religious leaders believe that family planning is in keeping with the tenets of Islam. Among religious leaders, 36per cent reported that they had preached about family planning in the year preceding the survey. Seventy-five percent of women and 62per cent of men in the general public said that they had spoken about family planning with their spouse, and 9per cent and 17per cent, respectively, reported having spoken with a religious leader. On a scale of 0-10 measuring agreement with statements regarding the benefits of family planning, women averaged 9.4 and men 8.8, while male religious leaders averaged 6.5 and female religious leaders 7.2. Among the general public, 74per cent of women and 58per cent of men said that deciding to practice contraception is a joint decision between husband and wife. About 90per cent of religious leaders agreed or agreed strongly with the statement that contraceptive decisions should be made jointly by husband and wife. Women were significantly more likely than men to believe that specific contraceptive methods are permitted under Islam, and male religious leaders were more likely than were men in the general population to find specific methods acceptable. Only 26per cent of men cited interpersonal communication as a source of family planning information, compared with 66per cent of women, 73per cent of male religious leaders and 89per cent of female religious leaders. Almost three-quarters of men and

women said they want to know more about family planning. Although Islamic religious leaders in Jordan cite different reasons than the general public to justify the use of contraceptives, they are as likely as others in the population to approve of family planning. According to Underwood, permanent methods are permissible when additional pregnancies pose a threat to a woman's health. However, there appears to be considerable uncertainty among religious leaders and the public alike about the acceptability of some modern contraceptive methods such as IUD and implants.

Mishra (2004) examines the differentials in fertility and contraceptive use by religion using data from India's 1992–93 and 1998–99 National Family Health Surveys. The analysis shows that socioeconomic factors do not explain lower use of family planning and higher fertility among Muslims. The study finds that religion strongly influences contraceptive use and fertility among Muslims, while the differences between Hindus and women of other religions are largely due to differences in their socioeconomic characteristics. Substantially greater opposition to family planning among Muslims, as reflected in a larger proportion of women mentioning opposition to family planning as a reason for current and intended future nonuse—may be one of the explanations for their lower contraceptive use and higher fertility. Heavy reliance of India's family planning program on sterilization and Muslims' preference for temporary methods may be another reason for lower use of family planning among Muslims. A third reason for lower acceptance of family planning among Muslims may be heavy reliance of India's family planning program on public sector sources of supply and Muslims' preference for private-sector services, due to greater needs for privacy among Muslims. The findings suggest that greater availability of modern temporary methods and expansion of private-sector family planning services may increase contraceptive use and lower fertility among Muslims in India. Education and motivation programs aimed at reducing opposition to family planning may also help achieve these objectives.

Bhagat and Phararaj (2005), found that the independent effect of religion on fertility after controlling for several socio-economic variables on the one hand, and the autonomous influence of education on the other hand, affirm that education and religion operate in an interacting system. Thus it is evident that much of the proximate determinants related to cultural practices are no longer significant in causing Hindu- Muslim differential in fertility. In such a situation, family planning emerges as the most proximate determinant influencing Hindu- Muslim fertility differentials. On the other hand Muslim use a higher level of spacing methods like pills IUD and condoms and also traditional methods like periodic abstinence

and withdrawal as compared to Hindu. In addition to directly influencing fertility through the proximate determinant religion can also impact fertility indirectly through socio-economic factors.

James and Nair (2005) examined about accelerated decline in fertility in India since 1980s among Hindus and Muslims. This study finds that the fertility among Muslims follows nearly the same pace of transition as that of Hindus. Particularly when an accelerated decline in fertility in the country is taking place the fertility transition among Indian Muslims is unwarranted. He also analyzed the proximate determinants of fertility among Hindus and Muslims as against the socio-economic differentials as causes for the differences in reproductive behavior. Some of the proximate determinants of fertility in this study include influence of culture, society, economic condition, standard of living number of children and contraceptive use. And the variables, which lead to change in fertility, are marriage pattern, contraception use, induced abortion, and post-partum infecundability. The fertility transition is well underway in both the communities in India nearly at the same pace. It may be true that different communities adopt different strategies for a reduction in fertility and they are limiting family size to the desired level.

Dhardingam, Nawneelham and Morgan (2005)[†] examined Hindu-Muslim difference in desire for additional children and use of contraceptives. They found that additional children and use of contraceptives are pervasive across India and almost invariant across states and districts. The Muslim - Hindu difference has narrowed between 1992-1993 to 1998-99 and also Muslim-Hindu fertility behaviour seems to be moving towards convergence.

Kulkami and Algarajan (2005), study the socioeconomic characteristics to be controlled are those that possibly influence fertility. Multiple regressions were used for the analysis. Demographic research has recognized education, income, residence (rural or urban), occupation, or work participation as possible factors that have a bearing on fertility. The fertility influenced by education is most commonly observed in most societies. The socio economic factors do not seem to explain the religious differential in fertility. Of the four proximate determinant of fertility, contraceptive use is the one that is commonly cited as the prime factor contributing to religious differentials in fertility.

[†] Dharmalingam, A. Navanectham and Philip Morgan, S. (2005). "Muslim- Hindu fertility differences: Evidence from National Family Health Survey- II", **Economic and Political Weekly**, Jan 29. XL (5) pp. 429-436.

MariBhat and Francis (2005)[‡], by using multivariate analysis of regression, observed that in rural areas, the number of children born alive for Muslim couples with effective marital duration of 36 years or more was 8 percent higher than the corresponding number for Hindu couples. The data for urban areas shows that household size is larger among Muslims than Hindus in every cumulated percentile group. SC and ST variables show negative contributions because they tend to act to reduce the Hindu- Muslim differences in fertility measures.

Ahmad et. al. (2006), also point out that the Qur'an does not prohibit birth control, nor does it forbid a husband and wife to space pregnancies or limit their number of children. Thus a great majority of Islamic jurists believe that family planning is permissible in Islam. The silence of the Quran on the issue of contraception, these jurists have argued that it is not a matter of omission by God, as He is "All knowing". They also note that coitus interruptus or withdrawal is permissible with the wife's consent and there are a number of ahadith that advocate family planning especially coitus interrupts or withdrawal. Arguments and counter arguments on the position of Islam on family planning and its importance to the development of the communities and again the effects of large families called for investigation into this field of study. On the basis of findings of study, authors have proposed some important suggestions for policy implications; Low literacy rate must be shifted to high literacy rate and all out efforts must be made to transform a civilized society through education. More reforms and facilities to involve maximum number of people for getting education in urban areas in general and rural areas in particular must be introduced. The misperceptions regarding family planning and small family norms must be eradicated through dialogue and debate. The religious leaders must be brought into main streamline for spreading the true Islamic norms regarding family size. All mediums of communications must be used for delivering the true Islamic education regarding family planning and limiting the family size on massive ground. It was found during survey that a sect (Ahlea-Hadith) opposed the small family size and considered it against the teachings of Islam. It is a need of the time to bring forward the eminent scholars of this sect and their valuable opinion may be got for the others followers of this sect. Our cultural norms regarding early female marriages, son preference, gender discrimination and lack of knowledge are the basic hindrance in limiting

[‡] Mari Bhat, P .N. and Francis Xavier. A. J (2005) "Role of religion in fertility decline -The Case of Indian Muslim" Economic and Political Weekly, Jan-29, LXL (5), Pp: 385-402.

family size, which need to be changed by increasing the literacy rate in our society, as education is the prime pillar for change and revolution.

Amirrtha et. al. (2008) are of the view that family and marriage are fundamental to Islamic society. Islam recognizes the normalcy of sexual intercourse provided it is within marriage. They stated that a majority of Islamic scholars indicate that family planning is not forbidden. Muslims' opinions regarding contraception range from permissible to disapproval. Some Muslim fundamentalists insist that contraception of any form violates God's intentions. They argue that when the justification of contraception is provided such as health, social and economic indications, coitus-interruptus becomes recommended provided the method is reversible and does not induce abortion.

Fleischman and Moore (2009), argue that family planning presents an urgent global health priority for the twenty-first century. Family planning services help women and men around the world to make informed decisions about the number and spacing of their children, which is a major determinant of a newly born child, maternal and family health. By extension, the authors indicated that, the economic well being of families, communities and even countries is improved by access to family planning services. The study believes that family planning services save lives. By equipping women and couples with the power to decide whether and when to have children, family planning significantly and demonstrably reduces infant mortality, maternal mortality, and child mortality, and improves maternal, child, and family health, including by reducing teen pregnancy. Nearly 10 million children die before age five, usually at birth or in the first month of life, often linked to pregnancies less than a year apart. An estimated 536,000 women die each year from pregnancy-related causes, 99 percent of whom live in the developing world. Complications from pregnancy and childbirth are the leading cause of death for adolescent girls ages 15 to 19 in developing countries. The study also opines that family planning services reduce abortion. Unmet need for contraception is recognized as the leading cause of an estimated 52 million unintended pregnancies annually in the developing world. Those pregnancies, in turn, are the major cause of an estimated 20 million unsafe and usually illegal abortions. These abortions lead to an estimated 68,000 maternal deaths and a far larger incidence of other adverse health consequences. Besides family planning services have major "secondary" benefits to families and communities. There are broad social, economic, and environmental benefits from millions of women and men choosing to control the spacing and number of children, all tied to family size and to helping communities address rapid population growth. Such benefits include improved prospects for economic

development; lower demand for food; reduced environmental degradation; greater ability to prevent and control disease; and improved educational and economic opportunities, especially for women and girls. There is also great potential for individual benefits such as delayed child marriage, delayed first pregnancies, and reduced domestic violence. They also point out that “studies in Zambia shows that every dollar invested in family planning led to four dollars saved in other developmental areas”. Even though the authors could not specifically relate the above to Islam, relating it to Islam would not be out of place. This is because Islam is a universal code of life and also places much emphasis on things that would bring good to mankind.

Shweta and Singh (2010) analyzed the knowledge and the rate of adoption of family planning methods across the various communities, age groups, education categories, family types and house types in Kashi Vidyapeeth Block in Varanasi district. Knowledge of family planning methods, according to the authors, is regarded as a key for the success of this programme. Religion and caste are important cultural factors that determine the use of family planning methods. They play a crucial role in forming the values, attitudes and action of people regarding family planning. The relevant data collected by interviewing 400 women respondents showed that 246 (61.5per cent) respondents had knowledge of family planning methods and 176 (71.5per cent) out of 246 respondents adopted family planning methods. The substantial gap between knowledge and adoption in contraceptive methods has been found in the study area. Female sterilization appeared the most popular contraceptive method in Kashi Vidyapeeth block. The socio- economic and cultural conditions of the people have direct bearing upon the adoption of family planning programme. High population pressure, low literacy particularly, that of females, and stratified caste structure in the villages under study are chief reasons of low adoption level of family planning programmes.

Education plays an important role in access to knowledge and practice of family planning methods. The knowledge of family planning method is nearly widespread among all educated women. The study also reveals that in nuclear family system couples are free to make their decision about the size of family. While in Joint family, children are not regarded as burden of their parents because they are also cared by other family members. However, there is higher chance of knowledge about family planning methods in joint family on account of more members in the family. Communication plays a vital role in ensuring the knowledge for choice of family planning methods. Effective communication empowers people to seek what is best for their own health and to exercise their right

to good-quality health care. As noted, people make many of their biggest family planning decisions, including whether to control their fertility and whether to use a family planning method, before ever seeking contraception. There is a need to shift from women centric approach to couple centric approach for family planning. The authors opine for strong political will and commitment of the people along with improved socio-economic condition, vigorous implementation of family planning strategies through mass campaign and adequate supply of family planning materials. Education appears an important predictor for increasing family planning programme.

Okech et. al. (2011) examined the utilization level of family planning services and to analyze the determinants of demand for family planning services among women in City slums in Kenya. To realize this objective, a survey design was adopted. The target population constituted women in city slums in Kenya, who were identified through multistage random sampling. Primary data was collected from the women using a structured interview schedule. A fact sheet was used to summarize the data collected before it was cleaned, coded and edited for completeness and accuracy. The study revealed low usage of contraceptives compared to the national level. Use of the services varied in terms of demographic and socioeconomic factors of the woman and also the woman's perception in terms of the facility/provider factors such quality, friendliness of staff and promotion. Various factors accounted for the low use of family planning services. These included partner's approval, quality of the services, friendliness of the staff administering the services and the woman's knowledge about family planning services. Other factors included the woman's income level, proximity to the provider and the religious background of the woman. To increase the use of family planning services among women in slums, activities of community based distributors should be revived and enhanced, promotion of family planning education and activities at the household level should be accorded priority.

The authors have recommended that the government through the Ministry of Health should revive and support family planning education at both household and community level that targets the woman and her partner. This could be undertaken through print and mass media, market places as well as newsletters and posters. Additionally, the Ministry of Health should encourage the uptake of contraceptives at household level by enhancing continuous promotion of family planning services and provision of free condoms. This could be realized by supporting family planning outreach activities by the health workers. This is expected to contribute positively towards enhancing awareness of family planning

services and the benefits and side effects. Enhancing standards and regulation to ensure that contraceptives provided are of good quality. In addition, public health facilities may need to use revenue generated through facility improvement funds (FIF) to improve the quality of FP services, including infrastructure, to encourage utilization of the services at facility level by the providers. The authors have also recommended a creation of advocacy groups at community level. This will not only articulate the rights of the clients, in this case the woman who seek contraceptives, but will lead to cultural and attitude change towards the services thereby encouraging their uptake. In the end, this is expected to contribute positively towards a reduction in the total fertility rate as well as decline in population growth rate. NGOs, CBOs, and other institutions involved in family planning need to initiate and promote targeting programmes for the uptake of the services in the slums.

Gizaw and Regassa (2011) have used data collected from 551 women respondents (age 15 to 49) selected through systematic random sampling techniques. Data were analyzed using both univariate and multi-variate statistical techniques. The findings of the study revealed that the level of knowledge and approval of family planning were high. However, the actual practice of family planning methods was found to be low where only few were using any family planning method at the time of the survey. The most common methods for both ever and current users were injectable, pills and condom, whereas the most common source of family planning information was reported to be clinics. The logistic regression model showed that the likelihood of family planning service utilization is higher for those with higher parity, literate, approved use of family planning methods, discussed with husband/partners and those exposed to mass media. Fertility related, opposition, methods related, and access to sources/knowledge were reported reasons by non-users. Finally, based on the key findings of the study, some plausible recommendations were given which includes: educating potential users about the benefits of family planning, intensive male-targeted information, improving accessibility and availability of contraceptives and building the capacity of service providers at the institutional level. Although knowledge of contraceptive methods was high among women in the study population, reported level of current utilization of family planning methods was low. The majority of the respondents are not using family planning methods due to a number of reasons which includes fertility related, opposition and methods related reasons. This suggests that knowledge about methods is not yet translated into practice in the study area. The family planning service utilization decisions is a function of wide range of factors which includes: disapproval of family planning by the women

themselves, lack of spousal communication, poor education and lack of access to media. It is also understood from the aforementioned discussions that the role of men in promoting family planning utilization is generally low, partly suggesting that men are the primary decision-makers on issues relating to fertility and fertility control. Finally, the authors have given some recommendation in light of the findings: educating potential users about the benefits of family planning, the types of methods available, the relative effectiveness and side effects of the various methods; intensive male-targeted information, education, and communication about family planning; and improving accessibility and availability of contraceptives; and building the capacity of service providers at the institutional level are some of the possible interventions requiring the attention of local governmental and nongovernmental bodies.

Makade et. al. (2012) studied awareness, practices, preferred method of contraception, emergency contraceptive and Medical Termination of Pregnancy (MTP) and awareness of family planning services in the slums of Mumbai. Besides this, they also studied the decision making regarding contraceptive use. The study was a community based cross sectional observational study and was conducted among married women in reproductive age group.

These results of the study indicate that awareness about contraceptives is not sufficient for its actual use in this community and extended efforts will be needed after making people aware about these methods for practical use of these methods. High level of knowledge and awareness does not match with contraceptive usage rate. The study also revealed that male sterilization was not practised at all by the sample under study. There is a huge gap between the knowledge and willingness to use of MTP. The gap was also seen between willingness to use and actual usage of MTP. Such type of knowledge application gap is also seen in emergency contraceptives. There is significant difference between knowledge and willingness to use emergency contraception. Converting knowledge into practice is the real challenge for India as far as family planning is concerned. Awareness about the various family planning centers in the nearby residential area and services provided by them should be created. Special emphasis should be given on IUD, vasectomy and emergency contraceptives.

Involvement of men in not only decision making but also practising family planning methods should be stressed. New ways of motivating people to adopt and sustain family planning methods should be considered. Understanding how choices regarding family planning are made will help in accelerating the process of fertility decline. Finally

improving the status of women in the society and increasing their role in decision making about family planning issues will help India to achieve its long term family planning goals.

Save the Children (2012), how healthy timing and spacing of pregnancy saves lives as well as improving the supply of family planning services for the benefit of the people in the communities. Again, stimulating demand for family planning through empowering women is also discussed. This report addresses the often contentious issue of family planning throughout the world. It discusses how women and children's lives are saved when women have a choice about the timing and spacing of their pregnancies. The report states that becoming pregnant too soon, approximately less than 24 months after a previous birth is dangerous for mothers and their babies. Enabling access to family planning, assisting women to delay conception for at least three years after giving birth reduces risk of maternal and newborn complications and has the potential to save up to 1.8 million lives each year. Despite this in many parts of the world, contraception is not easily available and the report states that some 222 million women, who don't want to get pregnant currently don't have access to contraception. In 2012, an estimated 80 million mistimed pregnancies will occur in developing countries. On a positive note, the report states that worldwide the percentage of couples using modern methods of contraception increased from 41 per cent in 1980 to 56 per cent in 2009. Despite this since 2000, rate of progress has slowed considerably to an annual growth rate of just 0.1 per cent. Re-invigorating efforts to increase access to family planning and fulfill unmet need is put forward as being central to saving babies' and children's lives and preventing adolescent girls from dying in childbirth. In turn it is stated that these efforts increase women's ability to control whether and when they have children and how many children they have, reflecting and enabling their empowerment. Smaller family sizes and a more equal social status and role for women are also stated to have broader benefits for society.

Global Health Program (2012) explains that, guided by the belief that every life has equal value, Bill and Melinda Gate Foundation works to help all people lead healthy and productive lives. According to this health program, family planning is hailed as one of the great public health achievements of the last century and yet over 200 million women worldwide who want to use contraceptives do not have access to them. The world's poorest women and men are not empowered to decide the number of children and timing of their births despite the fact that complications during pregnancy and child birth are a leading cause of death among women in Africa. The vision of Global Health Program as

indicated in the book is to make all women and men in developing countries know about and have access to quality family. This program, therefore, supports voluntary family planning as a means to meet the needs of women and men and to significantly reduce maternal and infant deaths, enhancing the livelihood of women and reduction of poverty. Ghana as part of the developing countries is faced with the problem of maternal mortality and high rate of poverty especially in most Muslim communities. If family planning is the proposed solution to these problems, then we have to investigate to ascertain what really pertains on the ground in these communities and how family planning can effectively improve the lives of Muslims in the communities.

Kumar and Singh (2013) use the information on currently married women from nationally representative survey and study trends, differentials and determinants of unmet need in the state of Bihar. Opposition to use family planning methods emerge as a major constellation of reasons. Within "opposition to use", religious prohibition and the opposition of husband and sometimes opposition from the respondent herself were the main reasons for not using contraception. It is not surprising since Bihar is considered socioeconomically one of the most underdeveloped states in India. This largely traditional and poor society is still characterized by low literacy not only among women but also among men. Issues such as contraception in these societies are generally avoided and not talked about. According to the study, about 25 per cent of the currently married women, aged 15 - 49 years, in Bihar have an unmet need for family planning services, 11 per cent for spacing and 12 per cent for limiting. Only 18 per cent of total demand for spacing methods is met compared to about 72 per cent of total demand for limiting methods. The unmet need for family planning among Muslim (32 per cent), rural (24 per cent) and adolescent (36 per cent) and poor women (26 per cent) is relatively higher than other groups. "Religious prohibition" and "husband opposed" were the main reasons for not using contraception. A considerable proportion of older women (45 - 49 years) and those living in urban areas cited method-related reasons. About 86 per cent of Muslim women cited opposition to use as the main reason for not using family planning. The same is also substantiated by logistic regression analysis where the odds of unmet need were significantly higher among Muslim women. Women from Other Backward Castes and rich households had lower odds of unmet need for family planning. The results highlight the need of an effective implementation of information, education and communication activities in the communities and improvement in the quality of advice and care services related to family planning.

Conclusion

From the preceding assessment, it is significant to conclude that the family planning program plays an essential role in reducing the fertility among people through adoption of various means of birth control. On analyzing the socio-economic and demographic data available from various sources, it is observed that religion, education, occupation and income play a vital role in changing fertility rate and family planning acceptance across Hindus, Muslims and Christians. Most of the studies conducted in various parts of the world show a significant association between contraception behaviour, fertility and religion. This adoption of family planning and contraception of fertility behaviour among women show a close relation with that of demographic factors like percentage of urban population, density of population, sex ratio, and literacy rate.

References

- Ahmad, Farooq, Muhammad Hanif and M. Iqbal Zafar. 2006. 'Attitude of Religious Leaders (Imam Masjid) Towards Family Planning', *Journal of Agriculture and Social Sciences* 2(3) pp. 163-166
- Ahmed, Bashir. (1990). "Determinants of desired family size in rural Bangladesh: A two-stage Analysis", *The Journal of Family Welfare*, Vo1.36, No.1, Pp: 22- 31.
- Amirrtha, Srikanthan and Reid, Robert L. (2008). 'Religious and Cultural Influences on Contraception', *Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology*, 30 (2), 129-137.
- Bhagat, R. B. and Praharaj, Purujit. (2005). "Hindu-Muslim Fertility Differentials', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Jan-29, XL (5), pp: 411-418
- Bongaarts, John, John Cleland, John W. Townsend, Jane T. Bertrand and Monica Das Gupta. (2012). *Family Planning Programs for the 21st Century Rationale and design*. New York: Population Council
- Dharmalingam, A. Navanectham and Philip Morgan, S. (2005). "Muslim- Hindu fertility differences: Evidence from National Family Health Survey- II', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Jan 29. XL (5) pp. 429-436.
- Donahoe, D. (1996). *Men and family planning in Bangladesh: A review of the literature*. Dhaka: Population Council.
- Fleischman, Janet and Moore, Allen. (2009). *International Family Planning: A Common-Ground Approach to an Expanded U.S. Role*. Washington: Center for Strategic and International Studies

- Gizaw, Abebe and Regassa, Nigatu. (2011). 'Family planning service utilization in Mojo town, Ethiopia: A population based study', *Journal of Geography and Regional Planning* 4(6), pp. 355-363
- Hirschman, Charles. (1990). "Multi-level models of fertility Determination on four south East Asian Countries: 1970 and 1980." *Demography*, 27 (3) pp. 371.396
- James, K.S. and Sajin, B. Nair. (2005). "Accelerated Decline in Fertility in India since 1980s Trends among Hindus and Muslims" *Economic and Political Weekly*, Jan-29, XL (5) pp. 375-383.
- Kulkarni, P. M. and Manoj Alagarajan. (2005). "Population Growth, Fertility, and Religion in India" *Economic and Political Weekly*, Jan-29, XL (5), pp. 403-410.
- Kumar, Amit and Singh, Aditya. (2013). Trends and Determinants of Unmet Needs for Family Planning in Bihar(India): Evidence from National Family Health Surveys. *Advances in Applied Sociology*. 3(2). 157-163
- Mahrizi, Mahdi. (2000). *Women. Iran: Ansariyan Publications*
- Makade Kiran G., Manasi Padhyegurjar, Shekhar B Padhyegurjar and R N Kulkarni. (2012). 'Study of Contraceptive Use among Married Women In A Slum In Mumbai', *National Journal of Community Medicine* 3 (1) 40-43
- Mari Bhat, P .N. and Francis Xavier. A. J. (2005). "Role of religion in fertility decline -The Case of Indian Muslim" *Economic and Political Weekly*, Jan-29, LXL (5), Pp: 385-402.
- Mishra, Vinod. (2004). 'Muslim/Non-Muslim Differentials in Fertility and Family Planning in India', *Population and Health Series*, No. 112, East-West Center Working Paper. Hawaii
- Okech, Timothy C., Wawire, Nelson W. and Mburu, Tom K. (2011). 'Contraceptive Use among Women of Reproductive Age in Kenya's City Slums', *International Journal of Business and Social Science* 2(1), pp. 22-43
- Sandhya, S. (2000). *Family planning: Perceptions and Services across Communities*. New Delhi Northern Book Centre
- Save the children. (2012). *Every woman's Right: How family planning save children lives*. London: http://www.savethechildren.org/atf/cf/per_cent7B9def2ebe-10ae-432c-9bd0-df91d2eba74aper_cent7D/EVERY_WOMANS_RIGHT_REPORT_JUNE_2012.PDF

- Shweta and Singh, M. B. 2010. 'Knowledge and Pattern of Family planning Adoption in Kashi Vidyapeeth Block, Varanasi District (U.P.)', *Indian J. Prev. Soc. Med.* 41 (1-2), pp. 21-27
- Underwood, Carol. (2000). 'Islamic precepts and family planning-The Perceptions Of Jordanian Religious Leaders and Their Constituents', *International Family Planning Perspectives* 26 (3)

Article

Crime against women in India: An analysis

Journal of Society in Kashmir
11(1) 112-135

ISSN: 2249-667X

© 2021 Author(s)

<http://sociology.uok.edu.in/Files/c2d3b27>

8-4cf7-49a5-9525-

af5e352f2900/Journal/4ac356b8-8e4f-4cf9-

a85b-307b6dca5890.pdf

Ajaz Ahmad Gilani*

Abstract

Crime against women, a global human rights issue, has emerged as an impediment to the ideals of equality and freedom. Crime against women is a powerful control of their lives; it affects women of every age, ethnicity, region or religion. Studies have found that women are most at risk from men known to them. Methodologically, this paper is based on data extracted from NCRB reports and supplemented by other published resources such as books, articles and reports of governmental/ non-governmental organizations. This paper attempts to examine various types of crimes committed against women. It also attempts to engage rather theoretically with the notions of and inter-linkages between law, crime and women. Towards the end, the paper offers an analysis of various crimes committed against women in India, in addition to exploring the consequences thereof. This paper will serve as a guide to design mechanisms to counter this menace.

Keywords

Crime, intimate partner, women, victims, violence

Introduction

Women constitute one of the most vulnerable sections of people in terms of violence (Powell & Wahidin, 2007). Violence, a human rights violation, affects women irrespective of their age, socio-economic status, ethnicity or religion. Research, more particularly on domestic violence and rape, shows that women are more at risk from men known to them (Cook, Skogan, Cook, Antunes, 1982). National and international organizations are committed towards ensuring the protection of women and their rights. For example, United Nations General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against

* Assistant Professor (Contractual), Department of Sociology, University of Kashmir, Srinagar, Jammu and Kashmir
Email: ajaz.gilani@gmail.com

Women in 1979. India became signatory to this convention in 1993 and committed itself to work for the elimination of all types of discriminations which place women at disadvantage.

Crime against women has its roots in patriarchy characterized by unequal distribution of power between men and women (Lerner, 1986) as well as gendered distribution of labour, predominantly prevalent in familial settings. Within such gender based roles, women had no or least access to the outside world unlike men. This sort of prescribed behaviour and role performance regulates their everyday lives; and any violation of the prescriptions was highly condemned by the society. The assemblage of gendered roles for women denies them of the access to and processes of decision making which consequently results in an unequal distribution of power. The disproportionate power distribution translates into different forms of crimes committed against women. Scholars across disciplines attempted to explore various forms of crimes victimising women such as intimate partner violence, non-intimate partner violence, women trafficking, forced prostitution, physical and sexual abuse against prostitutes, abortion, female infanticide, rape and rape in war (Rao, 1997; Kumar, 1998; Banerjee, 1999; Dreze and Khera, 2000; Mukherjee, Rusragi and Krishnaji, 2001; Watts and Zimmerman, 2002; Venis and Horton, 2002; Ahuja, 2007; Rani & Bonu, 2008). Studies addressing crime against women, predominantly committed by men, are on the rise in academia since the dawn of radical feminism in 1970. However, the idea here is not to engage with the ideological connotations and different spheres of feminist movements. Instead, the centre of attention in this study will predominantly be on crimes committed against women.

Crimes against women are not culture specific or geographically driven, it uniformly exists in almost all societies across the globe (*see*: Cohen, 1941; *also see*: Evans and Herbert, 1989). The phrase 'crime against women' broadly entails varieties of actions aimed at women to hurt them physically and psychologically. The United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women offers a widely accepted definition of what constitutes violence against women. It reads: "any act of gender based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life" (UN, 1993: Art. 1). The UN Declaration also provides a list of the types of violence committed by men against women by stating: "Violence against women.... [includes acts of] physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring in the family, including battering, sexual abuse of female children in the household, dowry-related violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation and other traditional practices

harmful to women, non-spousal violence and violence related to exploitation”; “Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring within the general community, including rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment and intimidation at work, in educational institutions and elsewhere, trafficking in women and forced prostitution” and also “Physical, sexual and psychological violence perpetrated or condoned by the State, wherever it occurs” (*ibid.* art.2a, 2b, 2c).

Methodology

This study uses mixed approach to analyse the varieties of crimes committed against women in India. The study is based on quantitative data obtained from Crime in India reports prepared by National Crime Records Bureau, India. This data is supplemented by various documents such as reports of governmental and non-governmental organizations (national and international), published literature in the form of books, journals and articles as well as legal-judicial documents. At the onset, it attempts to offer a conceptual framework of crimes against women and how scholars have engaged with the problem. It also attempts to deconstruct the idea through which women occupied an inferior position in our societies since the past, thus trying, rather theoretically, to explore the inter-linkages between crime and women; and also between the notions of patriarchy and violence against women; and how patriarchy reinforces violence against women.

Law, crime and women – contours of the debate

Crimes against and victimization of women has been one of the appealing areas of research for scholars beyond disciplinary borders. Since the dawn of the civilization, societies or communities are governed by a specific set of rules acceptable to all. These rules are a means to regulate the patterns of living as well as relationship patterns of members through restrict and control the certain acts and allowing others. There is thus interdependence between society and law; however what is forbidden or not under these rules is elusive because of the differing nature of societies. Certain actions forbidden under the societal rules were defined through public opinion and laws were framed subsequently. Therefore the need is to understand law in relation to crime since no act qualifies to be a crime unless defined by law. Law as such is composed of significant elements – ‘the enacted or imperative element’ and the traditional or habitual element’ (Pound, 1912). The ‘enacted element’ corresponds to the modern conception of law unlike traditional element which is an old conception. The traditional element, through judiciary, gradually becomes the basis for the formation of imperative elements through

enactment “upon the expressed will of the sovereign”, legitimized by ‘the power of the state’ (Pound, 1912: 115).

Sir William Blackstone’s “*Commentaries on the laws of England*” published in 1753 offers an illustration of the conception of law (but ignoring the sovereignty of the state in its enactment) by stating: law “is that rule of action which is prescribed by some superior and which the inferior is bound to obey”. This conventional understanding of law has no merit in the federal state. Rather the enactment of laws is the authority of the sovereign state imposed upon the citizens who are bound to obey. It is a mechanism to legally and institutionally control citizens through actors such as police; there is however no commandment involved, at least not an imposition from the superior to the inferior. Citizens are free under law to control their own actions in a society where they have aspirations and desires towards certain things; controlling their own actions indicates ensuring there is no harm caused to others. But if citizen’s actions affect other citizens in any way, physically or verbally, the possibility is that law will take its due course. The nature of legal actions is intrinsically reflexive of the nature of odd actions. The odd actions comprise the prohibited behaviours which invite legal actions and are defined as crimes. In India, crimes are defined under various laws contained in Indian Penal Code and other civil laws.

In this backdrop one might be tempted to ask who are the perpetrators and who is victimized, thus creating a rigidly gendered offender-victim binary. While men in most of the cases are the perpetrators, but then women have far less been offenders than men and more as victims than men also (NCRB, 2019). This argument takes one back to the masculinity theory of Talcott Parsons (1954) according to which crime and masculinity are two interdependent ideologies in the sense that masculinity is a driving force for crime and metaphorically crime is masculine. This postulation expels women from the domain of supremacy and their dealings with public outside the domestic sphere; instead women are culturally expected to manage domestic business involving private engagements and engaging in male oriented activities was completely restricted to them. The gendered division of labour has had a great impact on men and women equally; men predominantly dissociating from feminine roles. However, scholars argue that feminine construction based on role performance has its roots in the biological differences among human beings in terms of the nature of sex. This understanding of sexual divide has been borrowed from Parsons (1954) by many social scientists and criminologists (for example: Cohen, 1955; Bertrand, 1969; Bustamante, 1973; Klein and Kress, 1976); however they could not succeed in their attempts to arrive at a consensus about the

gendered nature of humans. The usage of the terms masculinity and femininity to envisage the criminality of men and women will be a fuzzy attempt. Therefore the claim that men are the perpetrators of crime and correlating women with conformity is a contested argument.

The contention that men commit more crimes than women is validated through the statistical figures captured by Crime in India reports (See for example, NCRB, 2019). Most of the studies conducted in India also reveal that male offenders exceed the count against female offenders in almost all form of crimes categorized under Indian Penal Code or Local and Special Laws (Dreze and Khera, 2000). However, other studies conducted globally claim that the only offence females overtake against men is the crime related to property (Cameron, 1964; Brady & Mitchell, 1971) and assault on men (Straus, 2009); some even claimed, in general, the rising number of female offenders (Price, 1977). There are even others who claim that female offenders are courteously dealt by police and judiciary; and consequently they escape from the most frequent act of labelling as a criminal, unlike male offenders (Adler, 1975). To counter this, scholars argue that certain female offenders are the recipients of courteous treatment for less serious crimes; however following recidivism, more retributive treatment follows (Edwards, 1984). The varying explanations of favourable treatments further complicates the problem of analysing a gender based comparative model of offending.

Despite all these theoretical and empirical intricacies, scholars (Kersten, 1996; Dreze and Khera, 2000) have engaged with the problem of crime against women through a stereotypically orthodox lens, relying heavily on the theory of masculinity, considering men only as the perpetrators of crime as mentioned earlier.

Crime forms and crime mapping

Women, irrespective of the socio-economic-religious factors, are vulnerable to any form of crime. The details about crime incidents are easily made available to researchers by many developing countries to tackle this problem; India is no exception to it. The incidents of crimes in India are high enough but the available data does not reflect the actual number of criminal cases against women because most of the cases go unreported (see for example: Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Atal, 1993; Chinkin, 1995; Heidensohn, 1996; Visaria, 2000). Despite this, the available data suggests that its intensity is extremely high and alarmingly increasing per year in many states of India (NCRB, 2019). The data does not though provide explanations of the situations in which crime is committed; however it does offer an insight into the varieties of crimes. A spatial analysis of data extracted from NCRB report (2019) on crimes

against women is necessary to identify the hot-spot regions for special attention by the criminal justice administration. The spatial features of crime occurrences serves to affect the rate of crime through external interventions by altering people and their activities. Conversely, however, “if the spatial distribution of crime is essentially random, then targeting specific places is not likely to be an effective crime control strategy” (Anselin, Cohen, Cook et al., 2000: 213-214).

Table 1.1: State-wise crime incidences and their percentage contribution

S. No.	State/UT	No. of incidences	Percentage
1	Andhra Pradesh	17746	4.37
2	Arunachal Pradesh	317	0.08
3	Assam	30025	7.40
4	Bihar	18587	4.58
5	Chattisgarh	7689	1.89
6	Goa	329	0.08
7	Gujarat	8799	2.17
8	Haryana	14683	3.62
9	Himachal Pradesh	1636	0.40
10	Jammu and Kashmir	3069	0.76
11	Jharkhand	8760	2.16
12	Karnataka	13828	3.41
13	Kerela	11462	2.82
14	Madhya Pradesh	27560	6.79
15	Maharashtra	37144	9.15
16	Manipur	266	0.07
17	Meghalaya	558	0.14
18	Mizoram	170	0.04
19	Nagaland	43	0.01
20	Odisha	23183	5.71
21	Punjab	5886	1.45
22	Rajasthan	41550	10.24
23	Sikkim	125	0.03
24	Tamil Nadu	5934	1.46
25	Telangana	18394	4.53
26	Tripura	1070	0.26
27	Uttar Pradesh	59853	14.75
28	Uttarkhand	2541	0.63
29	West Bengal	30394	7.49
30	A&N Islands	135	0.03
31	Chandigarh	515	0.13
32	D&N Haveli	49	0.01
33	Daman & Diu	33	0.01
34	Delhi	13395	3.30
35	Lakshadweep	38	0.01
36	Puducherry	95	0.02
Total		405861	100

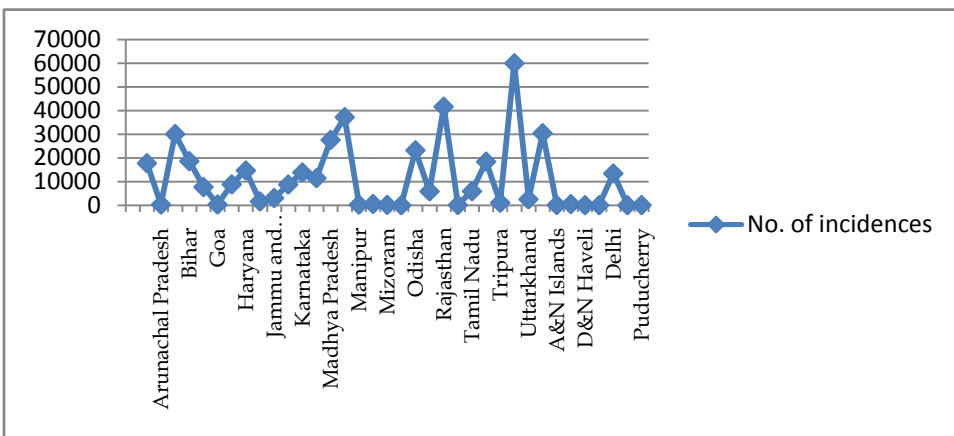
Source: Crime in India Report 2013.

Table 1.1 below offers state-wise breakup of the cumulative figure of crimes against women and their percentage contribution to the total crimes against them.

The percentage share of crimes against women as shown in the table has been derived from the total number of crimes committed against women only and excludes crimes not involving women.

As can be seen from table 1.1 above, the total number of crimes committed against women is 405861. Such a huge number of crimes have been reported from different geographical locations of the country. There is visible disparity in terms of number of crimes reported from various States/UTs. While some States/UTs have reported as less as 33 crime incidences in its jurisdiction, others have reported as high as around sixty thousand. As such, the highest percentage share of crime to the country's total is recorded for Uttar Pradesh (14.75 percent) with 59853 crime incidences. This is followed by Rajasthan (10.24 percent) having a total of 41550 crime incidences and Rajasthan (9.15 percent) with 37144 reported crime incidence against women. Most of the states/Union Territories have recorded less than even 1 percent share of the crimes. These include Arunachal Pradesh, Goa, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim, Tripura, Uttarkhand, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Chandigarh, Dadar & Nagar Haveli, Daman & Diu, Lakshadweep and Puducherry. Lakshadweep shares a negligible percentage of crime against women (0.01 percent only). The remaining States/Union Territories share between 1 percent and 7.4 percent of crimes. The graphical representation of state-wise crime distribution (in the sequence given in table 1.1 above) is shown in figure 1.1 below:

Figure 1.1: State/UT-wise incidence of Crime against women in India



Source: Data extracted from Crime in India report 2019.

The huge incidences of crimes in the country as shown in table 1.1 represents the total number of crimes committed against women. The most horrifying trends found by a study conducted at the Centre for Women's Development Studies (CWDS) with regard to the varieties of crimes committed against women include: increasing rate of crimes against women over the years, domestic violence including cruelty by husband and relatives has the highest crime rate; daily reported crime cases against women are 337 among which rape cases are extremely high; sexual harassment cases are tremendously increasing over the years and so on (CWDS, 2002). Against these terrible trends, the data collected for this study equally suggests an alarming rate of crimes against women in its various forms. Table 1.2 below shows various forms of crimes committed against women in India and a graphical representation of them can be seen in figure 1.2 below:

Table 1.2: Types of Crimes against women reported from various States/UTs

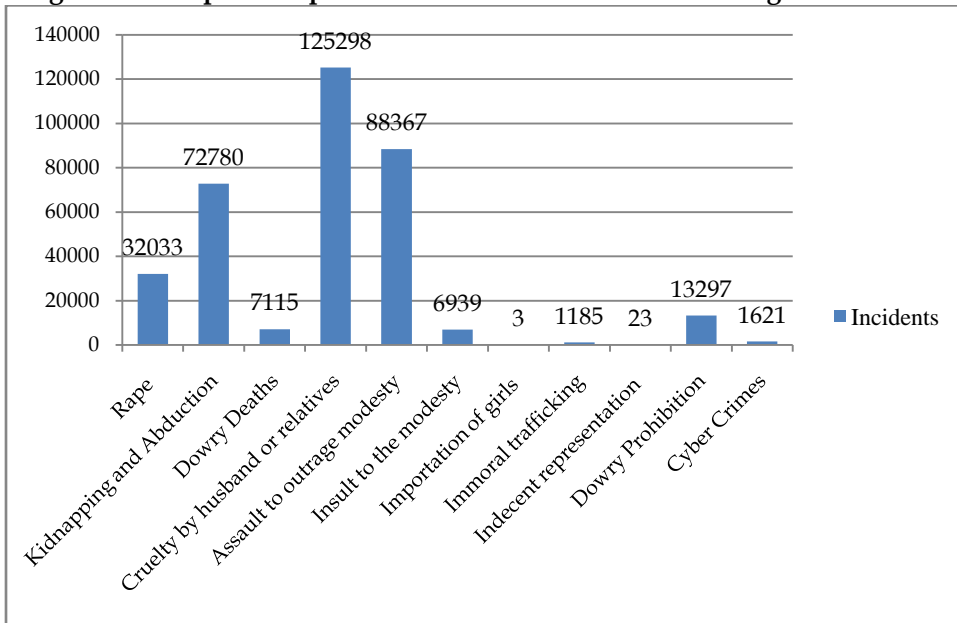
S. No.	Crime	Incidents
1	Rape	32033
2	Kidnapping and Abduction	72780
3	Dowry Deaths	7115
4	Cruelty by Husband or relatives	125298
5	Assault on Women to outrage her modesty	88367
6	Insult to the modesty of women	6939
7	Importation of girls	3
9	Immoral trafficking	1185
10	Indecent representation of women	23
11	Dowry Prohibition	13297
12	Cyber Crimes	1621
Total		348661

Source: Data extracted from Crime in India Report 2013.

The total number of crimes against women in India as shown in table 1.1 is 405861. This figure corresponds to the cumulative figure of all such crimes as recorded from across the country and therefore the number does not represent one specific geographical region in India. Among the given total number of crime incidents reported, NCRB data shows that the highest number among all types of crimes against women is 'for cruelty by husband or other relatives' with a total of 125298 while as the lowest among all is 3 recorded for the 'importation of girls from the foreign country' during 2019. The incidences of other forms of crimes

committed against women include rape (32033 incidences), kidnapping and abduction (72780 incidences), dowry deaths (7115 incidences), assault on women (88367 incidences), insult to the modesty of women (6939 incidences), immoral trafficking (1185 incidences), indecent representation of women (23 incidences) dowry prohibition (13297 incidences) and other cyber crimes (1621 incidences).

Figure 1.2: Graphical representation of incidences of crimes against women



In an attempt to understand the nature and severity of the crimes against women, one might look at how scholars across disciplines have engaged with these terminologies. Considering the varieties of crimes as can also be seen in figure 1.2, rape is construed as sexual intercourse with another person through physical force or threats. These acts are carried out without the consent of the other person, sometimes after kidnapping or abducting the female. Although the statutes concerning the legal definition of rape may differ from one region to another, however it is generally defined as 'sexual intercourse against the will of the victim'. This narrow definition of rape was later broadened by many states across the country to include other practices also such as 'penetration in any form - oral, anal or vaginal'. Apparently, there is no concord as to which sexual acts can be included in the definition of rape because it may take a variety of forms in a variety of situations. However scholars argue that all such acts, which are non-consenting and involve use of force, amounts to rape (Estrich, 1987; Wallach, 1997; Hasday, 2000; Vijayarasa, 2010; Decker

& Baroni, 2011; Raphael, 2011). This non-consensual forced attempt makes it an offence and so is punishable by varying degrees of penalties. As mentioned above, kidnapping and abduction in part contributes to the occurrence of rape crimes. Kidnapping and abduction generally is an act of lifting a person through force from family or from streets without consent but with certain intentions. It is a heinous crime and leaves everlasting impact on the victim, in general, and women in particular. The common trend seen in kidnapping and abduction cases is that both the abductor and the abducted are known to each other where the former uses certain amount of force against the latter (see: Human Rights Watch, 2006), however it can be committed by some unknown also for ransom (Burgess and Lanning, 2003; Marongiu and Clarke, 1993; Akpan, 2010); other possible reasons include inter-familial dispute or an intent to rape (Yang, Wu and Huang, 2007). Under section 362 of Indian Penal Code, abduction is a composition of two essential components which holds significance to consider an act as abduction: firstly, an act of compelling someone through the use of force or deceiving tactics; which (secondly) results in a non-consensual taking of such person from one place to another and remains under the control of the abductor till the intentions are fulfilled. Other controlling instruments that offenders use include psychological tricks such as stalking, death threats, sexual abuse and physical abuse (Fitzgerald and People, 2006; Morewitz, 2003; van Hasselt, Flood, Romano, et al., 2005; Morewitz, 2008). Immoral trafficking and importation of females are the sister segments to the issue of kidnapping and abduction. These purposive crimes are committed against women and girls for both social and economic reasons such as forced labour, sexual exploitation, and prostitution, which are growing rapidly across the globe. Victims of such crimes face several risks such as physical violence, rape, sexual assault as well as health risks (Ellsberg & Heise, 2005).

Dowry deaths and offences under dowry prohibition act are committed under the pretext of procuring property from brides marriages as gift from bridal family to the groom's family with expectations (of bridal family) in return to the acceptance and better treatment of bride thereafter (Atal, 1993; Krishnan, 2005). The conventional understanding of the concept of dowry though constituted a one-time payment upon marriage, which was a form of insurance for women. However gradually, the system changed due to people's voracity and consequently this form of gift-giving is now identified as an offence under various laws of IPC and L&SL. In response to the rising number of crimes related to dowry, The Dowry Prohibition Act 1961 was enacted which brought respite to the women waiting in the fatal queue to face the brunt of violence in the form

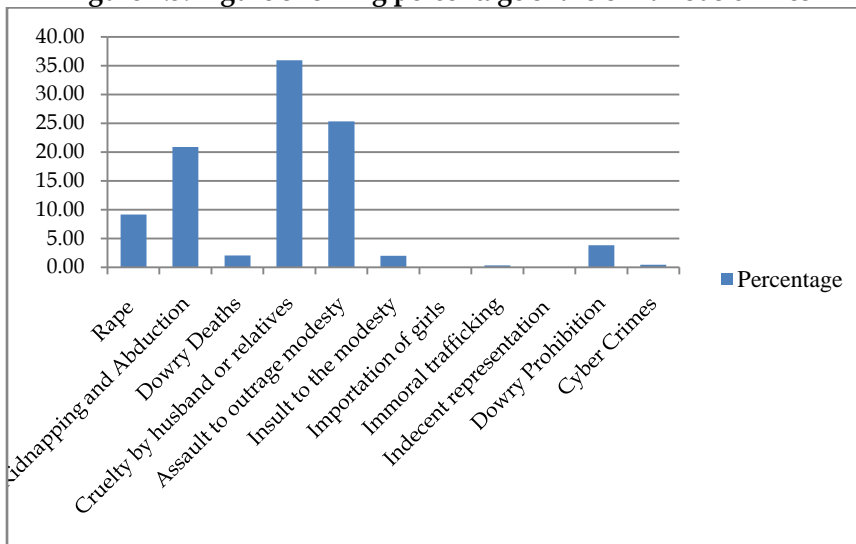
of burning, acid throwing, being driven to suicide or even murder (Lystad, 1975; Martin, 1976; Dobash and Dobash, 1979; Daly and Wilson, 1988).

Any resistance to the process of gift-giving by the bridal family would invite cruelty by husband or other family members, an allied notion of domestic violence (Straus and Gelles, 1990). This sort of intimate partner violence especially against women has emerged as one of the critical issues for academicians and criminal justice system alike (Colombini, Mayhew and Watts, 2008; Hattery, 2009). In the contemporary times intimate partner violence, a manifestation of gender inequality, is recognized as one of the concerns of human rights commonly taking the form of humiliation, threats, degradation and isolation (Follingstad & DeHart, 2000) or wife beating (Kantor & Straus, 1987; Levinson, 1989; Smith, 1990; Kantor & Straus, 1990; Jejeebhoy, 1998; Hattery, 2009; Sheehy, 2018). Scholars use the term 'patriarchal terrorism' to define cruelty by husband (Johnson, 1995; Johnson & Ferraro, 2000). A multitude of socio-economic factors are recognized as the indicators of intimate partner violence such as low family income, lower social status, poverty, lower levels of education, unemployment and so on. Scholars who attempted to engage with how these factors relate to the intimate partner violence did so from a family violence point of view considering stress, frustration or failed coping strategies; and also from a feminist lens through patriarchy, power and control (Conger, Elder, Lorenz et al., 1990; Voydanoff, 1990; MacMillian & Gartner, 1999; Wilkinson & Hamerschlag, 2005). Intimate partner violence inhibits women's ability to access her rights and fundamental freedom granted to them 'on the basis of equality with men' (United Nations, 1979); and immobilizes their capacity to engage effectively in the economic affairs, hinders their parental capabilities and weakens their ability to maintain a secure house; consequently, women are left homeless (Chamberlain and Johnson, 2013). Other forms of crimes against women include indecent representation, assault and insult to the modesty of a woman. An act called Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Act 1986 was enacted which defines indecent representation as 'the depiction in any manner of the figure of a woman, her form or body or any part thereof in such a way as to have the effect of being indecent, or derogatory to, denigrating, women, or is likely to deprave, corrupt or injure the public morality or morals'. Indecent representation involves victimization of women through posting offensive visuals with oral/written description. Visuals are shown through internet, usually social media, by posting nude images or indecent fashion of women supplemented by the personal details of the victim for their identification (Halder, 2013). Crimes such as

assault and insult largely come under the umbrella of sexual harassment and dealt under various acts of the IPC as well as L&SL. These forms of crimes against women/girls can extremely affect victim's inter-personal, intimate partner and familial relationships. Scholars argue that victims of such crimes receive poor responses from friends and family as well as from the health and legal consultants (Davis & Brickman, 1996; Ahrens, 2006). Other effects include financial costs as well as a myriad of other subtle immeasurable non-monetary costs (Mayhew & Adkins, 2003).

The graphical representation of the percentage share of various crimes committed against women during the year 2019 are shown in figure 1.3 below:

Figure 1.3: Figure showing percentage share of various crimes



Determinants and consequences of victimization

Women victimization is a serious concern among activists, NGOs, and the criminal justice system as well; but it has also received tremendous attention from sociologists and criminologists alike. Women victimization impedes gender equality as well as human and fundamental rights (United Nations, 1993). Studies so far conducted on how crimes committed against women/girls affect them have highlighted myriad devastating consequential effects from the victimization perspective and severity of violence also (Johnson, 2006; Vaillancourt, 2010; Johnson and Dawson, 2011). Women generally tend to have higher levels of fear of crimes especially in cases of non-spousal familial violence (Ferraro, 1995; 1996). They suffer from sudden physical and psychological impacts coupled with disruptions in daily lives; their quality of life is negatively

shaped for the rest of life which gradually highly influences their participation in various spheres of intra-familial and inter-familial life (Johnson, Ollus and Nevala, 2008). These are in addition to other social effects associated with health care (Johnson and Dawson, 2011). Women who encounter spousal violence are likely to remain silent (Storkey, 2018; Hattery & Smith, 2019); they are agonized and suffer emotional breakdown following the occurrence of crime and encounter suicidal tendencies (Morewitz, 2019). After the first attempts of spousal violence, they likely leave their spousal house (Wright, 2011; Hattery & Smith, 2019; Morewitz, 2019; Mallicoat, 2019) and prefer instead living an independent life; though some studies claim that victims prefer not to leave their partner's house for the fear of homelessness and financial hitches (Segrave, 2018; Storkey, 2018). Given these odds, I will categorize its consequential effects on four fronts: psychological, physical, financial, and social.

Psychological impact

Among the psychological effects include shock, disbelief, denial, anger, rage, fear terror, frustration, confusion, guilt, shame, humiliation, and grief (Burgess and Holmstrom, 1974; Walker, 1979; Browne, 1987; Herman, 1992; van-der Kolk, 1994; Campbell, Dworkin and Cabral, 2009; Wright, 2011; Storkey, 2018; Morewitz, 2019; Mallicoat, 2019). During the initial periods following the commission of crime, women experience disturbed sleeps (Barberet, 2014; Romain, 2016; Storkey, 2018; Mallicoat, 2019) and become confused, trying to find a reason for the harm caused to them. They are in constant; they feel terrorized and the fear of double victimization emanates their mind all the time. These unusual feelings yield panic attacks and force them to feel the need to be cared. These initial responses to crime however fade away quickly as they experience other emotional outbursts. They tend to show signs of rage and anger towards everyone they meet such as immediate family member, friends, and care-takers and also towards themselves (Follingstad, Wright, Lloyd and Sebastian, 1991; Morewitz, 2019) to the extent that this anger may result in self-harm; or there is a tendency for revenge. All these responses are to a certain extent condemned by the society and the victim subsequently feels neglected and isolated. This feeling of being isolated and neglected further kindles helplessness and frustration more often when they are unable to keep away from the offender, specifically in intimate partner violence. The frustration may last long if victims do not get proper care and support. Subsequently, the victims tend to start self-blaming (Pitts & Schwartz, 1997), develop a sense of guilt for being at the crime site. These reactions appear in cases where the victim fails to

identify the offender and so they start blaming themselves. Self-blaming stimulates shame, grief and embarrassment among the victims, particularly in cases of sexual violence (Gartner & Macmillan, 1995; Sable, Danis, Mauzy and Gallagher, 2006).

Physical impact

Women tend to show a variety of physical responses to crimes they face such as increased heart rate, tears, being frozen, dryness of mouth, and multiple forms of body-aches (Heise, Ellsberg and Gottemoeller, 1999; Campbell, 2002; Krug, Dahlberg, Mercy et al., 2002; Campbell, Moreno and Sharps, 2004). Most of these physical impacts are the immediate responses to crime victimization. However victims are likely to show signs of physical impacts afterwards also. The physical injuries are most of the times visible to others; however they tend to be invisible also such as brain injury. Therefore the assumption 'there is no injury' must not be conceived as there are no visible injuries. In certain exceptional cases, women suffer long-term physical disability, especially in domestic violence cases (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Levinson, 1989; Smith, 1990; Kantor & Straus, 1990; Jejeebhoy, 1998; Hattery, 2009; Sheehy, 2018). In response to these physical effects, scholars (such as: Johnson, 1996) argue that female victims are unable to resume their normal life or to start a new work life as they tend to feel the brunt of violence most frequently.

Financial impact

Measuring financial impacts of crimes against women, though, is discussed least in academia than other consequential factors such as social, physical, emotional, however studies have found that it invited extreme financial costs on victims (*see for example*: Kalmuss & Straus, 1982; also see: Visaria, 2000). For example, in cases of crimes committed by intimate partners or relatives, victims are likely to leave their marital life, which likely invites extra financial costs (Straus, 2009). Failure to return to work, as mentioned earlier, or difficulty to perform employment duties supplements their disrupting financial status. They likely tend to see their demotion or reduced salary; but they see rise in the costs incurred due to the legal assistance, new housing management and other costs. These responses are likely the expected outcome of crimes such as murder, torture, rape, intimate partner violence, and assault which creates feelings of insecurity, anger, emotional outburst, and fear.

Social impacts

Victims of crime tend to be treated as 'the other' in families and in society also; therefore they receive least attention and care services from them.

But they also face challenges in their encounters with criminal justice administration such as improper treatment and indecent behaviour of police and other legal agencies, especially in the processes of investigation and trial (Campbell, Sharps and Glass, 2001; Jordan, 2001; Fleury, 2002; Wright, 2011). In fact institutional policies, in essence a source of aid for victims, are a composition of procedures that can re-victimize women (see for example: Ursel, 2002) or act as secondary victimization sources (Campbell & Raja, 1999; Fedler, Motara and Webster, 2000; Mitchell & Anglin, 2009), such as media and criminal justice institutions. In social settings also especially among family and friends, due to the traditional orthodox belief systems, victims experience neglect and isolation from their immediate social milieu. They are being blamed for the crimes committed against them (Pitts & Schwartz, 1997; Mitchell & Anglin, 2009). To escape the social stigma attached to female victimization, families and friends quite often urge victims to overlook the incidents. Consequently, there is numbness, shock and a feeling of loneliness among the victims.

Conclusion

Studies such as this often pose a rather exploratory question as to what it suggests about the crimes against women. Obviously it would not be justified if answered in a word or two since the subject is a diverse one which has elicited positive and negative responses at the same time and at same places. But the common observation does remain the same that women had in the past and are still experiencing discrimination and violence at various paths of their lives. A glimpse of conceptual and theoretical aspects as well as the severity of the crimes coupled with knowledge of both reasons of and consequences therein for crimes against women will serve as a starting point to design mechanisms to counter the problem of violence against women. There is need for development policies to reassure women that any kind of violence/crime against them is unacceptable and no woman deserves to be the recipient of harsh treatment. It is to be suggested that the appalling toll of crime against women will not be eased without the intervention of various stakeholders such as civil society, state institutions and other national and international legal agencies.

Acknowledgment

This manuscript is the revised version of the paper presented at the "National Conference on Population, Resource and Environment" organized by Department of Geography, Aligarh Muslim University, AMU, Aligarh, March 1-2, 2011.

References

- Adler, F. (1975). *Sisters in crime: The rise of the new female criminal*. NY: McGraw Hill.
- Ahrens, C. (2006). Being silenced: The impact of negative social reactions on the disclosure of rape. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 38(3-4), 263-274. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10464-006-9069-9>
- Ahuja, R. (2007). *Crime against women*. Jaipur: Rawat Publications.
- Akpan, N. S. (2010). Kidnapping in Nigeria's niger delta: An exploratory study. *Journal of Social Sciences*, 24(1), 33-42. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09718923.2010.11892834>
- Anselin, L., Cohen, J., Cook, D., Gorr, W. & Tita, G. (2000). Spatial analysis of crime: Measurement and analysis of crime and justice. *Criminal Justice*, 4, 213-262.
- Atal, Y. (1993). Violence against Women: Reports from Indian and the Republic of Korea. UNESCO. <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000096629>
- Banerjee, K. (1999). Gender stratification and the contemporary marriage market in India. *Journal of Family Issues*, 20, 648-676. <https://doi.org/10.1177/019251399020005005>
- Barberet, R. (2014). *Women, Crime and Criminal Justice: A global enquiry*. London, NY: Routledge.
- Bertrand, M. A. (1969). Self image and delinquency: A contribution to the study of female criminality and woman's image. *Acta Criminologica*, 2(7), 71-144. <https://www.erudit.org/fr/revues/ac/1969-v2-n1-ac970/017007ar.pdf>
- Brady, J. F. and Mitchell, J. G. (1971). Shoplifting in Melbourne. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 4(3), 154-162. <https://doi.org/10.1177/000486587100400304>
- Browne, A. (1987). *When battered women kill*. NY, London: The Free Press.
- Burgess, A.W. & Lanning, K.V. (2003). An analysis of infant abductions (2nd edition). *National Center for Missing & Exploited Children*. http://takeroot.org/ee/pdf_files/library/Burgess.pdf
- Burgess, A. W. and Holmstrom, L. L. (1974). Rape trauma syndrome. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 131, 413-418. <https://doi.org/10.1176/ajp.131.9.981>

- Bustamante, D. H. (1973). The nature of female criminality. *Issues in Criminology*, 8(2), 117-136. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/42909687>
- Cameron, M. O. (1964). *The booster and the snitch*. London: Free Press of Glencoe.
- Campbell, J. (2002). Health consequences of intimate partner violence. *The Lancet*, 359, 1331-1336. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(02\)08336-8](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(02)08336-8)
- Campbell, J., Moreno, C. G. & Sharps, P. (2004). Abuse during pregnancy in industrialized and developing countries. *Violence Against Women*, 10(7), 770-789. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801204265551>
- Campbell, J., Sharps, P. & Glass, N. (2001). Risk assessment for intimate partner homicide. In G. Pinard & L. Pagani (eds.). *Clinical assessment of dangerousness: Empirical contributions* (pp. 136-157). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Campbell, R. & Raja, S. (1999). Secondary victimization of rape victims: Insights from mental health professionals who treat survivors of violence. *Violence and Victims*, 14(3), 261-275. <https://doi.org/10.1891/0886-6708.14.3.261>
- Campbell, R., Dworkin, E. & Cabral, G. (2009). An ecological model of the impact of sexual assault on women's mental health. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 10(3), 225-46. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838009334456>
- Chamberlain, C. and Johnson, G. (2013). Pathways into adult homelessness. *Journal of Sociology*, 49(1), 60-77. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1440783311422458>
- Chinkin, C. (1995). Violence against women: The international legal response. *Gender & Development*, 3(2), 23-28. <https://doi.org/10.1080/741921810>
- Cohen, A. L. (1955). *Delinquent boys: The culture of the gang*. Illinois: Free Press.
- Cohen, J. (1941). The geography of crime. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, 217(1), 29-37. <https://doi.org/10.1177/000271624121700105>
- Colombini, M., Mayhew, S. & Watts, C. (2008). Health-sector responses to intimate partner violence in low- and middle-income settings: a review of current models, challenges and opportunities. *Bulletin of the World Health Organization*, 86(8), 635-642. <https://www.who.int/bulletin/volumes/86/8/07-045906.pdf>

- Conger, R. D., Elder, G. H., Lorenz, F. O., Conger, K. J., Simons, R. L., Whitbeck, L. B., Huck, S. and Melby, J.N. (1990). Linking economic hardship to marital quality and instability. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 52(3), 643-656. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/352931>
- Cook, F. L., Skogan, W. G., Cook, T. D. & Antunes, G. E. (1982). *Setting and reformulating policy agendas: The case of criminal victimization of the elderly*. NY: Oxford University Press.
- CWDS. (2002). *Crimes against women: Bondage and beyond*. New Delhi: Centre for Women's Development Studies.
- Daly, M. & Wilson, M. (1988). *Homicide*. NY: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Davis, R. C. & Brickman, E. (1996). Supportive and unsupportive aspects of the behaviour of others towards victims of sexual and nonsexual assault. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 11(2), 250-262. <https://doi.org/10.1177/088626096011002008>
- Decker, J. F., & Baroni, P. G. (2011). No still means yes: The failure of the non-consent reform movement in American rape and sexual assault law. *The Journal of Criminal Law & Criminology*, 101(4), 1081-1170. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23150015>
- Dobash, R. E. & Dobash, R. P. (1979). *Violence against wives: A case against the patriarchy*. NY: Free Press.
- Dreze, J. & Khera, R. (2000). Crime, gender, and society in India: insights from homicide data. *Population Development Review*, 26(2), 335-352. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/172520>
- Edwards, S. M. (1984). *Women on Trial: A study of the female suspect, defendant and offender in the criminal law and criminal justice system*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Ellsberg, M. & Heise, L. (2005). Researching violence against women: A practical guide for researchers and activists. *World Health Organization*. <https://www.who.int/reproductivehealth/publications/violence/9241546476/en/>
- Estrich, S. (1987). *Real rape: How the legal system victimizes women who say no*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Evans, D. J. & Herbert, D. T. (1989). *The Geography of Crime* (edited). London: Routledge.
- Fedler, J., Motara, S. & Webster, N. (2000). Beyond the facelift: The legal system's need for a change of heart. In, Y. Jung Park, J. Fedler & Z. Dangoor (eds.). *Reclaiming women's spaces: New perspectives in violence against women and sheltering in South Africa*

- (pp. 121-148). Nisaa, Johannesburg, South Africa: Institute of Women's Development.
- Ferraro, K. F. (1995). *Fear of crime: Interpreting victimization risk*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
 - Ferraro, K.F. (1996). Women's fear of victimization: Shadow of sexual assault? *Social Forces*, 75, 667-690. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2580418>
 - Fitzgerald, J. & People, J. (2006). Victims of abduction: Patterns and case studies. *Crime & Justice Bull*, 94, 1-14. <https://www.bocsar.nsw.gov.au/Publications/CJB/cjb94.pdf>
 - Fleury, R. (2002). Missing voices: patterns of battered women's satisfaction with the criminal legal system. *Violence Against Women*, 8(2), 181-205. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10778010222183008>
 - Follingstad, D. R. & DeHart, D. D. (2000). Defining psychological abuse of husbands toward wives: Contexts, behaviors, and typologies. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 15(9), 891-920. <https://doi.org/10.1177/088626000015009001>
 - Follingstad, D. R., Wright, S., Lloyd, S. & Sebastian, J. A. (1991). Sex differences in motivations and effects in dating violence. *Family Relations*, 40, 51-57. <https://doi.org/10.2307/585658>
 - Gartner, R. & Macmillan, R. (1995). The effect of victim-offender relationship on reporting crimes of violence against women. *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 37(3), 393-429. <https://doi.org/10.3138/cjcrim.37.3.393>
 - Halder, D. (2013). Examining the scope of Indecent Representation of Women (Prevention) Act, 1986 in the light of cyber victimization of women in India. *National Law School Journal*, 11, 188-218. https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2270061
 - Hasday, J. E. (2000). Contest and consent: A legal history of marital rape. *California Law Review*, 88(5), 1373-1505. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3481263>
 - Hattery, A. (2009). *Intimate partner violence*. NY: Rowman & Littlefield.
 - Hattery, J. A. & Smith, E. (2019). *Gender, power, and violence: Responding to sexual and intimate partner violence in society today*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.
 - Heidensohn, F. (1996). *Women and crime (2nd edition)*. Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan Press.

- Heise, L., Ellsberg, M. & Gottemoeller, M. (1999). *Ending violence against women*. *Population Reports*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- Herman, J. L. (1992). *Trauma and recovery: The aftermath of violence*. NY: Basic Books.
- Human Rights Watch. (2006). Reconciled to violence: State failure to stop domestic abuse and abduction of women in Kyrgyzstan. *Human Rights Watch*, 18(9), 1-140. <https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/kyrgyzstan0906webwcover.pdf>
- Jejeebhoy, S. J. (1998). Wife-beating in rural India: A husband's right? *Economic and Political Weekly*, 23(15), 855-862. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4406642>
- Johnson, H. (1996). *Dangerous domains: Violence against women in Canada*. Toronto, Albany: Nelson Canada.
- Johnson, H. (2006). Measuring violence against women: Statistical trends 2006. *Statistics Canada*. <http://publications.gc.ca/collections/Collection/Statcan/85-570-X/85-570-XIE2006001.pdf>
- Johnson, H. & Dawson, M. (2011). *Violence against women: Research and policy perspectives*. Don Mills: Oxford University Press.
- Johnson, H., N. Ollus & S. Nevala. (2008). *Violence against women: An international perspective*. NY: Springer.
- Johnson, M. P. & Ferraro, K. J. (2000). Research on domestic violence in the 1990s: Making decisions. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 62, 948-963. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2000.00948.x>
- Johnson, M. P. (1995). Patriarchal terrorism and common couple violence: Two forms of violence against women. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 57(2), 283-294. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/353683>
- Jordan, J. (2001). Worlds apart? Women, rape and the reporting process. *British Journal of Criminology*, 41(4), 679-706. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjc/41.4.679>
- Kalmuss, D. & Straus, M. (1982). Wife's marital dependency and wife abuse. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 44(2), 277-286. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/351538>
- Kantor, G. & Straus, M. (1990). The "drunken bum" theory of wife beating. In M. Straus & R. Gelles (eds.), *Physical violence in American families: Risk factors and adaptations to violence in 8,145 families* (pp. 203-224). New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.

- Kantor, G. & Straus, M. (1987). The “drunken bum” theory of wife beating. *Social Problems*, 34(3), 213-230. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/800763>
- Kersten, J. (1996). Culture, masculinities and violence against women. *The British Journal of Criminology*, 36(3), 381-395. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordjournals.bjc.a014101>
- Klein, D. & Kress, J. (1976). Any woman's blues: A critical overview of women, crime and the criminal justice system. *Crime and Social Justice*, 5, 34 - 49. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/29765974>
- Krishnan, S. (2005). Do structural inequalities contribute to marital violence? Ethnographic evidence from rural South India. *Violence Against Women*, 11(6), 759-775. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801205276078>
- Krug, E., Dahlberg, L., Mercy, J., Zwi, A. & Lozano, R. (2002). World report on violence and health. *World Health Organization*. <https://apps.who.int/iris/handle/10665/42495>
- Kumar, J. L. (1998). *Women and crime*. New Delhi: Anmol Publications.
- Lerner, G. (1986). *The creation of patriarchy*. NY: Oxford University Press.
- Levinson, D. (1989). *Family violence in cross-cultural perspective*. New Delhi: Sage.
- Lystad, M. H. (1975). Violence at home: A review of the literature. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 45(5), 328-45. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1939-0025.1975.tb02544.x>
- MacMillian, R. & Gartner, R. (1999). When she brings home the bacon: Labor-force participation and the risk of spousal violence against women. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 61(4), 947-958. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/354015>
- Mallicoat, S.L. (2019). *Women, gender, and crime: Core concepts*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.
- Marongiu, P. & Clarke, R.V. (1993). Ransom kidnapping in Sardinia: Sub-cultural theory and rational choice. In R.V. Clarke & M. Felson (edited). *Routine activity and rational choice. Advances in criminological theory* (pp. 179 - 200). NJ: Transaction.
- Martin, D. (1976). *Battered wives*. San Francisco: Glide Publishers.
- Mayhew, P. & Adkins, G. (2003). Counting the costs of crime in Australia. Trends and issues in crime and criminal justice, 247. *Australian Institute of Criminology*. <https://www.aic.gov.au/publications/tandi/tandi247>

- Mitchell, C. & Anglin, D. (2009). *Intimate partner violence: A health-based perspective*. NY: Oxford University Press.
- Morewitz, S.J. (2003). *Stalking and violence. New patterns of trauma and obsession*. NY: Kluwer Publishers.
- Morewitz, S.J. (2008). *Death threats and violence*. NY: Springer.
- Morewitz, S.J. (2019). *Kidnapping and violence: New research and clinical perspectives*. NY: Springer.
- Mukherjee, C., Rustagi, P. & Krishnaji, N. (2001). Crimes against women in India: Analysis of official statistics. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 36(43), 4070-4080. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4411293>
- National Crime Records Bureau, (2019). *Crime in India*. Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India.
- Parsons, T. (1954). *Essays in sociological theory* (Revised edition). NY: Free Press.
- Pitts, V. & Schwartz, M. (1997). Self-blame in hidden rape cases. In, M. Schwartz (ed.), *Researching sexual violence against women: Methodological and personal perspectives* (pp. 65-70). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.
- Pound, R. (1912). Theories of law. *Yale Law Review*, 22, 114-150. <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/132073861.pdf>
- Powell, J. & Wahidin, A. (2007). Old age and victims: A critical exegesis and an agenda for change. *Internet Journal of Criminology*, 1-14. <https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.618.9365&rep=rep1&type=pdf>
- Price, R. R. (1977). The forgotten female offender. *Crime and Delinquency*, 23(2), 101-108. <https://doi.org/10.1177/001112877702300201>
- Rani, M. & Bonu, S. (2008). Attitudes toward wife beating: A cross-country study in Asia. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 24(8), 1371-1397. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260508322182>
- Rao, V. (1997). Wife-beating in rural South India: A qualitative and econometric analysis. *Social Science & Medicine*, 44(8), 1169-1180. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0277-9536\(96\)00252-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0277-9536(96)00252-3)
- Raphael, M. B. (2011). The failure of consent: Re-conceptualizing rape as sexual abuse of power. *Michigan Journal of Gender & Law*, 18(1), 147-228. <https://repository.law.umich.edu/mjgl/vol18/iss1/4>
- Romain, D. (2016). Sexual assault and the evolution of rape. In, T.L. Freiburger and C.D. Marcum (eds.). *Women in the criminal*

justice system: Tracking the journey of females and crime (pp. 67-87). NY: CRS Press.

- Sable, M. R., Danis, F., Mauzy, D. L. & Gallagher, S. K. (2006). Barriers to reporting sexual assault for women and men: Perspectives of college students. *Journal of American College Health*, 55(3), 157-162. <https://doi.org/10.3200/JACH.55.3.157-162>
- Segrave, M. (2018). Temporary migration and family violence: The borders of coercive control. In, K. Fitz-Gibbon, S. Walklate, J. McCulloch and J. Maher (eds.), *Intimate partner violence: Risk and security* (pp. 126-141). London: Routledge.
- Sheehy, E. A. (2018). Criminalising private torture as feminist strategy: Thinking through the implications. In, K. Fitz-Gibbon, S. Walklate, J. McCulloch and J. Maher (eds.), *Intimate partner violence: risk and security* (pp. 233-268). London: Routledge.
- Smith, M. D. (1990). Sociodemographic risk factors in wife abuse: Results from a survey of Toronto women. *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 15(1), 39 - 58. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3341172>
- Storkey, E (2018). Scars across humanity: Understanding and overcoming violence against women. US: Inter Varsity Press.
- Straus, M. A. (2009). Why the overwhelming evidence on partner physical violence has not been perceived and is often denied. *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment & Trauma*, 18(6), 552-571. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10926770903103081>
- Straus, M. A. & Gelles, R. J. (1990). *Physical violence in American families*. Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.
- United Nations. (1979). Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women. *United Nations General Assembly*. <https://www.ohchr.org/documents/professionalinterest/cedaw.pdf>
- United Nations. (1993). Declaration on the elimination of violence against women. *United Nations General Assembly*. <https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/ProfessionalInterest/eliminationvaw.pdf>
- Ursel, J. (2002). His sentence is my freedom: Processing domestic violence cases in the Winnipeg Family Violence Court. In L. Tutty & C. Goard (eds.), *Reclaiming self: Issues and resources for women abused by intimate partners* (pp. 43-63). Halifax, Canada: Fernwood Press.
- Vaillancourt, R. (2010). *Gender differences in police-reported violent crime in Canada, 2008*. Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics Profile

Series. Ministry of Industry, Canada.
<https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/85f0033m/85f0033m2010024-eng.pdf>

- van Hasselt, V. B., Flood, J. J., Romano, S. J., Vecchi, G. M., de Fabrique, N. & Dalfonzo, V. A. (2005). Hostage-taking in the context of domestic violence: Some case examples. *Journal of Family Violence*, 20(1), 21-27.
<https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007%2Fs10896-005-1506-2>
- Venis, S. & Horton, R. (2002). Violence against women: A global burden. *The Lancet*, 359(9313), 1172.
[https://www.thelancet.com/journals/lancet/article/PIIS0140-6736\(02\)08251-X/fulltext](https://www.thelancet.com/journals/lancet/article/PIIS0140-6736(02)08251-X/fulltext)
- Vijayarasa, R. (2010). Exploitation or expectations: Moving beyond consent. *Women's Policy Journal of Harvard*, 7, 11-22.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3229575>
- Visaria, L. (2000). Violence against women: A field study. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 35(20), 1742-1751.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/4409296>
- Voydanoff, P. (1990). Economic distress and family relations: A review of the eighties. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 52(4), 1099-1115. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/353321>
- Walker, L. E. (1979). *The battered woman*. NY: Harper and Row.
- Wallach, S. J. (1997). Rape shield laws: Protecting the victim at the expense of the defendant's constitutional rights. *New York Law School Journal of Human Rights*, 13(2), 485-521.
<https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/322560333.pdf>
- Watts, C. & Zimmerman, C. (2002). Violence against women: Global scope and magnitude. *The Lancet*, 359(9313), 1232-1237.
[https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(02\)08221-1](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(02)08221-1)
- Wilkinson, D. L. & Hamerschlag, S. J. (2005). Situational determinants in intimate partner violence. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 10(3), 333-361. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2004.05.001>
- Wright, E. M. (2011). *Neighborhoods and intimate partner violence*. El Paso, TX: LFB Scholarly.
- Yang, S., Wu, B. & Huang, S. L. (2007). Kidnapping in Taiwan: The significance of geographic proximity, improvisation, and fluidity. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 51(3), 324-339.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0306624X06291472>

Article

Women of Under-Privileged Communities of Kashmir: Assessing their fate in Higher Education

Journal of Society in Kashmir
11(1) 136-151

ISSN: 2249-667X

© 2021 Author(s)

<http://sociology.uok.edu.in/Files/c2d3b27>

8-4cf7-49a5-9525-

af5e352f2900/Journal/be3360dd-9b3c-4781-

aa1a-3b16c35c1595.pdf

Aneesha Shafi*

Abstract

Women's education in India has also been a major preoccupation of both the government and civil society as educated women can play a very important role in the development of the country. The current status of higher education is characterized by low enrolment, poor completion rates, poor physical infrastructure, and high dropout rates among girls especially in rural areas. The institutions of higher education located in rural areas are lacking in the implementation of best practices in higher education and quality. J&K UT also has several renowned institutions of higher learning. There are some institutes providing higher education in the fields of arts, medicine, engineering and management. The state is marching ahead steadily on the path of modernization and prosperity. Despite that, J&K is still struggling to provide better higher education facilities and opportunities to female folk. Further, there is a rural and urban divide in access to education for women. In Jammu and Kashmir too, female literacy rate is quite low and stands at 58.01 percent. The rural female literacy rate in J&K is 53.36 percent to 70.19 percent for urban females respectively. It is in this context, the aim of this paper is to find out the status of women in higher education in J&K and tries to find out the problems that the women is suffering with regard to higher education.

Keywords

Status, Women Education, Gender, J&K, Higher Education

Introduction

Women of India can be broadly divided into two classes against the backdrop of the development in a time frame continuum. The educated, elite and privileged minority can be seen as one class and the uneducated, deprived and underprivileged majority as the other. Though at two end of the spectrum there is the possibility of a meeting point for the two

* Professor and Head, Department of Sociology, University of Kashmir, Srinagar, Jammu and Kashmir
Email: aneesashafi@yahoo.co.in

classes in their unified pursuit for participative and distributive justice, where they can express their latent mind power in the opportunities they explore, the choices they make, the resources they create and in the freedom they seek. However, Kashmiri society has been predominately patriarchal in nature where all the power is vested in the hands of the male members of the society. In the traditional Kashmiri society women were generally subjected to discrimination, oppression and inequality. The role of Kashmiri women was confined to domestic works and they remained dependent on fathers, husband, sons or other male members of the families throughout their life. This dependence was so deep-rooted that even the personal matters of women in the family were decided by the eldest male members of the family. All important decision in the family including decision about children education, marriage, preparation of family budget etc. were taken by male members of the family. There was a complete domination of men over women's life. Educational status of women in Jammu and Kashmir was also miserable and relatively depressing. People were highly traditional and the realization for the need of women's education was totally lacking (Ahmed, 2016 T1)

Historically, before 1860 formal schooling was unknown in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Indigenous institutions were operated by Muslim *maulvis* and Hindu *Pundits*. These institutions were, generally, housed in mosques and temples. There were no regular schools. Regular schooling in the state began within the groups at the turn of the nineteenth century. Ranbir Singh (1857-1885) was the first Dogra ruler to take an interest in the education on modern lines. He established few regular schools (Om, 1986). The first state school in Jammu and Kashmir was opened in Jammu in the early 1860s and another such school was opened in Srinagar in 1874. However, the curriculum followed the traditional pattern and education was imparted in Persian and Sanskrit. The people in the state have been living under oppressive feudal regimes for centuries. Thus, the demand for education was inextricably tied up with the struggle against oppressive feudal policies by which the state was governed (Khan, 2005). For the first time in 1881 Dr. Elmslie, a member of Christian missionary, made a stray attempt to start modern system of education in Kashmir and changed the medieval educational system. Due to the effort of Dr. Elmslie a government school was opened in Srinagar in 1886 where education was free and even books and scholarships were distributed among the students on the basis of merit (Kaul, 2002). Education in Jammu and Kashmir was designed according to the British education framework under the influences of colonization. A progress towards the western system of education underestimated the traditional religious

schools. In 1880 the first western and modern boy's school i.e. Church Mission Society Boys School in Kashmir was established by Reverend J Hinton Knowles in the premises of Missionary Hospital in Srinagar which is presently known as Tyndale Biscoe School named after Cecil Earle Tyndale Biscoe a British missionary who turned into the school's principal in 1891. Biscoe is credited with establishing the modern education system in Jammu and Kashmir, on the line of modernization and dismissal of local traditions.

According to 1901 census report, there was only one high school in Srinagar, 16 primary schools and 19 indigenous schools in the Kashmir valley. In 1892 the first high school in Srinagar came into existence when the Srinagar Middle school was elevated to the level of a high school and affiliated to the Punjab University. By the efforts of the Pundits the first college in Srinagar was established in 1905. Although it was open to both men and women, it remained predominantly a male institution. The college was affiliated to the Banaras Hindu University in July 1906. It was the only institution of higher education in Kashmir till the 1940s. Maharaja Pratap Singh in 1907 organised a conference to formulate a scheme for imparting education to his subjects. Again in 1909 Maharaja Pratap Singh stressed upon the need to draw up a scheme for making primary education free and compulsory all over the state. At that time Education Minister A. Mitra, a strong supporter of the scheme, however, stood against the introduction of any law of compulsion for many social and other reasons. But, the Maharaja Pratap Singh seriously reiterated about the scheme and gave order on 21 of Feb.1912 that "I do not agree to the postponement of compulsory education. Trial should be given to the scheme not only by introducing it in the whole state but multiplying the number of schools in the state (Kaul, 2002: 276-277). Between 1889 and 1915 Jammu and Kashmir achieved much progress in education which is manifest from the fact that in 1889, there were only two high schools in the state one in Jammu and the other in Srinagar; eight village schools in which seven were in Jammu and one in Kashmir and a few Sanskrit schools, whereas, in 1915 the numbers of schools and colleges increased remarkably. There were 304 primary schools, thirty-two middle schools, nine high schools, one technical institute, one Normal school, two special schools, two degree colleges at Jammu and Srinagar, and 309 private indigenous schools (Om, 1986: 48). Numerous private institutions also started accepting financial aid from the government. It was Maharaja Hari Singh who embraced Compulsory Primary Education Regulation in 1930 and made it applicable in Srinagar, Jammu and numerous different towns with quick impacts later on. In 1930, Amar Singh College was established as a technical institution and given the status of a degree

college in 1942. There appears to have been a general accord around this time that since Kashmir were skilled in the Arts, preparing them in Arts and Crafts as opposed to a general education would be more suitable for them (Khan, 2005). Various elementary schools were established and the status of numerous different schools was raised to Middle and High schools. Four government colleges and three oriental colleges were established in the state. Anyhow, in general, the spread of education was extremely poor. Only a section of people was involved in the teaching-learning process (Kaul, 2002). (Ahmed, 2016 T1)

Table 1: Ranking of States and Union Territories as per female literacy rate according to 2011 census

Rank	State/ UT	Female Literacy Rate
1	Kerala	91.98
2	Mizoram	89.40
3	Lakshadweep	88.25
4	Tripura	83.15
5	Goa	81.84
6	Andoman And Nicobar Island	81.84
7	Chandigarh	81.38
8	Puduchery	81.22
9	Delhi	80.93
10	Daman And Diu	79.59
11	Nagaland	76.69
12	Himachal Pradesh	76.60
13	Sikkim	76.43
14	Maharashtra	75.48
15	Tamil Nadu	73.86
16	Meghalaya	73.78
17	Manipur	73.17
18	Punjab	71.34
19	West Bengal	71.16
20	Gujarat	70.73
21	Uttarakhand	70.70
22	Karnataka	68.13
23	Assam	67.27
24	Haryana	66.77
25	Dadra and Nager Haveli	65.93
26	Orissa	64.36
27	Chhattisgarh	60.59
28	Madhya Pradesh	60.02
29	Andra Pradesh	59.74
30	Arunachal Pradesh	59.57
31	Utter Pradesh	59.26

32	<i>Jammu and Kashmir</i>	56.43
33	Jharkhand	56.21
34	Bihar	53.33
35	Rajasthan	52.66

Source: Census of India, 2011

The data clearly shows in the above table that Jammu and Kashmir ranked 32 in female literacy rate, as having only 56.43 percent literacy among women. So it is evident that Jammu and Kashmir is one of the educationally backward regions of India.

The first effort to educate women in Jammu and Kashmir came from the missionaries. Christian missionaries opened the first girls' high school in 1894. Initially, there was a strong opposition to this school as it aroused suspicion in the minds of people who were conservative in their outlook. But after sometime people began to send their children to this school (Khan, 2005). The purpose of Christian Missionary society to educate Kashmiri girls on a mass scale could not be fulfilled due to the inherent defects and shortcoming in the Christian Missionary system and also because it was the primary responsibility of the state government to educate the subjects belonging to either sex (Bazaz, 1959). Keeping into consideration the individuals' mentality and the mode of their reasoning, the State Council initiated an extremely wary approach and did not made any rapid stride towards the opening up of schools for the instruction of girls. However, the state council supported private endeavors. In 1904 for the first time the State Council gave funds for the establishment of two girls' schools at Srinagar, one for Hindu girls and the other for Muslim girls, which were to be overseen by separate committees of the leading men of the two groups (Hindus and Muslims) under the direction of State educational authority. It was in 1912 that opportunity for secondary education was made available for women. A couple of the primary schools were raised to the secondary level. There was increase in the number of schools to twelve which were further expanded from twelve to sixteen in 1914. The curriculum in these schools were practically restricted to reading of literary and religious books, composition, mathematics, needle and other minor family unit work. During this period the State committee's drive was restricted. As a result female education still stayed a long away from level of satisfaction (Khursheed, 2013).

By the year 1918, women education had shown some progress. There were approximately 100 girls studying in Christian missionaries' school. The state government constituted a committee consisting of some prominent officials and educationists to look into the feasibility of setting

up girl's school. On the basis of the recommendation of this committee the first school exclusively for Hindu girls was opened where medium of instruction was Hindi. In the course of time, another school exclusively for Muslim girls was established. A committee of leading Muslims was given the responsibility to run it. In 1926, Women's Welfare Trust came into existence, with prominent citizens as its trustees and members. The trust established a primary school in 1929 which was exclusively for Muslims girls under a male teacher. Within a period of four years the Trust was running ten schools with an enrolment of 575 girls. Under the chairmanship of G. K. Saiyidain the Education Reorganization Committee (1938-39) was set up in pre-independence India which made important recommendations regarding basic education under the Wardha Scheme. With regards to girls' education, the committee recommended the opening up of more primary and middle schools, an increase in scholarships and distribution of free books as incentives. Other recommendations included the appointment of two woman inspectors one for each region, reorganization of the curriculum for girls and provision of accommodation for women teachers. By the year 1925, there were 36 middle schools for boys with an enrolment of 8169 students and six middle schools for girls with an enrolment of 1019. The number of primary schools for girls stood at 34 with an enrolment of 1945 (Khan, 2005). After the partition of India, the National Conference formed the first elected government in the State of Jammu and Kashmir and Drafted the future constitution of "Naya Kashmir" in which education in the State of Jammu and Kashmir was a major and important demand. The Draft provides special arrangements for women's education in accordance with the provision of the Women's Charter.

The number of schools for girls in the early decade of twentieth century saw an increase and the enrolment of girls in these schools also increased. But majority of these girls could not avail the opportunity of college education mainly due to the absence of women's higher educational institutions. In 1950, the Women's College was established when Sheikh Abdullah was the prime minister of Jammu and Kashmir. The establishment of the women's college is a major milestone in the history of women education in Kashmir. By the year 1950, the number of girl's educational institutions in the state had risen to 253 and enrolment was around 15575. Some other important institutions were established in 1959 like Kashmir Medical College which trained women and changed social perceptions about women and their presence in the public sphere. In 1960 the Regional Engineering College was established in Srinagar and in 1961 the NawaKadal College for women was established. Due to its location in a Muslim majority area, it has always had a higher ratio of Muslims.

From 1950 onwards the number of women students has been steady by increasing at all levels. By 1970s the state had seven degree colleges with 7465 girls on the rolls. The establishment of the Government Colleges for women was a great boost to higher education amongst women (Khan, 2005).

Methodology

In general the methods and techniques of a particular study are determined by the nature of the problem. The present study was conducted in southern region of Kashmir division which includes Anantnag, Kulgam, Shopian, and Pulwama were chosen wherefrom from a sample of 200 respondents belonging to weaker and underprivileged sections of society with diversified socio-cultural, occupational, educational and geographical settings was selected through purposive random sampling method. The rationale behind choosing these areas as the universe of the study were low enrolment ration and high dropout rates among girls. In order to collect the information both primary and secondary sources of data has been used respectively. Primary source of data had been obtained from *Interview Schedule*, complimented with *Observation*. The analysis of data resulted in generation of different themes that described the participants' experiences about education of girls. Moreover in order to maintain privacy, every participant was assigned a number and names were not disclosed.

Table 2: Distribution of Sample

S. No.	District	No. of Participants
01	Anantnag	50
02	Kulgam,	50
03	Pulwama	50
04	Shopian	50
05	Total	200

Jammu and Kashmir has bagged the unenviable distinction of having one of the high dropout rates in secondary education as compared to other states and union territories. The statistics showed that the dropout rate in the year 2016-17 was 13.9 of elementary and 25.5 in the secondary level in Jammu and Kashmir. Between the years 2017-19, the dropout rate of girl students was 1.6 in elementary and 2.5 in secondary level, and 6.9 and 17.7 at an elementary and secondary level between the years 2018-19. The figures also revealed the dropout in the year 2019-2020 had jumped to 3.7 in the elementary level and 16.6 in the secondary level in the union

territory of Jammu and Kashmir. The number of dropouts is higher than national dropout rate in the secondary stage.

Further, according to the official data presented at the 40th Project Approval Board (PAB) of the RMSA (Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan), out of 22 districts in J&K, the dropout rate in 12 districts is higher than the UT level dropout rate. In comparison to Jammu region, districts in Kashmir are having higher dropout rates in secondary educational institutions. Districts having very high dropout rate are Kulgam 41.62 percent, Islamabad (Anantnag) 41.33 percent, Budgam 40.90 percent, Ganderbal 38.51 percent and Baramulla 37.09 percent and among the dropout major portion is female. Moreover, according to a report published by the Sunday guardian live in many cases it has been found that parental intervention is stopping girls from going to schools and colleges, especially in South Kashmir. In some cases it has been found that girls in Shopian and Pulwama discontinued schools and colleges after some of their family members were hit by pellets and worried parents were not allowing the girl students to attend educational institutions. Besides, the poverty, family burden, poor infrastructural facilities, lack of monetary support, apathy towards education and socio-cultural barriers also hinder the growth of women in higher educational institutions. In addition the failure of the government to revamp the traditional educational module at secondary and higher education level is also the root cause of higher number of dropouts in secondary education. Therefore, the Education Department is looking for ways and means to motivate girl students to resume school/college, especially girl students in South Kashmir.

Objectives

- To understand and explore the status of women in higher education in selected districts of Jammu and Kashmir and
- to explore barriers and constraints to women's higher education in Jammu and Kashmir.

Findings and discussion

Women with varied social, economic, political, regional, linguistic background and milieu constitute about half the world's population and Education is a primary and powerful tool for a woman to develop her ability and play her role in the family, society and the nation in a meaningful manner. But education of women did not gain prominence for a long time. Women in general are subject to discrimination in the provision of educational facilities (Taylor, 2003, 13). A serious problem in the higher education system is a very high degree of inequity-between

different social groups, between men and women, between rural and urban areas, and between the rich and the poor. The recent incident of eve-teasing in one of the higher level educational Universities in India, exemplify the prevalent feeling of gender difference even at the higher level of educational set-ups. The women students at educational institutions encounter the discouraging phenomenon which causes them to remain at the backstage in higher education (Naseem & Arif, 2017, 9). Key themes emerged from the data collected are listed in the table given below:

Table 3: Reasons for lack of women's participation in higher education

S. No.	Reasons	Frequency	Percentage
1	Socio-Cultural factors	30	6.65
2	Poor economic condition	70	15.52
3	Involvement in Domestic Work	65	14.41
4	Parental illiteracy	41	9.09
5	Non-availability of educational institutes within locality/ Long distance between educational institutes and home	37	8.20
6	Family's opposition towards women's education	27	5.99
7	Conflict	35	7.78
8	Early Marriage	45	9.98
9	Lack of proper facilities	50	11.08
10	Lack of transportations	51	11.30

Socio-Cultural factors

In our society there are many customs and cultural practices which hinder the higher education of girls. It was observed that culturally there is disparity of education among two genders especially in higher education. Undoubtedly women education is enhancing with high pace, still there is a wide gap in the literacy level among males and females. Education of boys is still given more preference than that of girls especially in rural areas. Girls are not allowed too much to go for higher studies. In some culturally conservative societies, where the educational institutions are located far from the residential areas, the girls are forced to quit from education. In the field of sports and games, girls are least preferred. However, urban areas have witnessed a lot of change in terms of education of girls and women in the past few years, in rural areas the

parents still prefer girls to stay at home till they go to their 'own homes' after their marriage.

Table 4: Literacy rate in J&K (sex-wise from 1951-2011)

Year	Persons	Male	Female	Male-Female Gap
1951	N.A	N.A	N.A	N.A
1961	12.71	19.75	5.05	14.70
1971	21.71	31.01	10.94	20.07
1981	30.64	41.46	18.64	22.73
1991	N.A	N.A	N.A	N.A
2001	54.46	65.75	41.82	23.93
2011	68.74	76.75	56.43	20.32

Source: Census of India

The improvement in the statistics reflect the seriousness of the Jammu & Kashmir Government towards the development of women in UT, however, the fact remains that despite the progress made, the female literacy has remained very low in the UT as compared to men. Various factors like peculiar topography of Jammu and Kashmir, the sparse network of schools especially in rural areas, the majority of population living in far flung and inaccessible areas, lack of easy access to institutions, lack of infrastructure, weather vagaries, conflict situations and so on create hindrance in achieving the desired goal of universalization of literacy in the UT.

Poverty

Poverty is one of the main factors of lower enrolment of girls in educational institutes especially in rural areas. Even sometimes it is seen that normal higher education expenses cannot be afforded by some of the families coming under lower middle class tag. Mere growth of economy cannot bring social justice and balanced development unless it is coupled with poverty alleviation and employment generating opportunities for deprived and marginalized sections of the society. The survey conducted by the State during 2007-08 put the BPL population at 21.63 percent. Hundreds of girls in rural areas are not able to attend schools because their families are not able to provide money for the education. Moreover, the rate of illiteracy is closely linked to poverty. Due to the poverty or low family income, if parents are not in a position to send both boys and girls to school, they usually send boys to schools and retain girls at home to do house-hold work (Virender, 2012). In poor families generally, there are many children. According to the priority list of parents, girls' education is

not compulsory and boys get a high chance of receiving education (Bose, 2000). Moreover, the persistent poverty has adverse impacts on family decision-making and may result in daughters being viewed as an economic burden. Due to inflation, to feed everyone in the family becomes very difficult for them, so they prefer to dispatch the daughters as early as possible to some other families through marriage. For poor parents marriage becomes the best way to safeguard their daughters' futures and lighten their economic burden.

Parental illiteracy

It was also observed that the high level of parental illiteracy among also constraints the education of girl children. Lack of parental support and poor learning environment at home makes learning for them very difficult. The present education system does not fit their needs, which lead to stagnation and wastage among them (J & K SRC Report 2009). Therefore, Parental illiteracy was also found to be significantly related to educational backwardness of women. Illiterate parents could not understand the importance of girls' education and engaged their daughters in household activities because of their belief that girls are meant for these works only. Parental illiteracy, lack of parental support and poor learning environment at home makes learning very difficult for these girls.

Early Marriage

During the discussion it came to the fore that child marriage is still prevalent among some sections of our society and it affect the education of girls to a great extent. Dabla also highlighted many girls in many districts of J&K still get married at an early age, which affect their education to a great extent (Dabla, 2007). Therefore, early marriage appears as another key factor which lead to high drop-out of girls from school. Many bright female students have to sacrifice their academic life and ambitions due to traditional social norms which propagate and justify early marriages. Poor socio-economic condition of the parents not only force them to suppress their daughters' education but also compels them to get rid of the extra economic burden in the form of daughters through early marriage. however, for some participants the urgency to get them married off was not merely because they were treated as a burden by their parents but also because of the tradition of early marriage in their locality which their parents were bound to follow due to their illiteracy and ignorance.

Location of educational institutes

The far away location of higher secondary institutes from the locality restraint girls to acquire higher education, as being females, were not allowed to join colleges at far off places especially in rural areas for security and safety reasons. Number of participants stated that they discontinue their studies after 10th class due to long distance of higher educational institutes from their respective homes. Further participants revealed that the schools and colleges within walkable distance or closer to the place of residence are not available. So the parents were unwilling to send them to colleges which were far off due to the lack of transportation and feeling of insecurity. This problem was more serious for those women who belonged to hilly areas. Therefore, being extra and over conscious about the safety of their daughters, parents did not allow their daughters to continue their educational pursuit despite their interest and desire for their daughters' education.

Transport facility

One of the barriers for girl education may be the location of educational institutes which are far away from their homes, particularly in rural areas. Lack of adequate transport system also hinders the growth of girl's education. Due to lack of transport facilities girls are not able to attend the colleges and the resultant would be dropout from the colleges. It will be more convenient for them if colleges provide buses to take responsibility for pick and drop facility for the girl students especially in rural and far-flung areas.

Lack of Female teachers

Lack of female teachers in higher educational institutes is the reason for the lack of higher education among girls. They are more comfortable and more vocal with female, thus actively focusing and participating in the learning processes. In rural areas also, parents are interested in sending their girl children to school if female teachers are present. If qualified female teachers are teaching in the school they feel more secured towards their girl children. They may be hesitating to send their girl children in male environment based school (Ahmad Gul and Khan, 2013).

Molestation/abuse in and outside educational institutes

Most of the parents feel in secured towards their girl children as instances of abduction, rape, sexual harassment and molestation of girl dampens the enthusiasm of parents and girl students in pursuing their education beyond a certain age. The rising cases of violence against girls students in Kashmir has negatively impact the education of girls as parents feel insecure to send their daughters to colleges which are far away from

their homes. There are instances where female students were thrown acids on their faces which create fear not only among parents but also among females students as well.

Conflict and feeling of insecurity

The ongoing conflict In J&K has severely affected the education of girls. The girls have become orphans and there is no source of sustenance in their families. This has also prevented them from seeking education. As the economy of rural Jammu and Kashmir has met with severe set-back during past years, parents are not in a position to educate their girl children. If they have to make a choice between educating a male child and a female, they prefer the former. Although situation is improving in Jammu and Kashmir, yet the prolonged violence has prevented the girls from going to schools and colleges, as their parents are worried about the physical security of the girls. All this leads to the feeling of insecurity which hampers girl's aspirations to pursue higher education. In such an insecure atmosphere it is the women who are to be confined within the four walls of the house. The participants also reported that in the case of any news related to encounter, even if a minor one, from any part of our areas, they were asked not to attend colleges. Moreover, due to curfews and strikes further aggrieved the situation for girl students to attend colleges especially in south Kashmir.

Domestic Work and Agricultural Activities

Gender differential exists both in rural and urban areas, but it is high in rural areas. This can be attributed to a number of factors like Social dogmas, engagement of girl child in agricultural and other domestic activities etc. It was observed large number of participants revealed that another important factor which works as an obstacle in the way of women's education is domestic work and involvement in agricultural activities. As most of the parents of participant were either illiterates or had no regular source of income. So they depend largely on agricultural activities or work as labour and daily wager to earn their living. And, the girls along with their mothers were engaged in household activities such as cooking food, collecting fire wood and fetching water from far off places. Besides, collecting fodder for cattle, looking after them and taking food for family members to agricultural field regularly are also women's responsibilities. Subsequently, some of them could not join the school at all and some drop out from the educational institutes due to heavy burden of house and agricultural work.

Lack of proper Facilities

Lack of proper facilities was found as one of the major hurdles in meeting the educational needs of women. The problem of poor access to schools and colleges was found to be the biggest problem as stated by the majority of the participants. Further, they could not find proper infrastructural facilities in the schools like building with a boundary wall; basic amenities like drinking water and separate toilets for girls, libraries, and hostel facilities. Except a few, most of them could not avail educational opportunities due to lack of hostel arrangement for girls. Moreover, many parents do not want to send their daughters to co-educational schools especially at higher level. Furthermore, there are other issues like lack of accountability/ Teacher absenteeism, paucity of Women Teachers and deterioration in the quality of instructors and instruction which are still creating hurdles in education of girls especially in rural areas.

Conclusion

Education is a key indicator of socio-economic development. It also increases the knowledge and vision of a person. Equally, it is considered as an essential element in bringing change in social, political, economic fields in a society. Despite considerable progress, sharp disparities continue to exist between male and female literacy levels in our society. The inferences drawn from the above discussion clearly indicate that the educational system and developmental plans in the J&K have definitely been showing the presence of exclusionary processes, particularly in rural areas and especially for women in weaker sections of UT. It has emerged from the study that factors behind educational deprivation of women do not work in isolation, rather there are multiple causes –cultural, social, psychological and political determinants. Moreover the findings of the present study makes it evident that the causes of non-enrolment in colleges as well as dropping out early from the system of education are largely rooted in the local traditional and customary practices pertaining to gender roles, socio-cultural norms, economy, lack of proper infrastructure and feeling of insecurity. For addressing these issues, a significant rethinking of educational policy and clear public understanding of the abysmal extent of social, economic and educational status of women is required urgently. Moreover, there is urgent need to strengthen the public education system to improve quality of education especially in rural areas. In addition to legal, policy and institutional frameworks, civil society and NGOs should also come forward. Illiteracy, low levels of education and socio-economic marginalization are serious impediments to women's higher education that are required to be addressed in every context.

Funding

This research paper is based on the major research project entitled “**Status of Women in Higher Education among Weak and Under-Privileged Communities of Jammu and Kashmir**” sponsored by the Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR), New Delhi under IMPRESS Scheme.

Acknowledgement

I am thankful to the Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR), New Delhi for funding the study.

References

- Bazaz, P. N. (1959). *Daughters of the Vitasta: A History of Kashmir Women from Early Times to the Present Day*. New Delhi: Pamposh Publications.
- Bhat, S. A., Bhat, A. H. & Chinnathurai, Dr. P. (2016). Educational Status of Women in Jammu and Kashmir with Special Reference to Rural Areas. *The International Journal of Indian Psychology*, 3(4) 65: 177-182
- Bilal, S., Gul, A. & Khan, Z. N. (2014). Assessment and Understanding of Gender Equity in Education in Jammu and Kashmir. *Reviews of Literature*, 1(6):1-12
- Bose, A. (2000). *Jammu and Kashmir- Focus on Children and Women*. A statistical profile. UNICEF(Report), New Delhi.
- Dabla, B. A. (2007). *Multi-Dimensional Problems of Women in Kashmir*. New Delhi: Gyan Publishin House.
- Ghara, T. K. (2016). Status of Indian Women in Higher Education. *Journal of Education and Practice*, 7(34): 58-64
- Greater Kashmir, 03 Jun, 2021 ([https://www.greaterkashmir.com/kashmir/educationdropou t-rate-of-25-sets off-alarm-in-jk](https://www.greaterkashmir.com/kashmir/educationdropou-t-rate-of-25-sets-off-alarm-in-jk))
- Jameel, A. (2016) Problems and Prospects of Muslim Women’s Education: A Sociological Study of Poonch District of J&K. Aligarh: Aligarh Muslim University (*Unpublished Phd. Thesis*).
- Kaul, K. (2002). “A Pandit Story”. In *Speaking Peace: Women’s Voices from Kashmir*, edited by Urvashi Butalia. New Delhi: Kali for Women.
- Kaur, S. (2016). Educational Status and Constraints of Rural Women in India: Evidence from A Study of Rural Punjab. *Research Journal Social Sciences*, 24 (3):70-84

- Khan, F. A. (2005). "Other Communities, Other Histories: A Study of Muslim Women and Education in Kashmir". In *A Minority: Essays on Muslim Women in India*, edited by Zoya Hasan and Ritu Menon. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Naseem, A. K. & Arif, R. (2017). Statistical Survey of Women in Higher Education in India. *Biostat Biometrics Open Acc J.*, 4(1): 6-12
- Noor-Ul-Qamrain. (2018). J&K Worried As School Dropout Rate Among Girls Increases, Sunday Guardian Live (<https://www.sundayguardianlive.com/news/jk-worried-school-dropout-rate-among-girls-increases>)
- Northlines. (2021). (<https://www.thenorthlines.com/girl-student-dropout-rate-jumps-to-16-6-in-jk-ministry-education/#:~:Text=Jammu%2c%20jul%2029%3a%20the%20ministry,the%20year%202019%20to%202020.>)
- Om, H. (1986). *Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir: A Study in the Spread of Education and Consciousness*. New Delhi: Archives Publishers.
- Qadir, H. (2012). Critical Assessment of Socio-Economic Disparities and Uneven Opportunities of Education in Kashmir. *The Communications*, 21(1): 108-117
- Sharma, S. (2014). Status of Higher Education in Rural Areas of Jammu and Kashmir State. *International Journal of Research (Ijr)*, 1(4): 967-979
- Virender, K. (2012). Socio-Economic Conditions of Nomadic Gujjar Women in Udhampur District of Jammu and Kashmir. *International Journal of Social Science Tomorrow*, 1(3)

Barriers to Women's Empowerment in Rural Society: Access to Employment, Land and Other Resources

Journal of Society in Kashmir
11(1) 152-169

ISSN: 2249-667X

© 2021 Author(s)

<http://sociology.uok.edu.in/Files/c2d3b27>

8-4cf7-49a5-9525-

af5e352f2900/Journal/e5e935a6-a993-4375-

8751-59c71cc3a711.pdf

Bilal A. Bhat*

Abstract

The process of feminization of poverty in India is intimately connected to the cultural and institutional limitations that put a ceiling on women's involvement in economic activity. Challenging gender based inequality needs bold steps and initiatives by women. The present paper examines various processes and novel approaches taken by women, involved in access to employment and land ownership where owning land is a marker of dominance. Using data from various sources, results from structural equation archetypes and qualitative thematic analyses demonstrate significant links among women's access to employment, ownership of land, relationship power, receipt of physical and psychological violence and creation of barriers for their empowerment. Collectively, the findings suggest that when women have access to employment and own land, they gain power within their relationships and are less likely to experience violence. In this paper we examine the issues affecting rural women's access to employment, land, other resources and markets.

Keywords

Employment, ownership, land, inequality, women, empowerment

Introduction

India, the second largest populated country in the world, has around seventy per cent of its population inhabiting in rural areas. Females constitute a little less than fifty per cent of the total population. This would mean that nearly 1000 million out of 1400million people live in rural areas as per 2021 estimated population of India. Generally, people in the rural areas are poorer than those in the urban areas because of the absence of non-agriculture employment opportunities. Amongst males and females, females are poorer than males because the technological

* Assistant Professor, Centre for Social Justice, Institute of Management, Public Administration and Rural Development, Srinagar, Jammu and Kashmir
Email: bilalccas@gmail.com

changes in agriculture displaces females from many of these traditional jobs, and now agricultural employment opportunities are more limited for females than for males. Also due to gender restriction, illiteracy and ignorance, rural women are unable to go outside the surroundings of their homes in search of employment. Making women economically independent is crucial to achieving women's empowerment, which is central for achieving sustainable development. Improvement in the socio-economic status of women can reduce population growth which can reduce pressure on the environment, which in turn can lead to sustainable development. Rise in the income of women and earning opportunities improve the family's living standard, enhance then family's social status, raise the age of marriage, reduce the pressure on women's health and time and to have more children. Poverty rights, availability of credits, inputs and marketing facilitate make poor women more independent economically; facilitate the process of sustainable growth and development of the country.

Global Scenario of Gender

Women, perform nearly two-thirds of the work, receive one-tenth of the world's income and own less than one-hundredth of the world's property (Patel, 2007). The report also delineates that even in West, where women's emancipation has bettered the lives of countless women; they still experience the unfairness of the 'glass ceiling', wherein women just do not get promoted beyond a certain level. Women in developing countries have a plethora of discriminatory practices which continue to keep them trammled. From being sold into the sex-trafficking trade, to rape, to child abuse, to sex-selective abortion, to infanticide, to neglect, to dowry deaths and honour killings, discrimination against females is a stark reality that affects large portions of the society across these countries. In the developing world gender parity can be achieved by widespread education and economic independence whereas, in the developed world, women must continue to break all the glass ceiling barriers, to achieve equal parity with men in every field, while continuing to sensitize men about the issues of sexism and gender discrimination.

National Scenario of Gender

A cursory glance at the history of tradition-bound Indian society will lead us to an inevitable conclusion that the process of transformation of Indian society into an industrialized society has been slow and it got momentum during the colonial British period and the pace of change was accelerated during the post-independence period. In the course of many centuries, several unpleasant social customs, religious dogmas, usages and

traditions developed and most of these were responsible for creating hindrances in the way of progress and prosperity of India (Bilal, 2014: 04). Indian society suffered from various social evils such as Sati, child marriage, polygamy, infanticide, untouchability, Purdah system, caste system and ban on widow remarriage which gnawed at the very vitals of India leading to paralyzing immobility of social life and economic stagnation (Jayapalan, 2000: 89). All these instances lead us to a single conclusion that it has mostly been the womenfolk which has been the victim of exploitation and inequality from antediluvian times. The generations old patriarchal character is so deep rooted in Indian society that it has led to a series of exploitations the main victims of which have been the womenfolk of the society.

The root of gender inequality, reflected in the higher incidence of poverty among women in India, is social and economic, not constitutional. The Constitution is firmly grounded in principles of liberty, fraternity, equality, and justice. Women's rights to equality and freedom from discrimination are defined as justifiable fundamental rights. The Constitution explicitly clarifies that affirmative action programs for women are not incompatible with the principle of non-discrimination on grounds of sex. "The Constitution does not merely pay lip service to an abstract notion of equality but It reflects a substantive understanding of practical dimensions of freedom and equality for women" (Menon-Sen and Kumar, 2001: 10). However, implementations of constitutional provisions that are meant to empower women are often implemented by persons from the very socioeconomic backgrounds that perpetuate the inequity.

Amartya Sen noted that India with its population of 1 billion has to account for some 32 million "missing women" (Sen, 2003). More than 60 percent of women are chronically poor, and the figure would probably be higher if intra-household discrepancies in poverty levels were measured. For most women, their low status and lack of education limits them to a life of housework and agricultural labour. Although women in India "work," sometimes twice as hard and long as their male counterparts, their economic contributions often remain invisible and unrecognized. Ninety six percent of women work in the informal and unorganized sector. In spite of legal provisions, women continue to receive lower wages than men. Women face legal discrimination in land and property rights (Sen, 1992).

Gender and Kashmiri Society

The State of Jammu and Kashmir, though endowed with rich grandeur natural beauty and resources, have been one of the most economically

backward States of India. Due to various socio-economic, political and geographical factors agriculture, which is the main stay of nearly eighty percent of the population, has remained under developed and the most important natural resources like water, forests, minerals, etc, have remained unexplored and untapped (Bilal, 2014, 5).

Since the introduction of economic planning in 1953 the State has been able to register a big stride in socio-economic development. The number of poor persons has remained almost the same between 1973-74 and 1993-94. According to National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO) 1997, there are 35 percent drop-out children at middle level entry, underweight children 44.5 percent and 41 percent with stunted growth out of 2.2 million children enrolled of a child population of 3.1 million. The armed violence from last two decades has disturbed the social fabric, damaged the economy, disturbed the source of livelihood of thousands of families and in many cases deprived the family of its breadwinner. Children and women of the Kashmiri society have gone through a gruelling trauma. The most disturbing fallout of it has been the nominal increase in destitution manifest in the rise in the number of orphans, widows, the invalid and the disabled (Bilal, 2011a). The armed violence in the State has not allowed women to educate and modernise enough to challenge the traditional and patriarchal structure of the society where ownership of land is an unchallenged natural gift spilled on men by God.

Equality and Inequality: Universal Gender Stratification

The second volume of *The Second Sex* by Simone de Beauvoir opens with the famous phrase: 'one is not born, but rather becomes a woman'. A fundamental aspect which Beauvoir shares with Marxist thinking is the rejection of a given human nature: human nature is ahistorical and social product. She initially argues that economic and social contexts are crucial in determining the importance attributed to the 'biological' facts of gender: in prehistoric times when physical strength was valued, women were rendered inferior, but the contemporary reliance on technology enables them to work on equal terms alongside men. Beauvoir mainly concentrates on the theories of Friedrich Engels who concentrated on the situation of women in his development of Marxist theory. Beauvoir contested his claim that women's oppression is related to the ownership of private property. She argues that because human consciousness includes the 'original category of the other and original inspiration to dominate the other', women's oppression ensued in the division of labour between the sexes. Engels does not account for the specificity of women's oppression, in Beauvoir's view woman is not simply a worker, but a human being who has productive and reproductive capacities. Yet 'she is

for man a sexual partner, a reproducer, an erotic object-an *other* through whom he seeks himself (Ursula Tidd, 2007). Simone de Beauvoir always claimed for instance that as a Marxist she was primarily interested in a class-bases analysis which treated women a class among the oppressed all over the world rather than in the condition of women in itself. New historicists- of whose work Edward Said's *Orientalism* is an example- have a vexed relationship with feminist theories (Beauvoir, 1981).

Because land ownership in "developing" countries reflects dominant roles and elevated status in the society, and is a sign of power and dominance, the social structures surrounding land ownership may help sustain gendered imbalances in power and ultimately put women at risk to experience violence (Deere & Leon, 2001).

A link between land ownership and gender-based violence was first introduced into the academic literature in 1994 along with the suggestion that formalizing property in a woman's name could lead to beneficial transformations in gender relations (Agarwal, 1994). Over a decade later, the first known published study in this area demonstrated that in Kerala, India, as many as 49% of women who did not own property experienced long-term physical violence compared with women who owned either land (18%) or a house (7%), as well as those who owned both assets (7%) (Panada and Agarwal, 2005). The next known published study on this topic demonstrated that women's land ownership was related to a reduction in violence among women, in part because it challenged traditional gender ideology (Grabe, 2010a). Although these studies collectively put forth a framework for investigating land ownership as an institutionalized social structure linked to women's vulnerability to violence, this line of inquiry remains largely underexplored. Moreover, not only have there have been limited attempts to replicate these findings, but also few studies have examined the socio-psychological processes that may explain the role of land in reducing violence against women.

Relational Theory and the Social Dynamics of Power

Several scholars have proposed theoretical approaches that illuminate the complex and dynamic social processes of gender and power that may explain threats to women's bodily safety. Relational theory in particular places central importance on the patterned relations between women and men by understanding gender as multidimensional, that is, with power relations operating simultaneously at institutional, interpersonal, and intrapersonal levels (Shelly Grabe, Rose Grace Grose, and Anjali Dutt, 2014). In recent years, there has been increasing evidence from around the world that interpersonal power dynamics are related to domestic violence. These findings are crucial to establishing gendered

power as a pervasive worldwide phenomenon that puts women all over the globe at risk for violence. Still, a large gap in the empirical literature exists in our understanding of how men's greater access to institutional power intersects with interpersonal power to explain violence against women.

Gender Discrimination and Poverty of Rural Women

In poor rural areas where agriculture is the primary source of income, women are wrongly perceived as even less valuable, mostly engaged in household work and less so in direct income-generating activities. Exacerbating this perception in rural areas is the centrality of land ownership, because women generally have restricted access to land (Mishra and Sam, 2016). Although women constitute the majority of the agricultural workforce in developing countries, they only control about around 1/5th of agricultural land holdings (FAO, 2010). Economic theories have predicted that access to assets, such as land, gives financial security to women and improves their household bargaining power. The improvement in bargaining power in turn reduces gender discrimination by giving women more control over decisions that affect their lives (such as child bearing) and by a reallocation of resources toward women's preferences. An increase in women's access to resources, including property rights, results in a higher investment in human capital such as education, health, and nutrition (Wiig, 2013).

Poor women in rural societies appear in one way or another to be prisoners of social taboos which make them lose their self-confidence, control over their own income and even control over their lives (Hartman and Boyce, 1983). Despite considerable class, cultural and regional differences, rural households in all countries in the sub-continent, tend to exemplify a 'classic patriarchy' which implies the shelter of women in a highly hierarchical domestic realm. It also implies control by men of some of the joint patrimony in land, animals or commercial capital (Kandiyoti, 1995). Thus, the discrimination with women embodied in the "classic patriarchy", keeps them in perpetual poverty and prevents them from becoming economically independent. Apart from experiencing discrimination outside their homes, women also experience intra-family discrimination. The degree of anti-female bias in socio-economically poor families tends to be inversely related to the female's effective contribution to the total family income and to the amount of dowry that her family members would be required to pay at the time of her marriage. The female's contribution can be considered effective if her work is socially visible and socially recognized as valuable. However, as Agarwal (1989) notes, agricultural fieldwork, which is more visible than home-based

work, and work which brings in earnings which is economically more visible than collection of non-market goods and household duties appear to be given a higher social valuation.

Sen and Sengupta (1983) note that higher gender discrimination was found among those landless families in which boys are involved in socially visible and recognized earning activities, whereas the girls were engaged in processing goods, although the total time spent in both activities did not differ much between the sexes. Also, it was found that in small peasant households with the improvement in economic conditions, when the female members were withdrawn from productive field-work, the marriage price of socially perceived unproductive female members increased, although they simply switched their work from field to indoor (Epstein, 1973). Apart from these disadvantages, women also experience intra-family discrimination. Agarwal's (1989) study indicates the pressure of (i) gender based inequalities in the distribution of resources for fulfilling the basic needs (ii) differences in household spending patterns, with women's earnings much more than men's going to the family's basic needs in poor households and (iii) of a strong link in poor households between the nutritional status of children and the mother's earnings. It was also found that within the family, adult females, adolescent girls and small female children receive less vitamins and minerals though good allocations in both North and South India and also receive less protein and calories in parts of North India than their male counterparts (Harris, 1986). During illness men receive medical treatment more promptly than women and more females than males receive no treatment at all (Dandekar, 1975). The type of agricultural work undertaken by women exposes them to greater health risk than men. Thus, during the rainy seasons, rice planting, which is done mostly by women, can make them suffer intestinal infection, arthritis, rheumatic joints leech bites etc. (Mencher and Saradamoni, 1982). Also, due to the total absence of leisure from their daily routine, women are more susceptible to diseases than men.

Access to Employment

Women generally are much more disadvantaged in their access to employment than men for the following reasons:

- i. women's job mobility is limited because they have to take care of their children, they are confined to the surroundings of their homes due to the "ideology of seclusion" and they are vulnerable to class and caste related sexual abuse:

- ii. Because of their lower literacy levels, lesser access to mass media and lesser interaction with the market place, women have limited access to information on job opportunities;
- iii. Men are hired for permanent work such as ploughing, buying inputs, selling products, and for night work such as irrigation and guarding crops. Women are socially excluded from such work;
- iv. Introduction of mechanized cultivation has displaced women who have hardly been trained in the use of machineries and have thus remained confined to manual tasks (Agarwal, 1988).

The factors also explain why women are concentrated in casual agricultural work and in the informal sector in some non-agricultural work such as petty trading in markets closer to their home, although they could obtain better income at distant markets and in the formal sector in industrial employment (Banerjee, 1985). Female headed households appear to be more adversely affected by gender biases in employment and wages and, in general, are found to have much less access to and control over land, greater dependency on wage labour for employment, and lower level of education and literacy than household headed by men. Widespread sexual exploitation by landlords, employers and creditors to whom the household is indebted, also appear to take place in the rural society.

Female Labour Force Participation

A World Bank Study (2012) reveals that female labour force participation rates range from 57 per cent in Maharashtra to 14 per cent in Kashmir. The highest overall participation ratios are in the south, the western, and the central states which are not all rice producers but have large areas suitable for coarse grain production or with irrigation, for industrial crops such as sugarcane and cotton. The wheat producing North, and specially, the leading "Green Revolution" states of Haryana and the Punjab, have very low rates of female participation but, so do the agriculturally stagnating rice producing states of Bihar and West Bengal. This trend is noticed despite the fact that the percentage of population below the poverty line is only 15 per cent in Punjab 25 per cent in Haryana, but 57 per cent in Bihar and 52 per cent West Bengal. Therefore, we would have expected that the female labour force participation rates would be higher in Bihar and West Bengal.

On the other hand, in the two Northern states where substance agriculture is still dominant, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh, women's participation rates are also extremely high. Overall since the beginning of the 1970s; female labour force participation rates have shown a small but unmistakable increase for all India and in most of the major states. While

this has been true in both urban and rural areas, increases have been greater in rural areas than in urban areas. The proportion of female to male workers has also increased through again the shift has been more noticeable in the rural areas. While the sex ratio of all females to male workers increased since 1970s, the ratio in agriculture moved from 25 to 32 between 1971 and 1981 (World Bank, 1992). This may have been due to the combined effects of HYV technologies (at least in the first phase of the green revolution) which appear to have led to greater overall use of female than male labour, and the movement of men into nonfarm employment. Given the deep socio-cultural preferences to keep women out of the workforce, this rise in female agricultural labour participation may be a supply-driven phenomenon and a sign of economic distress. However, more recent studies indicate that the rise in female labour force may be positively related to higher growth in agriculture. Also the rise in real agricultural wage rates, evidence of shorter work days and the narrowing of the gap between male and female wage rates suggest that the increase in female workforce participation rates may also be demand driven. Along with the rise in women agricultural workers, there has also been a rapid increase in the proportion of women cultivators who work as unpaid family work in field crop production.

However, despite the increase in female labour force participation rates, female agricultural laborers are among the poorer sections of the Indian society with the lowest wage levels and highest unemployment. With 61 per cent below the poverty line, female casual labourers in rural areas show the highest incidence of poverty of any occupational category, male or female. Because of their relative lack of mobility or marketable skills as 90 per cent of them are unskilled and 88 per cent are illiterate, these women are the most vulnerable to seasonal fluctuations in labour demand (World Bank, 1992).

However, what is necessary for women's empowerment is opportunities for more permanent employment, but such opportunities have not been created. Rural women are also not being absorbed in many of the jobs outside agriculture that are developing in the rural areas, partly because this employment often requires mobility and specific skills that women do not have, but also because women have not been socialized to seek out and adapt to non-traditional work situations. However, women's capacity to acquire skills and increase mobility may also be constrained by the force of the "Ideology of seclusion." Even if a woman possesses adequate skills she may not be able to leave the confines of home to look for some permanent employment elsewhere due to the "ideology of seclusion."

Field Survey

The survey results about the perception on ideology of seclusion include- i) the “ideology of seclusions’ prevents women from obtaining information about employment; (ii) in rural areas, due to derogatory social customs, women’s travel to distant places is prevented; (iii) even if an offer of employment is secured, the offer may not be accepted because of the force of the “ideology of seclusion;” (iv) the “ideology of seclusion” keeps latent qualities of women relatively undeveloped and (v) that due to their gender, women could not undertake job oriented technical education at places which are at considerable distance from their homes.

Table 1: Barriers to Educated Rural Women’s Search for Employment and social Mobility

Search for Employment	
1	“ideology of seclusion” prevents women from obtained information about employment
2	In rural areas, due to derogatory social customs, women’s travel to distant place to search for employment is prevented
3	Even if an offer of employment is secured, the position may not be accepted because of the force of the “ideology of seclusion”
4	“ideology of seclusion” keeps women’s latent qualities relatively at distant places
5	Because one is female-one could not take job oriented education at distant place
Social Mobility	
6	Is the freedom of movement necessary for a female to utilize opportunities for her development
7.	Your family does not allow you much freedom
8.	What would be the consequences if you decide to move freely?
i	Unemployed neighbourhood youth will jeer you
ii	Village and neighbourhood elders will circulate slander and gossip about you
iii	Parents would be subject of neighbourhood gossip
iv	Parents will be scolded by your grandparents
v	Your loss of freedom and tension may affect your mind and health and you may feel that you are a burden on your family
vi	Parents also would feel that you are a liability to them

In answer to the questions relating to the barriers to social mobility, all the community members felt that it is necessary for them to have freedom of movement without which they cannot utilize opportunities for their

development. Slightly over 72 per cent agreed that their families do not allow them that freedom. In response to the question: what would be the consequences if you decide to move freely, 44 per cent said, unemployed youths of the neighbourhood will jeer at them. More than 61 per cent agreed that village and neighbourhood elders would circulate slander and gossip about them. More than 69 per cent agreed that their parents would be the subjects of neighbourhood gossip. More than 72 per cent agreed that (i) their loss of freedom and the consequent tension may affect their mind and health and they may feel that they are burden on their families and (iii) most parents also would feel that they are liability to them. This study, therefore, suggests that women's access to employment is seriously compromised by the presence of the "ideology of seclusion" in the rural sector. Hence measures must be taken along with others to weaken the force of the "ideology of seclusion."

Access to Land

Customary access to land has been largely confined to male household members. Based on ethnographic information culled from village stories, gives an idea of women's customary land access across regional village communities where the households had some access to land as owners or tenants. The access to land in India is still mostly patrilineal. It is only in exceptional cases that in certain communities the access to land is matrilineal. This is found in North East India, particularly in Meghalaya and Assam, and in south West in Kerala. Under the old and traditional Hindu law women did not have inheritance rights to land but could enjoy life interest in ancestral property as widows and daughters in son-less families. However, with respect to agricultural land, in most states, the religious law was superseded by regionally prevailing customary law under which women were usually excluded. Among some of the matrilineal tribal communities such as Garos and Khasis in the North East, the Nayans and Mapphilasn in Kerala and the Nagudi Vellaras in Tamil Nadu, women's legal inheritance rights to land were conditional on women remaining in their parental home or village and the husband joining rights have been systematically eroded (Agarwal, 1989). the decline in matriline in the North-East among the Garos was due to changes in state practice and in agricultural practice from shifting cultivation to settled agriculture. This shift from shifting cultivation to settled agriculture and land privatization has, to a considerable extent, been responsible for the marginalization of female labour, the registration of private plots in male names and the systematic deprivation of Garo women of their traditional land rights (Agarwal, 1987).

Other Barriers to Women's Access to Legal Shares in land

Although women's rights to land are being recognized since long, the nature of these rights seem to vary according to the personal laws of different religious communities and regions. As a result, women's legal rights are not applied uniformly throughout India and are still not on equal terms with men's everywhere. Furthermore, circumstances prevent women from exercising even their limited ownership rights to land and their right to control and independently farm land which they do have access. For example in northern India where exogamous marriages are widely practiced, such personal and religious laws impose limitations on women's capacity to exercise direct control over the land they may have inherited or obtained as a gift from the natal villages and also make them dependent on their brothers to maintain a link with their father's death to provide social, economic and even physical security in the case of ill-treatment by their husbands and marriage breakups -as well as to play the ritual role of material uncle in their children's weddings. In most parts of India, to maintain the link with their mothers, women tend to give up their rights in favour of their brothers (Agarwal, 1989).

These are examples of cases where women as sisters and daughters did not voluntarily give up their rights of inheritance in favour of their male kins, they had resorted to various methods of circumventing modern laws such as forging father's wills after his death (Parry, 1997) or appealing to revenue authorities with the argument that their sister is wealthy and does not need land or that she is an absentee landlord (Mayer, 1960). Unmarried and widowed women are subjected to various forms of harassment by their male kins to mortgage their land to pay for legal expenses or threats against their lives if they want to pursue the rights to land through the court. There are examples where direct violence was resorted to prevent women from filing their claims or from exercising their customary rights (Kishwar, 1987). Official policies also tend to strengthen the traditional attitude which has anti-female bias. These tend to affect court judgment and implementation of government policies. For example, when landless women in Udhaipur district in Rajasthan claimed a part of the village wasteland to grow herbs and fodder, the local official said that land would not be allotted to women. In answer to the question why not, the answer was that women had never been allotted land that is why they won't allot land to women (Lal, 1986). Even among the Garos in North East India, although women had inheritance rights, under the land privatization programme of the state government, the title deeds granted to individuals have been in names of males (Agarwal 1989).

Access to Resource, Land Management

Even when poor women do inherit land, it is difficult for them to exercise control over the land. For example, in villages where mostly exogamous marriages are the norm, women who inherit land as daughters may find it very difficult to cultivate the land from their natal villages. The "ideology of seclusion" by restricting their interaction with male strangers (Afshar and Agarwal, 1988) makes it difficult for them to obtain information on agricultural practices, purchasing inputs, hiring labour and machinery to plough the fields and selling the produce etc. On the other hand, since men's movements are not restricted, their contact socially with other men enables them to obtain labour and other inputs in time or to seek help from other cultivators. Also because, women cultivators cannot provide reciprocal labour as men cultivators, they cannot easily obtain labour of their relatives. Women's ability to obtain credit and other agricultural inputs is severely restricted because of their inability, due to the "ideology of seclusion," their ignorance and illiteracy, to travel to towns where most credit institutions, input co-operatives and Development Block officers are located. At the same time it is difficult for them to get loans/borrow money from the relatives/friends/ money lenders due to their perception that men have greater capacity to repay the loan as they can get wage work to repay the debt. However, such impediments to women's access to resources were not so prevalent in areas/regions where females' participation in agricultural field work is much higher than in other parts of India and females are less confined to the surroundings of their homes. Women's ability to self-manage land is also generally limited due to their lack of financial capacity to purchase agricultural technology, other inputs and taboos against women ploughing which almost totally makes them dependent on men for cultivating their land and thereby reduces significantly their ability to become independent farmers.

Credit Availability

Access to credit and agricultural extension are therefore the most fundamental requirements for women to become successful cultivators and to be productively self-employed. However, women's lack of land ownership has prevented them from having access to the formal financial system, thus limiting their ability to acquire other productive resources such as cattle, poultry, looms or working capital for trade in farm or forestry purchase, food processing etc. National data of the government of India's credit-based poverty alleviation schemes relate to the number of female beneficiaries not to the actual disbursements. Furthermore, a study of credit flows by gender in a regional rural bank branch and a

commercial bank branch, suggests that even in other government-sponsored credit programmes, women's access to credit is still lower, and dropped too low for agricultural term loans and agricultural cash credit. In such a situation women's access to credit can be improved by (1) introducing fundamental changes in the banking system and (2) establishing a special women's credit fund. Banks would need more autonomy, responsibility and an interest rate which will make it profitable for them to serve the poor. The credit should allow the poor ongoing access to finance system in return for repayment and should include deposit facilities and other services.

Agricultural Extension

As far as the agricultural extension programmes are concerned, the present system largely by-passes 48 per cent of India's self-employed farmers who are women. Making the states' agricultural extension services more accessible and responsible to women farmers is clearly necessary to increase returns on government investment. There is also the need for specially trained female Subject Matter Specialists (SMS) who would monitor the needs of local farmers, communicate those to reach scientists and propose a special extension service that responds to women's problems with the best technology available (World Bank, 1992). To make extension services serve both men and women farmers, it is necessary to make all research and extension staff aware of the important role women play in the production system and of the loss of efficiency that would result from the failure to reach them directly. While it may be more difficult to reach women in northern India because of the widespread practice of 'Purdah' as well as of the increasing technical and managerial complexity of farming in the extension system, especially if it works through local women's groups formed and supported by producers' cooperatives etc., can reach women who are confined to the surroundings of their homes, and have the lowest level of access to services and resources among all groups. Agricultural extension by enhancing women's social interaction increases their exposure to new agricultural technologies, new processes of decision-making and thereby can increase women's ability to manage their farms effectively.

Agricultural Research and Technology

Agricultural research and infrastructure development to support agricultural intensification and diversification can increase the overall demand for labour and reduce seasonal fluctuations. Thus increase in irrigation coverage by shifting to less water-intensive crops and a wider and more careful distribution of water resources can increase females'

employment. Also other measures such as production of female labour-intensive crop, high value non-cereal crops, vegetables, fruits, nuts, non-timber products and expansion of allied enterprises such as poultry farming and dairying can considerably increase the demand for female labour. However, in regard to the development of technology the interests of female laborers and female cultivators are different. While female labourers want greater development and application of labour intensive technology, female cultivators want labour-saving technology which will make less demand on their own time and reduce the need for hired labour. However, in agricultural research priorities, if greater emphasis is placed on agricultural diversification, it will be beneficial to both women labourers and small and marginal farmers.

Conclusion

In this paper we have examined barriers to women's empowerment in rural society and discussed the issues affecting women's access to employment, land and other resources. The forces of the "ideology of seclusion" and the associated constraints on women's access to resources seem to be stronger among the upper castes than among secluded case and tribes and stronger among land-holding cultivators than among marginal farmers and landless labourers. But changes in women's socio-economic status which would help the empowerment process that can be brought about by the appropriate policy changes and effective implementation of policies - which create employment opportunities, grant effective land rights to women, and provide access to credit, agricultural extension and research and technology etc. However, women's capacity to become economically independent would remain severely constrained unless the forces of the "ideology of seclusion" are weakened. The efforts which facilitate unlimited access for women to investments in human capital, to the factors of Production, to productive assets and product markets and to social organization that facilitate such access, are important. Access to investments in human capital includes education, health care, skill training and extension advice. In the long run, access to education is the most powerful tool to equip women for effective interaction with both the social service and productive dimensions of the outside world. Access to factors includes access to credit, entry to and mobility within labour markets, and ownership of an effective utilization rights to land are central to women empowerment in rural settings. However efforts to grant women effective rights to land would continue to face still resistance and opposition. Without appropriate institutional changes such forces cannot be weakened, but only appropriate community education can gradually weaken these

forces. Access to assets includes technology, inputs and raw materials and access to markets includes their ability to buy essential goods and services and sell their final products at true market prices are equally important. In this paper we have examined the more important issues affecting women's access to employment, land and their access to credit and other resources. Action is necessary in all these areas if women's empowerment process in rural India is to succeed. Professor Amartya Sen (The Asian Age, 1996) said that the solution to India's problems of population and development lies in social development in a gender sensitive way. That social development can only come through women's empowerment.

References

- Afshar, H. and B. and Agarwal, B. Eds. (1988). *Women, Poverty Ideology in Asia: Contradictory Pressures, Uneasy Resolutions*, London : Macmillan.
- Agarwal. B (1987). *Maternity in Transition: The Garos, Khasis and Lalungs in North-East India*. New Delhi: Institute of Economic Growth.
- Bhat, Bilal Ahmad. (2014). 'Afraid and Restricted vs. Bold and Equal: Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality Discourses in Kashmir', *Journal of Man and Development*, 36, 3, CRRID, Chandigarh, India.
- Bhat, Bilal Ahmad (2011). 'Gender Earnings and Poverty Reduction: Post-Communist Uzbekistan', *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 46, 6: 629-649, Sage Publications.
- Agarwal, B. (1988). "Who Sows, Who Reap? Women and Land Rights in India," *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 15(4) .
- Menon-Sen, Kalyani, and A. K. Shiva Kumar. (2001). *Women in India – How Free? How Equal?* New Delhi: United Nations Development Programme.
- Banerjee, S. and Kothari, S. (1985), "A General profile of Food and Hunger in India," *The Ecologist*, 15(5,6).
- Dandekar, K. (1975) "Has the proportion of Women in Indian Population Been Declining?" *Economic and political Weekly*, October 18.
- Epstein, T. S. (1973). *South India Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*. London: Macmillan.
- Harris, J. (1987). "Capitalism and Peasant Production: The Green Revolution in India," in Shanin, T. (ed.), *Peasant and Peasant Societies*. Oxford: Blackwell.

- Hartman, B. and Boyce, J. K. (1983), *A Quiet Violence : View from a Bangladesh Village*. London : Zed.
- Kandiyoti, D. (1985), *Women in Rural Production Systems*, Paris : UNESCO Khandekar, S.R. and Binswnger (1989). "The effect of Formal Credit on Output in Rural India," *PHR Working Paper Series*, Washington D.C. : World Bank.
- Hishwar, M. (1987), "Toiling without Rights: Ho Women of Singbhum," *Economic and Political Weekly* 24(31).
- Mayeer, A.C. (1960). *Caste and Kinship in Central India- A Village and Its Region*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Mehra, R. and Saradmono, K. (1983). *Women and Rural Transformation*. New Dehli: Concept Publishing Co.
- Mencher, J. and Saradomoni, K. (1982). "Muddy Feet and Dirty Hands: Rice Production and Female Agriculture Labour," *Economic and Political Weekly*, December 5.
- Parry, J. P. (1979). *Caste and Kinship in Kangr*. New Dehli: Vikas Publishing House.
- Rath, N. (1985), "GaribiHatas: Can IRDP Do It?" *Economic and Political Weekly*, February 9.
- Sen, A.K. and Sengupta, S. (1983), "Malnutrition of Rural Children and the sex Bias," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Annual No. May 6.
- Tendler, J. (1987). *Whatever Happened to Poverty Alleviation*. New York; The Ford Foundation.
- The Asian Age, (1996), Calcutta, August 17.
- World Bank (1992). *Gender and Poverty in India*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.
- N. Jayapalan, (2000). *Women Studies*. New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers.
- Sen, A. (1990). "More Than 100 Million Women Are Missing", *New York Review of Books*, Vol 37, No 20, pp 61-66.
- Sen, A.K. and Sengupta, S. (1983), "Malnutrition of Rural Children and the Sex Bias," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Annual No. May 6.
- Shelly Grabe, Rose Grace Grose, and Anjali Dutt (2014). Women's Land Ownership and Relationship Power: A Mixed Methods Approach to Understanding Structural Inequities and Violence Against Women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly* Vol 39, Issue 1, pp. 7 - 19.
- Simone de Beauvoir (1949). 2015. *The Second Sex*. London: Vintage Classics.

- Simone De Beauvoir (1981). *Force of Circumstance*. London: Penguin Books. pp. 5-15.
- Hartman, B. and Boyce, J. K. (1983). *A Quiet Violence: View from a Bangladesh Village*. London: Zed.
- FAO. (2010). *Female land ownership*. (Retrieved from <http://www.fao.org/economic/es-policybriefs/multimedia0/female-land-ownership/en/>, Feb. 27, 2018).
- Khusbhu Mishra and Abdoul G. Sam (2016). Does Women's Land Ownership Promote Their Empowerment? Empirical Evidence from Nepal. *World Development Vol. 78*, pp. 360-371.
- Wiig, H. (2013). Joint titling in rural Peru: Impact on women's participation in household decision-making. *World Development*, 52, 104-119.
- Clara Nubile (2003). *The Danger of Gender*. New Delhi: Sarup & Sons.
- Panda P., Agarwal B. (2005). Marital violence, human development, and women's property status in India. *World Development*, 33, 823-850.
- Krishna Ahuja-Patel. (2007). *Development Has A Women's Face: Insights from Within the UN*. APH Publications: New Delhi.

Theoretical Perspectives on Class Consciousness: From Karl Marx to Louis Althusser

Journal of Society in Kashmir

11(1) 170-177

ISSN: 2249-667X

© 2021 Author(s)

<http://sociology.uok.edu.in/Files/c2d3b27>

8-4cf7-49a5-9525-

af5e352f2900/Journal/d75acedb-df45-4cd2-

b337-14f238e62cad.pdf

Muzamil Wali*

Abstract

Class-consciousness is often defined as politically expressed economic group-interest of a class. However the concept of working class-consciousness is very complex so cannot be defined by a single dimension or by a single theory because it is manifested in various ways. However, the researchers have made various attempts to clarify the different dimensions and put forward various theories of class consciousness. This paper attempts to analyze these theoretical perspectives on class consciousness by different people at different times and spaces.

Keywords

Class, Class consciousness, theory, trade union, worker

Introduction

Industrialization has affected every society and classes in one or the other way. From its very inception industrialization has resulted in conflict between the employers and workers. The apathy of the employers towards their workers compelled workers to organize themselves under unions to demand for their rights. Trade unions are an expression of polarization of workers against the powerful managers in the capitalist society. Thus trade unions have emerged as an important organization in the class struggle between the employers and workers which have invited the attention of thinkers. As various social, economic, political, historical and cultural factors have shaped the development of class consciousness the views of thinkers have also evolved along these lines.

To Marx, class-consciousness means politically expressed economic group-interest of a class. This subjective awareness implies that the

* Research Associate, Department of Sociology, University of Kashmir, Srinagar, Jammu and Kashmir
Email: muzamil.wali@gmail.com

members of a class perceive their class as different from other class; that they develop a feeling of identification with members of the same class and a feeling of difference and opposition to the other class; and that they possess a capacity to act collectively to pursue collective interests of their class (Patel, 1994). There have been various attempts to put forward the dimensions of class-consciousness. But the concept of working class-consciousness is very complex so cannot be defined by a single dimension because it is manifested in various ways. However, the researchers have made various attempts to clarify the different dimensions of class consciousness. Oscar Glantz observes class-consciousness means more than mere awareness of economic position. Glantz identifies two dimensions to measure class-consciousness (i) allegiance: self-identification with one's class, and (ii) orientation: (a) favorable orientation to one's class and (b) unfavorable orientation to the opposite class (Glantz, 1958). According to Lazarsfeld, the class consciousness has four dimensions: (i) symbolic or emotional (ii) distrust of class enemies (iii) all-embracing lifestyle, and (iv) political militancy (Lazarsfeld, 1972). Leggett identified four dimensions for measuring the working-class consciousness (i) class verbalization: tendency to discuss issues in class terms (ii) skepticism: belief that wealth is distributed mainly to benefit the middle classes (iii) militancy: a disposition to engage aggressively in action to advance the interests of one's own class and (iv) egalitarianism: favoring a redistribution of wealth in such a way that each individual would have the same amount (Legget, 1964). From this analysis of class consciousness two important dimensions of the class consciousness can thus be identified namely class solidarity and class opposition. Moreover many theories have been put forth to understand how far trade unions could channelize workers consciousness, are trade unions merely a pressure group which represents a portion of citizens who have a distinct set of economic interests; or still, do they play the role of disintegrator with or without the intention to strive for a new form of society.

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels

Marx and Engels have put forward the idea of class which revolves around the process of class struggle. The immediate aim of trade union, according to them, is to protect the interests of the workers. While economic conditions transform the mass of people into workers, this mass is only a class-in-itself and not yet a class-for-itself. It transforms into a subjective class when a set of values and beliefs emerges along with an organization (trade union) to represent and realize the objective interests of the working class (Marx, 1976). Thus workers life and work situation such as exploitation, appropriation of surplus value by capitalists,

deprivation, periodic unemployment poverty, etc. help in facilitating the consciousness. Thus a mass of workers comes together and forms the class consciously. They argue that the workers join trade unions because it is in the nature of human beings not to surrender before the economic oppression (Engels, 1958). Marx believes that trade unions are the means for the uniting the working class and an important manifestation of class consciousness to overthrow the capitalist class (Marx, 1976). Marx and Engels had what Hyman (1971) calls an “optimistic’ view on trade unions, which they did not relinquish despite their occasional disappointments in their later life.

Richard Hyman

Richard Hyman has a different view as far as trade unions as a facilitator in the formation of class consciousness is concerned. His argument is sometimes more inclined to Marx and Engels but at other times to Lenin. Hyman claims that the limits of trade union consciousness can vary markedly between different historical contexts and can shift radically with only a brief passage of time. In this context he sees trade unions as part of the problem as well as solution thereof. Trade unions can be obstacle in the formation of class consciousness and the same time can act as a facilitator in the formation of class consciousness (Hyman 2001). Trade unions can be obstacle because they can easily get integrated into the capitalist system working in the capitalist system. At the same trade unions can be viewed as a starting point for the formation of class consciousness because any socialistic movement has its genesis in the production process. As for Hyman, although he agrees that there can be no clear answer to the question of ‘in what sense can unions be regarded as agencies of class struggle, of resistance to capitalism? For ‘trade unionism itself is deeply ambiguous and contradictory’ and acknowledges that while ‘while trade unions can never become fully anti-capitalist organizations, socialists can help strengthen their anti-capitalistic tendencies (Hyman 1989). Despite their competent analyses of capitalism, in the context of trade relations the Marx-Engels and Hyman theoretical perspective neglected the organizational aspects of unions.

Eric Hobsbawm

A contemporary view equivalent to that of Lenin is found in Hobsbawm. He criticizes the modern labor movement in England because it confined itself to the immediate economic needs. Thus limited scope of trade unions to demand economic benefits can be termed as trade union consciousness which is compatible with the capitalist system (Hobsbawm, 1967). Like Lenin he also differentiates between class

consciousness and political consciousness. But this theory is criticized on the ground that wages struggle constitutes an important and essential part of the working class struggle (Kelly, 1988). It is apparent that the Leninist does not see the trade unions as an autonomous organization. Rather, the real significance of the Leninist view lies, in the fact that the trade union behavior shall be studied in connection with the influence of its ideology and nature of its leadership.

Sidney Webb and Beatrice Webb

The view of Sydney and Beatrice on trade unions can be best be summarized as industrial reformism. In fact they do not see trade unions as a revolutionary institution; they tend to consider them to be ultimate organization for protecting the workers interest in the capitalist society. They argued that the goals of trade union is not limited to economical but also political in nature. The trade unions have two important goals; one short term and other long term. The short term goal is the day to day struggle in demanding better wages and managing of working hours. As far as long term goal of the trade union is concerned it is the abolition of the capitalist society. According to webs trade union is “a continuous association of wage earners for the purpose of maintaining or improving of the working wages” (Webb, 1884). Thus trade union is a continuous association which has a potential to transform into the labour movement. The webbian perspective is based on an almost mechanical view on both historical and decision making process. Therefore it can be concluded, although webbian perspective grants trade unions the role of social reformer, in this given role trade unions are supposed to play its role within the capitalistic system without even questioning it.

Antonio Gramsci

Gramsci is the one who held the most pessimistic view on trade union as far as their role in revolutionary movement is concerned. Gramsci believed that unions are fire extinguisher on revolution, thus having pessimistic view about the potential of trade unions. In fact he had no hope in the revolutionary potential of trade unions due to their origin, ideology, structure and function (Gramsci, 1978). According to him the origin of trade union is very capitalist because it establishes the monopoly on the commodity. The trade union is based on the bureaucratic institutional hierarchy where the machines and bureaucracy destroys the creative spirit of the worker.

Frank Tannenbaum

Tannenbaum believes that the birthplace of the trade union movement is the shop, the factory, the mine and the industry. The existing conditions have already formed the trade organizations only to be announced by the workers or a leader. He believes that the trade union movement is the result of the machine (Tannenbaum, 1921). He says that the trade union is the social group which provides platform for the organized expression to workers in modern industry. Frank further states that machine will break the society into pieces according to their job. Frank believes that the trade union is such kind of an organization which gives the expression to the group life of the modern industry (Singh 2012).

Gyorgy Luckas

Luckas understands class consciousness to mean the appropriate and rational reaction imputed to a particular typical position in the process of production. Actions by individuals of one class are ultimately defined by its consciousness of its economic interests versus other classes, i.e. by its relation to the elements of the totality. In Capitalist society the bourgeois class gives the total meaning of unity by its ideology considered as if it represents the interests of the whole society. However, Lukacs argues, this is a false consciousness because it represents in actuality the interests of only one segment and not the totality.

John Goldthrope and David Lockwood

They have put forward the theory of emergence of new working class which is different from the traditional working class as well as middle class. It indicates that neither a high degree of (typically middle-class) status consciousness nor (traditional proletariat) class consciousness exist among the new working class. It rejected the liberal claims of embourgeoisement and neo-Marxist hopes for revolutionary potential of "new working class". Goldthrope contended that formation of trade unions reflect the economic rationality of the workers and implying nothing in the way of discontent that can be channeled in the direction of revolutionary objectives.

Selig Pearlman

Pearlman has opined that the European workers formed the trade unions due to the scarcity of labour. Later when they sensed abundance they became job conscious whereas American workers, first sensed abundance and became job conscious and then there was scarcity of labour which made them class consciousness thus formed trade unions. According to Pearlman the genuine trade unions are bread and butter trade unions and the genuine trade unionists are inherently bread and butter trade

unionists. If they go beyond that it is not what the constitution of trade union demands but because some outside influence some intellectual, idealist, or some social reformer wants them to do so (Pearlman, 1970). He argues many workers in Europe have stepped beyond this job conscious bread and butter unionism into class conscious political trade unionism. It is only because of outside influences, whereas American unions have demonstrated how free they are from those outside influences. He believes that the genuine trade unions would continue to demand the bread and butter for the workers. This theory is also known as scarcity conscious of manual workers. He rejected the idea of class consciousness as an explanation for the origin of the trade union movement but substituted it with what he called job consciousness.

Michael Mann

Michael Mann argues that a subjective-objective dichotomy does not actually exist. There is a unity between the subjective and objective factors of the revolution. According to him when the subjective elements are undeveloped, the objective elements must be so as well (Mann, 1973). Thus, the absence of a revolutionary consciousness is indication of the absence of a revolutionary situation. It seems clear that the subjective conditions are directly proportionate to the revolutionary situation. This does not deny that over time the objective conditions may become more suitable; it is only to assert that this process is not linear. Periods of crisis accentuates the process of revolution in the society. According to Mann development of capitalism by itself would not produce the subjective factors or a revolutionary consciousness (Ibid, 1973). It can be in other words said that Mann believes that the highest form of capitalism will lead to the revolutionary consciousness which seem to be problematic hypothesis (Thomson, 1974).

Louis Althusser

According to Louis Althusser the ideological apparatus can be properly described as belonging to the state, even if they are formally separated from the state. He believes that the state actually has two components: the repressive state apparatus, including the army, the police, and the courts, which directly enforce class rule, and the ideological state apparatus (ISA), which maintains complicity and identity with class society (Ryder, 2014). Althusser believes that the private sphere of family life is included in the scope of the state, because its function is to maintain and develop an ideology, thereby psychologically insisting on and participating in

class society. Althusser argues that ideology has a profound relationship with subjective experience. What he meant was that the inherent practices and beliefs of ideology produced a sense of identity. Our conscious experience of the world and personality are always related to the influence of the social system that nurtures and educates us. In addition, the essence of ideology is to conceal this essentially artificial and imposed nature. Rather than treating our direct experiences as conditional, they seem to be "free" or obvious explanations of the world. Althusser's point of view is that the economy is fundamentally constituted by exploitation, and such exploitation always creates conflicts. Ideology is a secondary structure that strives to ensure the continuation of the capitalist mode of production and to make the working class continue to persevere in the system that oppresses them. However, he believes that ideology cannot maintain uninterrupted rule because it is produced by a machine trapped in a material class society. Since these institutions are related to labor, they cannot be completely owned and controlled by capitalist countries, nor can they be completely reconciled into a unified social whole. Therefore, ideology carries proletarian values and bourgeois domination. The distorted proletarian element in the capitalist ideology can be strengthened and clarified, and the entire edifice can be overthrown in the course of the revolution. But because personal experience always consists of ideology, this liberation process must always be part of the commitment to working class activities, not as a break between the individual and the delusion and conformity.

Conclusion

The above discussion points to the fact that the role of trade unions has been variably disputed besides that the class consciousness can be expressed in several ways as well by identifying several dimensions. Above theories provide much needed clarity in the sense that the trade unions work to perpetuate the existing system but also operate to undermine it. Trade unions oscillated between these contradictory functions. Trade unions as an institution do not challenge the existence of capitalist society based on class division. Thus trade unions by themselves produce only a sectoral base for socialist movement and associating class consciousness with trade unions at the expense of other factors may not be a right approach. At the same time trade unions are produced and reproduced by social conditions thus cannot be totally assimilated into the capitalist society, to the point of disappearing as a differential force at all. Though there is no unanimity on the political nature of the trade unions in the above mentioned theories however most

of these theories agree on the economic nature of the trade unions. The trade unions mostly are concerned with the economic interests of the workers and they rarely concern itself with the overthrowing of capitalist system as a whole. Many of the above discussed theories thus differentiate between the trade union consciousness and the class consciousness on the basis of interests central to the trade unions. But most of these theories confirm the fact that the trade unions to a large extent channelize the workers consciousness at the economic level. It is pertinent to mention here that the trade unions can facilitate the formation of class consciousness but at the same time it can be obstacle for such formation. Trade unions can easily get influenced by the management and get integrated in the capitalist system. But at the same time formation of trade unions can be viewed as a starting phase of the class consciousness. Althusser's point of view is that the economy is fundamentally constituted by exploitation, and such exploitation always creates conflicts. Ideology is a secondary structure that strives to ensure the continuation of the capitalist mode of production and to make the working class continue to persevere in the system that oppresses them.

References

- Centers R. (1949). *The Psychology of Social Classes: A Study of Class Consciousness*. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press.
- Lukas, George (1968). *History and Class Consciousness*. Cambridge, MA: MIT. Press.
- Goldberg, Melvin. (1981). *Formulating worker consciousness*. *Social dynamics*. 7 (1): 32-41.
- Iyerv, Radha. (1989). A Classic Class Struggle. *Economic and Political Weekly*. 24(40): 2231-2235.
- Leggett, John C. (1968). *Class, Race and Labour: Working Class Consciousness In Detroit*. New York: oxford university press.
- Leggett, John C. (1973). 'The Periodicity of Working-Class Consciousness', in *Taking State Power: The Sources and Consequences of Political Challenge*(ed.) John C. Leggett. New York: Harper & Row.
- Marx, Karl and Engels. (1848). *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. Moscow: Progress Publishers

Assimilation of Sponsorship Schemes and Integrated Child Protection Services (ICPS) : A need for a Paradigm Shift

Journal of Society in Kashmir

11(1) 178-187

ISSN: 2249-667X

© 2021 Author(s)

<http://sociology.uok.edu.in/Files/c2d3b27>

8-4cf7-49a5-9525-

af5e352f2900/Journal/650a1f46-bc71-4bb4-

82be-ac451a7cd827.pdf

Mudasir Ahmed Nazar*
Showkat Ahmad Dar†
Umara Yaseen*

Abstract

The present study aims to evaluate the functioning of various child care schemes and to provide some suggestions for the adoption of the efficient mechanism to cater effectively to the needs of the needy children. The researchers feel that there should be a proper watchdog for monitoring the dispensations through these schemes properly. The integration of Sponsorships Schemes and ICPS will prove effective to augment the schemes' functioning, besides the proper follow-ups by District Child Protection Unit (DCPU) will also check that the sponsorships are properly utilized.

Keywords

Children, Sponsorship, Child Welfare Committee, Schemes

Introduction

Every society has some sort of the underprivileged sections, the most vulnerable of them are children and women. The phenomenon of being underprivileged is the outcome of various social problems and institutional instability. States, across the globe, have one or the other mechanism to combat this vulnerability, as to provide social security and dignified life to those sections that fall prey to various kinds of social problems. The earliest known form of service to the needy children began with orphanages attached to early monasteries in Catholic or Islamic countries, the oldest of which may probably have been the 9th orphanage in the Iranian Mosque of Holy Shrine at Meshad (Baig, 1979).

* Member, Child Welfare Committee, CPS Department, Government of Jammu and Kashmir

Email: guroomudasir@gmail.com

† Teaches Sociology at Higher Education Department, J&K

There were no crèches, nursery schools or children's hospitals and everything related to children was considered to be the responsibility of the mother and the family. The concept of childcare began to develop in France probably due to the French Revolution in 1789. On realizing that children needed special provisions, France developed progressive 'minor rights by enacting laws to protect children at their work place in 1841 and subsequently, a right to education in 1881(Ibid.).

Movements to save the child from exploitation and abuse at work places and development of child protection legislation, juvenile courts started in France and other parts of Europe in the beginning of the 20th as an outcome of the Industrial Revolution.

Declarations and Legislations on Child welfare: An International Scenario:

In order to protect the child rights, various international organizations have ensured the child protections through various declarations and legislations some important declarations and legislations made by key international organizations are as follows:

League of Nations: An English lady Dorothy Buxton found Save the Children Fund at London in 1919 to provide assistance and protection to children who had experienced war or were victims of war. In 1920 it was organized as 'International Save the Children Union' with the support of International Committee of the Red Cross and the 'Geneva Declaration 1924.' Recognition of the Rights of the Child led to an understanding that childhood is an integral part of a child's life and child welfare is the responsibility of the whole world community and not the parents alone.

United Nations: The UN General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. On December 10, 1959, and recognize the Rights of the Child a legally binding International Treaty whereby the child by reason of his physical and mental immaturity, needs special safeguards and care, including appropriate legal protection before and after the birth. UNICEF was setup with the objective to care for the children of the world affected by not only war but even the economic and political upheavals.

International Legislations: The legislations enacted by the world community are required to be incorporated and integrated by the member states while making laws, rules, policies and schemes for child welfare. Main legislations include: United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989; UN Rules for the Protection of Juveniles deprived of their Liberty, 1990; UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice (Beijing Rules), 1985; United Nations Guidelines for the Protection of Juvenile Delinquency (Riyadh

Guidelines), 1990; Hague Convention on Protection of Children and Cooperation in respect of Inter-Country Adoption, 1993.

Declarations and Legislations on Child welfare: An Indian Scenario:

India is home of the largest child population in the world (19%), where more than one third of the country's population, (around 440 million), is below 18 years. The Constitution of India guarantees Fundamental Rights to its children, empowers the State to make special provisions for them, and through the Directive Principles of State Policy specifically guides the State in securing the children from abuse exploitation and ensuring that children are given opportunities and facilities to develop in a healthy manner. The constitution in this regard clearly states that 'The State must make special provisions for women and children' (Article 15 (3)).

Declaring its children as the nation's "supremely important asset" in the National Policy for Children, 1974, the Government of India reiterated its commitment to secure the rights of its children by ratifying related international conventions and treaties.

The National Policy for Children, 1974 recognized that programmes for children should find prominent place in national plans for the development of human resources, so that children grow up to become robust citizens, and an asset to the society.

The Constitution of India provides that the State shall direct its policy towards ensuring "that children are given opportunities and facilities to develop in a healthy manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity and that childhood and youth are protected against exploitation and against moral and material abandonment." (Constitution of India; Article 39)

The adoption of the National Policy for Children (NPC) in 1974 was the first such major comprehensive initiative taken by the Government. The policy had set out action commitments to address and honour the national standards and obligations enshrined in the Constitution. It focused on:

- Provision of care and protection to all children before and after birth and throughout their period of childhood.
- Comprehensive health and nutrition programmes for all children.
- Right to free and compulsory elementary education for all children in the 6-14 year age group (Article 21 A) Inserted after 86th Amendment in 2006.
- Special attention to children from marginalized backgrounds or children with social handicap.
- Constitution of a National Children's Board for planning and upholding the rights of children.

- Protection of children against abuse, neglect, cruelty and exploitation.
- Existing laws should be amended so that in all legal disputes whether between parents or institutions, the interests of children are given paramount consideration.

The Constitution of India guarantees the fundamental rights to the Children in this regard its directions to the state are: 'The State shall take to special protection measures to secure the rights of children in need of special protection, e.g. children affected by migration, communal violence, civil unrest, disasters, street children, children of sex workers, children forced into begging, children in conflict and contact with the law, children, children of prisoners, children infected/affected by HIV/AIDS, children with disabilities, children affected by alcohol and substance abuse, children from any other socially excluded group, etc. The State shall promote child friendly jurisprudence; enact progressive legislation, to address issues related to child protection.'

The state of India, in this regard, has launched various schemes for the protection of its child population. Solid evidence on the positive effects of social protection, combined with political support and financial capacity in developing countries like India, have led to its expansion. Most schemes improve the material well-being of disadvantaged groups and many can help to break the intergenerational cycle of poverty. Some schemes, however, can reinforce feelings of inferiority among those who benefit from them. The limited evidence available indicates that some social groups are better covered by social protection than others. Indian Government, at all levels, announces Welfare Schemes for a cross section of the society from time to time. These schemes could be either Central, State specific or a joint collaboration between the Centre and the States. These schemes cover the vital components of the life of an individual like, employment, education, gender equality and health etc.

Statement of Problem

Approximately 19% of the world's children reside in India, where more than one third of the country's population, (around 440 million), is below 18 years. Welfare of the child was largely neglected and was not high on the agenda of erstwhile governments for a long period of time due to the fact that children had no voice; were under the control of their parents; and were not treated as individuals having rights of their own. As per a study done by the Ministry of Women and Child Development, there are more than 9,500 institutions hosting over 3, 70,000 children in the country. The valley of Kashmir has faced tremendous problems related to the children issues because this part of the globe remains boiling due to the ongoing turmoil. Consequently, children and women have remained

the immediate prey of the conflict situations. There are almost 65 institutions and hosting 1914 children. Institutionalization is last resort for any child that falls in definition of section 2 of Juvenile Justice Act 2015. Different studies have revealed that the children living in CCIs are having physiological pressure. Children in CCIs are restricted and have to follow the rules or guidelines that are formulated by CCI. Studies on children of CCIs who went back to their families after attaining the age of 18 years reveal that they find it difficult to adjust to their home environment. This phenomenon of maladjustment derails the child from living a normal way of life. There is, therefore, a dire need to make a sociological assessment in this context. The present study aims to identify and evaluate various development / protection schemes pertaining to children in Kashmir.

Objectives

- To enumerate the existing child development/protection schemes.
- To examine the benefits of these schemes, if any, to children residing in child care institution.
- To evaluate role of ICPS vis-à-vis child development schemes.
- To provide suggestions for effective utilization of sponsorships.

Methodology

There are numerous schemes for welfare of children sponsored by both central and state and UT governments. In order to make the present study more reliable and authenticate, the major schemes pertaining to child care and protection will be evaluated. Data related to these schemes will be collected through secondary sources like, government Gazettes, Journals, Newspapers books, research work; e-resource etc. content analysis method will be applied to present the facts and figures.

Findings

In the present study the researchers have come across the following important findings:

- The state of India has time and again launched various Schemes for the child protection.
- The implementation of schemes launched for the welfare and protection of the children are being impeded by various bottlenecks.

Thus the researchers feel that there must be a watchdog to ensure the effective implementation on ground zero level. The discussion on these key finding goes as follows:

Schemes launched by Government.

As we know that India falls under the category of developing nations. The large masses of people live below the poverty line. So we can understand how harsh the childhood of these families. The Government is taking steps to empower, educate and uplift its child population. The government in there every five-year plan keeps a portion of budgets for schemes that are for the welfare and protection of the children. The schemes that government launches or sponsors have fixed aim and target that is why every scheme that is launched for child development is given a particular name and target. Here are some of the schemes that has been launched or sponsored by government. They are: Integrated Programme for Street Children; Scheme of Assistance to Voluntary Organizations for Homes (Shishugreh) for Infants and Young Children for Promoting in-Country Adoption; Programme of Assistance for Innovations in Child Development and Welfare-National Children's Fund; National Creche Fund Scheme 1994; Scheme for Assistance to Voluntary Agencies for Non-formal Education for elementary age group Children under The Programme for Universalization of Elementary Education; Scheme for Assistance for Experimental and Innovative Programmes for Education at The Elementary Stage Including Non-Formal Education; Beti Bachao, Beti Padhao; Sukanya Samridhi Yojna; Balika Samridhi Yojna and CBSE Scholarship Scheme/Policy For Girl Education

The above schemes cover almost all age groups of children. It also covers both formal and non-formal types of education. Some of these schemes are launched particular for girl child. But it has come to our observation that a large portion of children does not benefit out of these schemes. The following data substantiates this view.

Table 1: No of cases registered in CSCs of Kashmir Division

S. No.	District	No. of registered cases
1.	Anantnag	648
2.	Bandipora	117
3.	Barmulla	378
4.	Budgam	174
5.	Ganderbal	93
6.	Kulgam	349
7.	Kupwara	326
8.	Pulwama	300
9.	Shopian	520
10.	Srinagar	214
Total		3119

Source: Annual Report on Implementation of JJL in the state of J&K, 2018-19.

Table 2: No. of cases registered in the JJBs of Kashmir Division

S. No	District	No. of Cases Registered
1.	Anantnag	343
2.	Bandipora	176
3.	Barmulla	385
4.	Budgam	247
5.	Ganderbal	145
6.	Kulgam	218
7.	Kupwara	194
8.	Pulwama	97
9.	Shopian	153
10.	Srinagar	597
Total		2555

Sources: Annual Report on Implementation of JJL in the state of J&K, 2018-19

The tables 1 and 2 show the number of cases that are registered in the both the Child Welfare Committees and the Juvenile Justice Boards of Kashmir Division under Juvenile Justice Act 2015. There are cases of both Child in Need of Care and Protection (CNCP) and Child in Conflict with Law (CCL) as per Juvenile Justice Act 2015 but to a large extent we can prevent or stop or can provide an alternative source to fall in the above mentioned categorizers (CNCP / CCL). Two of the main reason why these children fall in these two categorizes is Dropout / Domestic labour both are due to poverty and parents not aware regarding the different schemes launched state for children.

The malfunctioning of the schemes gives rise to two crucial issues upon which the policy makers, concerned administration and academicians must rethink.

The Problem of Dropouts: The dropouts represent a significant human cost to children and then at ion since they will most likely be permanently illiterate (Desai, 1991). Illiteracy, poverty, in adequate earnings and poor living conditions of parents force them not only to withdraw their wards from schools but also put them in various types of jobs for contribution to the family income (Rao, 2000). According to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO, 1989 and 2007), India has the lowest public expenditure on higher education per student in the world. India spends just 3.5 percent to fits gross domestic product on education, way below China's 8 percent, and the public expenditure on education has actually declined from around 3.23 percent of GDP in 2000-01 to 2.88 percent in recent times.

The case regarding dropout of a child are mainly because of the above mentioned reasons. The percentage of these cases are 22% overall cases that the Committees of Kashmir Division have received. The most important reason, as stated by the household members for the school dropout. For 29 percent of the cases, the important reason cited were child not interested in studies. This reason was given for 36 percent of boys and 21 percent of girls who dropping out of school. For 19 percent of children, the reason mentioned was Cost was too much. The two other important reasons mentioned by the households were (a) required for household work (12 percent) and (b) required for outside work for payment in cash or kind (6 percent). Other reasons reported for dropping out of school includes repeated failures, required for work on form/family business, school too far away and further education was not considered as necessary. Interestingly, 3 percent of the cases reported marriage was the important reason for discontinuing education.

Children in Domestic labour: Despite constitutional provisions and legislations in India, prohibiting child labor under the following acts - The Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act 1986 and Juvenile Justice Act 2015 no concrete action was possible against trafficking and child domestic labour. Only after a series of public interest litigations led by Bachpan Bachao Andolan and a number of judicial orders by the various High Courts and the Supreme Court of India, was concrete action for rescue, recovery and rehabilitation of child domestic labourers and prosecutions of employers and traffickers, and illegal placement agencies initiated. A landmark change was made in the Indian Penal Code in February 2013, with trafficking and exploitation of children being prohibited with stringent punishments in the Penal Code, on the basis of recommendation of the Justice Verma Committee.

The case regarding domestic helper either kept by parents or trafficked or child opted themselves in order to earn for themselves or the child those are involved in some types of using drugs or have some personal problems the percentage of these cases are 20% overall that the Committees of Kashmir Division have received. It is obvious some these children may be dropout or not attended school at all. If the teachers at school level have identified these children and make them and their parents aware regarding different schemes that government have sanctioned or launched for them. Even the school authority or parents can come themselves before the committees and discuss their problems. As even under definition of Section 2 (14) of Juvenile Justice Act 2015, defines that such child whose are parents or guardians are incapacitated are Child In Need and Care of Protection (CNCP).

While Government of India has given sponsorship scheme direct to Child Protection Service (CPS) department but the number is very less or is not enough for all. As the number of such children increase day by day but the number in sponsorship, remain same. Therefore, there is imbalance in the equation though committees use the several other options in order that every child get rehabilitate.

The rise in dropouts and many other crimes against the destitute children puts a question mark on the efficacy of these schemes. If the state of affair remains the same, not only the progress of these children shall hamper but also the nation and it is development will get face great challenges. Therefore, there must be proper follow ups after the sanction of the funds to the beneficiaries.

Conclusion

The above findings give rise to a few pertinent questions- what constitutes "Best interest of the child"? If the schemes are allotted to different government department that serves regarding the development of child and safe guard its interest. Though the government has policies for child development and in this regard it has launched several schemes that encompass child as a whole. But still loop holes remains there. The child that has to be encompassed in any schemes has to submit several documents and bring clarifications from departments. But if the children of Child Care Institutions or the cases that come before the Child Welfare Committees or Juvenile Justice Boards are considered at first preference or a ration of these schemes are merged in Child Protection Services throughout all states, a large number of children would be saved. Besides it will bring down crime rate in and against children and save them from been exploited by family or other people. Saving future of these children, means save coming generation and help in build happy and prosperous nation. To sum up, if the integrations of Sponsorship Schemes and ICPS happens, the children in general and the children in Institutional Care particular will be better served and the objectives of these Schemes will be actually met. Besides this, the proper follow-ups by District Child Protection Unit (DCPU) will also check that the sponsorships are properly utilized, in this way there will be a watchdog to ensure the effective implementation of these schemes on ground zero level.

Bibliography

- Agarwal, K. Et al. (2007). *Manual on recognition and response to child abuse-the Indian scenario*'. Delhi: Indian Academy of Pediatrics
- Baig, Tara Ali. (1979). *'Our Children'*. New Delhi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Government of India.

- Blakemore K, Warwick-Booth L. (2013). *'Social Policy: An Introduction'*. McGraw Hill, Ed. England: Open University Press.
- CARA. (2018). *'Central adoption resource authority'*. Ministry of Women and Child Development, Government of India.
- Child Rights History. *'Child Rights Portal'*. <<http://childrensrighportal.org/childrens-rightshistory/>>
- Choudhury, Amit. (2006). 'Revisiting Dropouts: Old Issues, Fresh Perspectives', *Economic and Political Weekly*, December 16.
- Desai, Uday (1991). 'Determinants of Educational Performance in India: Role of Home and Family', *International Review of Education*. 37(2): 245-265
- 'Geneva Declaration of the rights of the Child-1924.' *League of Nations*. <<http://www.un-documents.net/gdrc1924.htm>>
- Govt. of India, "The Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Act 2015," 2015. <<http://cara.nic.in/PDF/II%20act%202015.pdf>>
- Mishra D, Arora, P. (2007) 'Domestic Child Labor'. *Indian Pediatric*. 44:291-292.
- MOSPI. (2018). *Children in India: A Statistical Appraisal* <<http://www.indiaenvironmentportal.org.in/content/455970/children-in-india-2018-a-statistical-appraisal/>>
- MoWCD. (2018). *Analyzing data of mapping and review exercise of child care institutions under the Juvenile Justice (Care & Protection of Children) Act, 2015 and Other Homes*. New Delhi: Govt. of India
- MWCD. 2016. Govt. of India, "Annual Report 2015-16"
- MWCD, Govt. of India (2018). "The Report of the Committee for Analysing Data of Mapping and Review Exercise of Child Care Institutions under the Juvenile Justice (Care & protection of Children) Act, 2015 and Other Homes." <<https://wcd.nic.in/node/2190742>>
- NIPCCD, "Information Kit on Children in Need of Care & Protection: Issues, Programmes & Services," <<https://www.nipccd.nic.in/file/reports/kit17.pdf>>
- Rao, Mohan, M. J. (2000). 'Migration of labour and school dropouts' *Social Welfare*. 47(6): 26-31
- Schwartz, A. E. (2002). Societal value and the funding of kinship Care. *Social Service Review*, 76(3), 430-459.
- Sharma, R., Sharma, S. and Shipra, N. (2007). 'Extent of Female School Dropouts in Kangra District of Himachal Pradesh'. *Journal of Social Science*, 15(3):201-204.
- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) 1989 and 2007, Statistical Yearbook Paris: UNESCO.

Exploring the socio-economic dimension of adolescent reproductive health among the girls of rural Kashmir: A qualitative study

Journal of Society in Kashmir
11(1) 188-198

ISSN: 2249-667X

© 2021 Author(s)

<http://sociology.uok.edu.in/Files/c2d3b27>

8-4cf7-49a5-9525-

af5e352f2900/Journal/ba6c1f22-df94-4eef-

9c80-a1a45d2301b0.pdf

Mohmad Saleem Jahangir*
Wasia Hamid†

Abstract

Adolescent sexual and reproductive health has been one of five areas of focus of the World Bank's reproductive health action plan in 2010-2015, which recognized the importance of addressing it as a development issue with important implications for poverty reduction. It is, however, determined significantly by the socio-economic background of an adolescent. Adolescents face significant barriers to access and utilization of sexual and reproductive health services in many low-income settings, which in turn may be associated with adverse consequences such as early pregnancy, sexually transmitted infections, unsafe abortion and mortality. In view of the foregoing, the present study is an attempt to explore and understand the socioeconomic dimension of adolescent reproductive health among the girls (aged 10 to 19 years) of rural Kashmir.

Keywords

Health, culture, Kashmir, adolescence, awareness, violence

Introduction

Reproductive health (RH) is a state of complete physical and mental health (not only the absence of reproductive diseases and infirmities) (WHO, 2011). Issues related to reproductive health include promoting responsible and healthy reproductive behaviors, managing and preventing sexually transmitted infections (STI) including HIV/AIDS, having a safe sexual experience, being free from discrimination, and managing miscarriages complication. Sexual and reproductive health

* Senior Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Kashmir, Srinagar, Jammu and Kashmir
Email: saleem@uok.edu.in

† Senior Research fellow, Department of Sociology, University of Kashmir, Srinagar, Jammu and Kashmir

consists of family planning, prenatal, safe delivery and post-natal care, prevention and treatment of infertility, prevention of miscarriage and management of the consequences of miscarriage, and treatment of reproductive tract infections, prevention, care and treatment of sexually transmitted infections including HIV/AIDS, as well as information, education and counseling (WHO, 2004). Good reproductive health includes avoiding the risk of sexually transmitted diseases, adequate knowledge of contraceptive methods to regulate one's fertility, and the right to control sexual ability without being discriminated by age, marital status, income or similar factors (Meena et al., 2015). Globally, existing barriers to access and use of reproductive health information include: access, poor availability and acceptability of services, lack of clear instructions and services, lack of privacy, and little or no dating time for teenage girls and no place to talk (WHO, 2004). Young people are free to seek medical services in an injury accident, but cannot freely seek treatment for sexually transmitted infections. Globally, adolescents have access to medical services more frequently than expected, and it is easier for adolescents to seek information and services after sexual contact (Bwalya and Kusanthan, 2018). However adolescents can feel embarrassed when seeking information about reproductive health. They rely on the information that reproductive health information is tailored specifically to meet the needs of married adult men and women.

The term adolescence comes from Latin means "to grow into maturity" (Bansal and Mehra, 1998). The WHO defines adolescence as the period between 10-19 years of age (WHO, 1997). This is the period of transition from childhood to adulthood which is formative years when maximum amount of physical, psychological and behavioural changes take place. However, adolescence can be very different due to tradition, cultural and social factors in every society. Currently, one out of every 5 people on the planet is a teenager, 85% of these adolescents live in developing countries. In India, Today, every fifth person in India is an adolescent (10-19 years) and every third - a young person (10-24 years) (Registrar General Census Commissioner of India, 2011). Adolescents in India account for more than one-fifth of the population. Majority of the adolescents are out of school. Generally these adolescents marry early, work in fragile situations, are sexually active, and endure peer pressure. These factors have serious economic and public health effects on the adolescent girls. Adolescents are not a homogeneous group as their status varies with age, gender, marital status, region and cultural background. Influencing young people's health-seeking behaviors is important because their conditions are critical to determining the country's health mortality and morbidity rates and population growth. Even though this

group of people has such great potential, until recently, it was still a neglected group. This may be overlooked because, based on the available morbidity and mortality statistics for this age group, adolescence is considered one of the healthiest periods (WHO, 1999).

Adolescent girls, constituting nearly one tenth of Indian population majority of them living in villages, form a crucial segment of the society. Girls are a more vulnerable group, especially in developing countries. They are traditionally married very early, and they face a higher risk of reproductive morbidity and death. Generally speaking, girls are the most serious victims due to increased nutritional needs and low social power (Choudary and Mishra, 2009). Early adolescence is a period of rapid growth and maturity in human development, future mothers, and the nutritional status of adolescent girls make an important contribution to the nutritional status of the community (Venkaih et al, 2002). The health needs of the adolescents have rarely been addressed and many adolescents die prematurely. Even more importantly, up to 70% of mortality in adulthood has its roots in the adolescent period. Teenage pregnancy is a high-risk pregnancy that can lead to unsafe abortions, low birth weight, and high maternal morbidity and mortality. Poor attitude, lack of information about HIV/AIDS and STDs, and drug abuse can lead to high-risk sexual behavior young people.

According to the World Health Organization, the main health problems of adolescents are due to lack of education and information on diet, exercise, healthy habits, stress and poor surroundings, sexual behaviors and sexual activities. For a long time, the needs of adolescents for reproductive health have been ignored, but in the last ten years, the importance of reproductive and sexual information has received increasing attention.

In many Asian countries/regions, discrimination against adolescent girls start early in life, sometimes, even before they are born. Due to strong son preference, the proportion of aborted female fetuses is much higher in countries such as China, South Korea, India and Pakistan. This preference is reflected in the shorter time interval between the girl's birth and the next sibling. Many factors play a role in reproductive health problems, but hidden social factors exacerbate this problem (Sharfie et al., 2017). WHO regards gender, income, education, employment and race as the social determinants of health inequality, because these factor themselves or through mutual influence will lead to health inequality (Omeje, et.al., 2011). In fact, low literacy rates, poor socio-economic conditions and sexual inequality are factors that prevent women from promoting reproductive health (Sharfie et al, 2018).

Aim of the study

Health is not a pure medical condition only. There are also non-medical factors that influence health outcomes. They are the conditions in which people are born, grow, work, live, and age, and the wider set of forces and systems shaping the conditions of daily life. Research shows that the social determinants can be more important than health care or lifestyle choices in influencing health. For example, numerous studies suggest that SDH account for between 30-55 percent of health outcomes (WHO, n.a.). In this backdrop, the present study aimed to explore and understand the socioeconomic dimension of adolescent reproductive health among the girls (aged 10 to 19 years) of rural Kashmir.

Method and approach

In order to realize the objectives of the study, both qualitative and quantitative methods were used to collect the desired data from the participants. To gather the data, a purposive sampling technique was employed to derive a sample. At the outset, 40 females were contacted (in the age group of 15 to 19 years) of whom only 26 instantly disagreed to participate, and hence, the study shares the experiences of 14 participants. The field work was conducted from July 05, 2021 to July 25, 2021. Keeping in view the sensitivity of the study and validity of the study, proper ethics were followed in approaching the respondents. In order to maintain the confidentiality of the respondents, fictional names were used instead of real names while presenting the narratives of the respondents. After condensing the information collected from the field, various inferences were drawn which are detailed as follows:

Results and Discussion

Based on the analysis of data, two major themes were generated: (i) socio-economic determinants of sexual and reproductive health of the adolescent girls and (ii) problems which the participants are facing on account of the mentioned health and healthcare. However, both the themes have been discussed simultaneously side-by-side substantiating one another. To substantiate the discussion, the narratives of the participants translated from the local language have also been presented.

Socio-economic determinants of the sexual and reproductive health

While many of today's adolescent girls are better educated, healthier, more aware of their rights and better equipped to advocate on their own behalf than the previous generations, many face threats to their health and rights, including unmet health needs, and new as well as old risks (Kleinert, 2007). However, during the field study it was revealed that in

rural areas of Kashmir, not everyone is aware of the issues related to the sexual and reproductive health and the related challenges. Such issues and challenges range from Initiation into puberty life in adolescence to coping sexual life.

Onset of Menstrual periods:

Most girls start their periods when they're about 12, but it can start as early as 8 in some cases; so it is important to talk to girls from an early age to make sure they are prepared. This keeps them prepared and as such does not create any kind of psychological stress to them. However, in the present study, some participants were found to have been caught unaware on the onset of menstrual periods. Such participants were found to be daughters of poor and under-privileged families with illiterate background. They described not knowing about menstruation until they attained menarche because they were never exposed to puberty topics. For example, one participant shared that she did not know she even had her period until after two days when her mother did her laundry, demonstrating a lack in basic menstrual-related knowledge. They also described a lack of openness around the topic of menstruation among their female family members and peers which could have helped them to be prepared for the easy transition. In contrast, participants belonging to higher-income families had more knowledge about puberty, were more prepared for menarche, and had more positive attitudes about menstruation, strongly suggesting socioeconomic disparities related to preparation for puberty.

“I was ten when I got my first period. I was helping my father in the field when I noticed that things in my crotch area seemed a little wetter than usual. I did not understand why I was bleeding because I had never experienced it before. I had never before heard of women having periods so when I first saw blood I was confused and scared. I ended up not telling anyone, not even my mother. I managed my first two menstrual periods singlehandedly. I did not take care of myself properly and I did not use the right products and it was unhealthy”. (Ruksana, 17 years old)

Several participants also faced a variety of menstrual hygiene management-related health challenges such as urinary tract infections and reproductive tract infections, pertaining to insufficient puberty education, sanitation coverage, awareness about and access to menstrual absorbent materials, and not being aware of where to seek help. These participants reported varied negative experiences because of lack of

knowledge about safe menstrual management and their poor socioeconomic conditions.

“When I got my first period, I was in 8th grade. I immediately went to my mother and she told me that my period had occurred and that I needed to get a cloth. That time we did not know about pads. Since she herself had used old cloths and rags during her periods, she taught me in her own way how to use it. For almost one year I used cloths during my periods. I was not even aware about the importance of proper cleanliness. But that was totally unhygienic and uncomfortable as well. After one year I came to know about disposable pads from one of my friends but since I could not afford buying pads I continued using cloths. Last year, I was diagnosed with severe vaginal infection. According to the doctor, that was because of using reusable absorbent cloths during menstruation”. (Waheeda, 19 years old)

On the other hand girls with higher socioeconomic status generally had both safer menstrual hygiene management practices and fewer health problems. It was found that such participants were to large extent aware about the importance of cleanliness and followed proper hygienic practices during their periods. They also had access to menstrual and hygiene products and health services and advice.

“When I got my first period, I was at home after a day of school. Since my mother and teachers at school had familiarized me with the female reproductive system at a young age, so I immediately guessed what was happening. I immediately went to tell my mother. Thankfully, she had already got pads for me a few weeks before. In a day I used to change like four to five times and made proper use of disinfection products. I was aware about the risk of infection and the importance of hygiene”. (Maria, 17 years old)

Sexual Harassment

Female reproductive health is influenced by early sexual behaviour. Sexual harassment and other forms of victimization may have a particularly negative influence on girls' sexual health. According to reports, sexual harassment is a widespread problem among teenagers. Boys and girls can both be sexually harassed, but their experiences are different. Girls are subjected to more severe and frequent types of sexual harassment than their male counterparts. (AAUW, 2001). Girls are more likely to be objectified, belittled, and treated unfairly, whereas boys are more likely to be subjected to rude, violent, and homophobic remarks based on our culture's toxic masculinity. Female victims of sexual harassment in schools reported feelings of remorse, perplexity,

helplessness, and anxiety, among other things. They also said that the lack of control they felt throughout the harassment made them feel humiliated and lowered their self-esteem.

The sexual harassment against adolescent girls in rural Kashmir is found to be manifest in varied forms at different places. The participants revealed that they had, at different times, experienced sexual harassment, however, largely at public places. One of the participants narrated:

I was the only one from my family who studies and my school is some two kilometers away from my home and I had to walk to reach there. I would always be harassed on the way by some boys whom I did not know. However, I could never dare to narrate such things to my family members because of the apprehension that they might tell me to leave going to school. That would have forced me to stop seeking education. (Sameena, 16 years old)

Such experiences of people from humble background do not compel us to conclude that harassment cases of such a nature are limited to this class only. The spaces of harassment change with the change of socio-economic background of the participants. On asking a participant who belonged to a well-off family, she revealed:

It seems to be a new normal to receive calls from such people whom we don't know. On receiving the call, they start talking in a very offensive language. Once I stop receiving their calls, they start texting, harassing on social media until you don't block them. (Aaliya, 18 years old)

For girls of such background, sexual harassment, however, is not limited to mobiles and internet only. Participants narrated that it ranges from visiting shops, parks, marriage ceremonies, etc. However, poor are more vulnerable to tangible forms of sexual harassment cases.

Initiation into sexual life in adolescence:

Although most nations have reiterated their commitment to eliminating early marriages, the practice continues in many regions of the world. It is most prevalent in south Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa (santhya & Jejeebhoy, 2015). Early marriage goes in hand with hand with exclusion of girls from the decision on when and whom to marry (Ross, 2011). This also leads to early entry into sexual life which poses severe challenges to early brides. In the present study, four out of fourteen participants were married before the age of 18 and interestingly all the four belonged to poor income families and illiterate background. On asking the reasons for their early marriages, all the four participants reported poverty as the chief reason. According to them, poverty results in the incapacity for people like them to live in decent conditions. Therefore, for poor families,

early marriage appears a way to reduce the daily cost of living. Moreover, in such families girls are often regarded an economic burden on the family.

“I belonged to a poor family. My father is a daily wage labourer and his earnings were always insufficient to meet our basic needs. Sometimes we did not even have a proper meal. Such conditions had made our daily survival extremely difficult and pushed our father to marry my sister and me at early ages. He was not wrong. He actually wanted us to escape from the poverty”. (Bisma, 19 years old)

Through interviews, however, we found that child marriage presents a significant public health concern for adolescent girls and undermines efforts to improve child health and survival. All such participants reported having faced serious health problems due to their young age and immature bodies. Two participants even reported having faced intimate partner violence.

“I was married at the age of sixteen. Although I was not willing for it, I had to agree for my parents. Soon after marrying I had to face a number of challenges which affected my mental and physical health. Most importantly, I felt unprepared for sexual life. I told my husband that I am not ready for it but he forced me into having sexual intercourse. And he did it repeatedly. My body could not handle all that and because of it I got many complications which even affected my child bearing capacity”. (Rafia, 18 years old)

Early marriages results in early and sometimes unintended pregnancy which in turn generates complications and thereby affect the health of adolescent girls. Because of early initiation of childbearing, lack of awareness about pregnancy and its management, and inadequate care during pregnancy there is increase in risks for abortions and delivery-related complications. Moreover, the familial responsibilities at very young age prevented these adolescent brides from caring for their health during pregnancy. They reported that being young they have very little negotiating power and must work hard to meet their families' expectations. Pregnancies in undernourished adolescents also posed higher risk of obstetric complications and poor newborn outcomes.

“Three months after my marriage, I started having pain, and the pain was on and off. I thought it was abdominal pain only, and I did not disclose it to anybody. When the pain got severe I told my husband about it. We went to the hospital and it was there only that we came to know about my pregnancy. Doctors scolded me for the first pregnancy at very young age. They told me not do the

heavy lifting, not to carry the heavy load but I used to do them. There was no body at home, my mother-in-law was always quarrelling with my husband, insisting on me working. I used to do all work. I did not even have proper food and access to health care. Unfortunately, I had a miscarriage in the fourth month of pregnancy. Because of complications doctors advised us to avoid sexual intercourse for a year. But my husband did not agree. My in-laws also insisted on me having a baby. Because of all this my health was totally affected". (Aasia, 18 years old)

Conclusion

Sexual and reproductive health is influenced by society, culture, and tradition. The bi-directionality of the relationship between economic position and sexual and reproductive health, in particular, must be publicly recognized. Poverty leads to high-risk behaviours and lifestyles, as well as lower sexual health, and vice versa. The disparity in contraception and family planning service utilization has expanded the already large rich-poor divide in service utilization and, as a result, the benefits of reduced reproduction. Poor reproductive health indices, such as mother survival, early childbearing, unwanted pregnancy, unsafe abortion, shorter birth intervals, and child mortality, are all linked to poverty. Understanding economic difficulties and poverty is essential for establishing successful sexual health interventions.

Rural parts of Kashmir are extremely conservative about reproductive health of adolescent girls and are ambivalent about sex education in high schools. Individual freedom and choice, access to educational and professional services, social stigma, discrimination, and sexual violence are all barriers to sexual well-being. Even professional medical education does not transfer sexual health and sexual medicine skills and confidence. The resulting void is frequently exploited by "healers," who also spread sexual myths and misinformation. Because of cultural ambivalence and outspoken conservatism, there is a lack of political will to promote sex education in schools and to create and implement sexual health programmes.

We need a strategy that promotes a societal shift toward a more open and positive perspective of sexual relationships and sexual health, one that is inclusive of differences. It should foster an ethos that promotes equitable and respectful interactions, challenges gender stereotypes, and emphasizes everyone's responsibility for sexual health protection. In this regard, education and training for health professionals, teachers, educators, economics, the legal profession, the court, police, religious, and community leaders will be required.

Funding

This research paper is based on the major research project entitled “**Socio-Economic and Cultural Dimensions of Sexual and Reproductive Health of Adolescent Girls in Selected Rural Areas of Jammu and Kashmir**” sponsored by the Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR), New Delhi under IMPRESS Scheme.

Acknowledgement

We are thankful to the Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR), New Delhi for funding the study.

References

- Bansal, R. D. and M. Mehta. (1998). Adolescent girls: an emerging priority. *Indian Journal of Public Health*. 41(1), 1-2
- Bwalya, Barbara N., Kusanthan, T. (2018). Gender Differential in Access to and Utilisation of Reproductive Health Services among Adolescents in Lusaka, *International Journal of Contemporary Research and Review*. 9(4), 20414-20429
- Chaudhary, R. K. and, Misra, B. P. (2009). Knowledge and practices of general practitioners regarding psychiatric problems. *Indian Journal of Psychiatry*. 18(1), 22-26
- Kleinert S. Adolescent health: An opportunity not to be missed. *The Lancet*. 2007; 95(75), 1057-1058. doi: 10.1016/S0140-6736(07)60374-2.
- Meena, J. K. (2015). Sexual and Reproductive Health: Knowledge, Attitude, and Perceptions among Young Unmarried Male Residents of Delhi, *International Journal of Reproductive Medicine*. 2015: 1-5
- Omeje J C. et.al. (2011). Does possession of assets increase women’s participation in reproductive decision-making? Perceptions of Nigerian women. *Journal of biosocial science*. 43(1):101-111.
- Registrar General Census Commissioner of India. (2011). *A Profile of Adolescents and Youth in India*. New Delhi: Government of India
- Ross, W. (2011, June 7). *Ethiopian girls fight child marriages*. BBC News. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-13681053>
- Santhya, K. G & Jejeebhoy, S. J. (2015). Sexual and reproductive health and rights of adolescent girls: Evidence from low- and middle-income countries. *Global Public Health*, 10(2), 189-221. doi: 10.1080/17441692.2014.986169

- Sharifi N, et.al. (2018). The Relationship between Structural Social Determinants of Health and Food Insecurity among Pregnant Women. *Iranian Red Crescent Medical Journal*. 12(6), 14-17
- Sharifi N. et.al. (2017). The relationship between social support and food insecurity in pregnant women: a cross-sectional study. *Journal of Clinical & Diagnostic Research*. 11(11), 1-6.
- Silverman, G. K. (2000). Quality of life impairments associated with diagnostic criteria for traumatic grief. *Psychol. Med*, 30(4), 857-862. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0033291799002524>
- Venkaiah, K. et.al. (2002). Diet and nutritional status of rural adolescents in India, *European Journal of Clinical Nutrition*. 56, 1119-1125
- WHO. (1999). *Programming for Adolescent health and development*. Geneva: WHO
- WHO. (2004). *Sexually Transmitted Infections Issues in Adolescent Health and Development*. Geneva: Department of Child and Adolescent Health and Development World Health Organization
- WHO. (2011). *How To Monitor Sexual And Reproductive Health?* <https://www.euro.who.int/__data/assets/pdf_file/0003/296904/How-to-monitor-Sexual-and-Reproductive-Health.pdf>
- World Health Organization (WHO). (n. a.). *Social determinants of health*. available on <https://www.who.int/health-topics/social-determinants-of-health#tab=tab_1>

Social Networking Sites as a Catalyst and Trigger for Youth Violence

Journal of Society in Kashmir
11(1) 199-216

ISSN: 2249-667X

© 2021 Author(s)

<http://sociology.uok.edu.in/Files/c2d3b27>

8-4cf7-49a5-9525-

af5e352f2900/Journal/8607dde4-f667-4747-

8b7e-35bc99fetc9a.pdf

Syed Uzma Kubravi*

Abstract

Social networking sites are gaining an immense popularity in the lives of young people all over the world. With the advent of smart phones and tablets it has become easier to access online platforms. Whilst social networking sites enrich the quantity and quality of communication between people across the world, they also have the potential for harm. On the one hand these sites serve as a renowned platform by allowing people to interact and express their feelings, on the other these can be a catalyst and trigger for violence among people especially youth. This paper tries to examine young people's attitude and behaviour over social networking sites and attempts to highlight the ways in which social networking sites act as a vector for youth violence based on secondary data.

Keywords

Cyber-crime, social networking sites, violence, youth, cyber-bullying

1.1. Introduction

The advent of social networking sites (SNS) has created a communication boom in the cyber age. It has revolutionized the way people interact. People communicate and access information easily and rapidly. Social networking sites (SNS) as a phenomenon over the past ten years has grown from a niche to a mass online activity. The participation is huge particularly among the youth and adults alike. Youngsters of the 21st century cannot live without the internet and social media sites - for example, Facebook, Twitter. More than ninety percent youths use the internet daily, and approximately seventy percent have active accounts on one of the social media sites (Subrahmanyam et al. 2009). According to the Pew Research Centre survey of U.S. conducted during 3-10 January

* Research Scholar, Department of Sociology, University of Kashmir, Srinagar, Jammu and Kashmir
Email: syeduzmak11@gmail.com

2018, it was found that 88 percent of 18- 29-year-old used any form of social networking site.

Violence as defined by World Report on Violence and Health (WRVH) is 'the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, mal-development, or deprivation.' One of the most significant forms of violence in society is Youth Violence. Around the globe, daily newspapers and the electronic media report day by day on violence by groups, in schools or by youngsters in the city. Though violence is not a new phenomenon on the face of this earth, we are confronted with the new form of violence which does exist in neither the streets nor the societies (Tripathi, 2017). This new platform is the social media networking. When violence is committed over virtual space of social networking sites, it is known as social networking violence. Social Networking Sites Violence can be defined as 'any badgering or tormenting (prodding, telling untruths, ridiculing somebody, making inconsiderate or mean remarks, spreading rumors, or making debilitating or forceful remarks) action on a social networking site. As for the most common types of youth violence in social media, cyber bullying/victimization, harassment, electronic dating aggression/cyber-stalking, gang violence, peer-to-peer violence including school shootings and cyber-suicide can be mentioned (Mengu et al 2015). Recently, new national phenomenon called internet banging, has been reported by media outlets, in which individuals involved in gangs or neighborhood factions use social media sites such as Twitter, Facebook and YouTube to incite dares, trade insults or make threats of violence which may result in homicide or victimization. These examples clearly indicate the extremities of the Internet abuses (Mengu et al 2015).

Today's youth walks on the streets but travels in the virtual world through his mobile phones, tablets, and other electronic gizmos. This way he plays his second identity in the space of social media. Physical absence at social media platforms is replaced by mental exposure and more deeply connected with our emotions (Chaudhary 2016).

Social networking sites obviously, are not all bad. It can help promote democracy through contact with different opinions, help education through the spread of information, and also defy the dominant discourse by proposing and legitimating different ideas (Recuero, 2015). But the injudicious use of social networking apps affects youth behaviour. Mostly people use different social networking apps and these apps promote black mailing, abusive language and unethical videos and online harassment. This phenomenon has broadened the opportunity to engage

in deviant and abusive behaviours and has dramatically increased the access of potential offenders to a more expansive pool of victims (Pew Research Center, 2018).

1.2. Literature Review

Habiba, U. et.al (2018) carried out a study entitled *Social Networking Sites and Deviance among Youth in Islamabad, Pakistan* to explore the role of social networking sites in promoting deviance among youngsters' life. This was across sectional research that was being done on a sample size of 323 youngsters from International Islamic University Islamabad, Pakistan. On the basis of findings, it was revealed that majority of the respondents (98.3 percent) used social networking sites and 56.6 percent respondents acclaimed that social networking sites are the source of online harassment which effect women dignity. 68.9 percent youngsters said that social networking apps promote deviance among youth and 72.3 percent revealed that abusive language is promoted by social networking apps. The study concluded that social networking sites have both positive and negative influence on youth. On the one hand, it served as a platform to share their thoughts and feelings, on the other it facilitated deviance among youth such as pornography, black mailing, and online harassment.

Tripathi, V. (2017) in his study entitled *Youth Violence and Social Media* argued that today's youth have become very involved in Internet and social media. They use social networking sites for numerous purposes. The youth is well aware of the usage and benefits of modern technology but weak in comprehending the results of their behaviour at these social media platforms. Given the large and uncontrolled arena of social media, it has become dangerous. It was revealed that cyber-bullying has become a very negative part of the social media life of these youngsters and multiple social media platforms are becoming a medium for youth violence. The study concluded that youngsters, who have been victimised earlier, are also actively participating in the social media violence.

Irwin-Rogers, K. & Pinkney, C. (2017) in their study *Social Media as a Catalyst and Trigger for Youth Violence* focused on analyzing how social media is linked to violence. The study further tried to examine how violence is shared and glamorized across social media platforms and how it can lead to violence in the real world. This study has also highlighted the ways in which social media is acting as a catalyst and trigger for serious incidents of violence between young people in real life, it has further provided a springboard for action and collaborative exchanges between a full range of stakeholders as we move forward. A number of measures aimed at preventing young people harming, and being harmed

by, other young people as a result of activity on social media have also been identified. The study argued that the advent of social networking sites has revolutionised the way people use technology to communicate and share their lives, and while this presents a unique opportunity for innovation and positive transformation, it does not come without risks. When the young people, especially those who are involved in or exposed to youth violence are left unprotected in a world we don't fully understand, they are increasingly vulnerable.

Johnson, D.L. et al. (2016) in their study entitled *Cyberbullying on Social Media Among College Students* concluded that cyberbullying on social media among undergraduate college students is a problem that needs immediate attention. These occurrences can cause a student to lose perspective of who they are and can lead to suicide, violence, and school dropout. College and university officials should address this issue because of the increase in technology use and instances of cyberbullying. There should be prevention strategies in place that address this problem.

Mengü, M. & Mengü, S. (2015) conducted a study on *Violence and Social Mediato* assess the media coverage regarding the news in which social media and violence coincide. For this objective, the news in three Turkish newspapers, namely, Zaman, Posta and Hürriyet were being examined with content analysis method for a three-month period, between November 1st and February 28th, 2014. The authors concluded that social media that is supposed to contribute to the maintenance of societies where democracy and multiplicity prevail could be an effective means for structuring, directing and internalizing the given ideology. Nevertheless, unconscious or uncontrolled use of the power of social media may lead to the spread of hate speech, infringement of personal rights, psychological attacks, symbolic violence, broadcasting private visions without the consent of the interested parties, deceiving people with fake accounts, spreading negative discourses intending to abuse, in addition to mobbing, harassment and insult along with the circulation of malevolent views and information on the Internet.

Hétul, D. D. & Morselli, C. (2011) carried out a study on *Gang Presence in Social Network Sites* to examine the presence of gangs in the social networking sites, especially in Canada and also in other countries. The study argued that since the inception of the new millennium, social networking sites have gained widespread popularity all over the world. These sites have provided a platform for people to share their feelings, get new and connect with old friends. Unfortunately, the same sites have been misused by criminal groups for colliding with similar groups and also recruit new individuals to this group. The findings of the study revealed that the presence of organized crime in social networking sites

has increased sharply over the last year and that their footprint on Facebook and Twitter is larger. Finally, the study also discusses recommendation that social networks be monitored on a regular basis in order to effectively keep up with criminal organizations online.

1.3. Methodology

The study was carried out using secondary data sources. A literature review was conducted in various online databases and search tools like Google Scholar, Bing, Jstor, online. However, few articles were also collected offline from current and back volumes of journals.

1.4. Concept of Social Networking Sites

Social network sites are web-based services that allow individuals to (1) construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, (2) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and (3) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system. The nature and nomenclature of these connections may vary from site to site (Boyd & Ellison, 2007). Singh and Gill define social networking site (SNS) as a web-based service that allows individuals to become part of a specific group and establish profiles within a closed system, manage connections with other users and share activities, ideas, interests and events (Singh & Gill, 2011). Won Kim has defined the social websites as those Websites that make it possible for people to form online communities, and share user-created contents (UCCs). The people may be the users of the open Internet or maybe restricted to those who belong to a particular organization (e.g., corporation, university, professional society, etc.). The community may be a network of offline friends (whose friendship is extended to online), online acquaintances, or one or more interest groups (based on school attended, hobby, interest, cause, profession, ethnicity, gender, age group, etc.). The UCC maybe photos, videos, bookmarks of web pages, user profiles, user's activity updates, text (blog, micro blog, and comments), etc. The sharing of the UCC includes, at the minimum, the posting, viewing, and commenting of the UCC, and may also include voting on, saving, and retransmitting of the UCC. Roughly, He regards social web sites as a union of social networking sites and social media sites (Rohani & Hock, 2010). It offers a platform to share opinions, photos, music and videos on particular subject or just online hangout (Khurana, 2015; Murray & Waller, 2007). What makes social network sites unique is not that they allow individuals to meet strangers, but rather that they enable users to articulate and make visible their social networks. This can result in connections between individuals that would not otherwise be made,

but that is often not the goal, and these meetings are frequently between “latent ties” (Haythornthwaite, 2005) who share some offline connection (Boyd & Ellison, 2007).

Social networking services offer friends a space where they can maintain their relationships, chat with each other and share information. Moreover, they offer the opportunity to build new relationships through existing friends. On the first use of the system, users are required to submit a profile containing personal information such as their name, date of birth, and a photo. The personal information is made available to other users of the system, and is used to identify friends on the network and to add them to a list of contacts. In most systems, users cannot only view their friends but also second degree friends (friends of their friends). Some networks follow an ‘invitation only’ approach. Hence, every person in the system is automatically connected to at least one other person (Rohani & Hock, 2010). The individual joining an SNS, is asked to fill out forms containing a series of questions with which the profile is generated. Typically, a profile includes descriptors such as age, location, interests, an ‘about me’ section, and an uploading photo (Liu & Ying, 2010).

The journey of social networking started with Six.Degrees.com in 1997, followed by others such as LiveJournal, Friendster, LinkedIn, MySpace, Flickr, YouTube, and Facebook. Now, there are special categories of SNSs dealing with different fields of life like business (LinkedIn), education (Classmates), research (ResearchGate), writers (MyCreativeCommunity), books (Shelfari), travel (TravBuddy), religious (MyChurch) and many more. Even there are content specific SNS also like Flickr (photo sharing), Twitter (text sharing), Last.FM (music listening habits) and YouTube (video sharing). People, now use social networking sites to connect with others in many ways, including dating, meeting others with common interests and sharing information (Hussain, Loan & Yaseen, 2017).

Social networking sites such as Facebook, You Tube, etc are rapidly earning fame. These networks have offered many services, and one of the most important of these services is blogs, where members can participate in these locations to contribute their idea and discuss with other members. These sites and social forums are means of communication directly with others socially and in the media. They are playing a big and influential role decision making at the events of the global world economically, politically, socially and educationally (Zaidieh, 2012).

1.5. Concept of Youth Violence

Violence as a universal phenomenon has always been a part of the human experience. Its impact is found in various forms, in all parts of the world. Violence is defined as ‘a way of action ... based on the power physically

and materially to hurt other creatures or to be harmed', the meaning of violence can be extended to 'the exertion of physical force so as to injure or abuse' or 'injury by ... distortion, infringement, or profanation'. Violence refers to killing, doing intentional harm, destroying, robbing, expelling as the five basic forms. Standing out especially, killing appears as the extreme limit of violence. Overall, violence refers to both the use of physical force intended to bring about destruction, injury or harm and also the exhibition of unjustified, wrongful and illicit actions meant to daunt and dismay (Mengü & Mengü, 2015). It is pertinent to mention that aggression and violence are not the same thing. In contrast to aggression, usually defined as any behaviour intended to harm another person who does not want to be harmed, violence is usually defined as aggression with the goal of extreme physical harm, such as injury or death (Bushman & Huesmann, 2010). For example, one youth spreading rumors about a peer is an act of aggression but is not an act of violence. One youth hitting, kicking, shooting, or stabbing a peer is an act of violence. Thus, all violent acts are aggressive, but not all aggressive acts are violent – only those designed to cause extreme physical harm are violent (Bushman et al., 2016).

Youth Violence includes violent acts committed by young people who are not viewed as fully mature. Youth is best understood as a period of transition from the dependence of childhood to adulthood's independence. The United Nations have defined 'Youth' as those persons between the ages of 15 and 24 years, without prejudice to other definitions by Member States. The Secretary-General first referred to the current definition of youth in 1981 in his report to the General Assembly on International Youth Year and endorsed it in ensuing reports. However, in both the reports, the Secretary-General also recognised that, apart from the statistical definition, the meaning of the term 'Youth' varies in different societies around the world. The terms Youth and Young people are interchangeable words. One of the most perceptible forms of violence in society is Youth violence. Incidents of violence by young gangs, in schools or and the streets are being reported daily by print and broadcast media. The main victims and perpetrators of such violence, almost everywhere, are themselves adolescents and young adults. Youth violence can inflict a deep harm not only on its victims, but also their families, friends and communities. It not only results in death, illness and disability, but also affects the quality of life. Youth violence erodes the foundation of fabric of society and disrupt several essential services.

There are many factors for youth violence. Some of the main risk factors for youth violence as identified by WHO have been highlighted as under:

Individual factors

The personality and behavioural factors linked with youth violence are: hyperactivity, impulsiveness, poor behavioural control attention problems and history of early aggressive behaviour low educational achievement.

Influences by family and peers

The home environment is key to the development of violent behaviour in young people. Some of the key family factors associated with adolescent violence are:

- poor supervision of children by parents and harsh physical punishment to discipline children
- parental conflict in early childhood
- a low level of attachment between parents and children
- a mother who had her first child at an early age
- experiencing parental separation or divorce at a young age
- a low level of family cohesion and low socioeconomic status of the family.

Associating with delinquent peers has also been linked to violence in young people.

Social, political and cultural factors

- Gangs and a local supply of guns and drugs are a potent mixture, increasing the likelihood of youth violence.
- Low levels of social cohesion within a community have been linked to higher rates of youth violence.
- The quality of a country's governance – its laws and the extent to which they are enforced, as well as policies for social protection – has an important effect on violence.
- Factors such as income inequality, rapid demographic changes in the youth population, and urbanization have all been positively linked with youth violence.
- Cultures that do not provide non-violent alternatives for resolving conflicts appear to have higher rates of youth violence

1.6. Social Networking Sites: A Medium of Youth Violence

Social networking sites have intertwined itself into almost every facet of our lives. We use these for disseminating information, for staying connected and for expressing our emotions and thoughts. It has a significant impact on the behaviour and minds of people who use it. Among its users young people's use of social networking sites is rapidly

evolving. It significantly influences the way young people think and behave. Recent surveys indicate that around 96% of 13–18-year-olds use social media platforms and nearly a quarter of teenagers aged 13–17 are 'almost constantly' checking their social media accounts (Rogers & Pinkney, 2017). These sites serve numerous useful purposes to them. However, the negative impact of these sites cannot be kept far aside. Several concerns have emerged that these sites tend to increase the participation of youth in violence and has a massive impact on their behaviour. Social networking sites are also used to coordinate illegal activities and to threaten enemies (Kelley, 2009). Daily news of cyber bullying, criminal activity, gang violence and suicides on social media and through it are being reported and social networking platforms add fuel to these troubling incidents. Social networking sites like Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, You Tube tend to encourage youth into indulging criminal activities. Recent violent crimes by the youth in the U.S. have shown the extent of the impact of social networks on their behaviour. In September 2014, a Pennsylvania teen was jailed for two years after he posted pictures of himself having oral sex with a statue of Jesus on social media. The images went viral and faced a backlash among communities, New York Daily News had reported at that time (Ghosh, 2017). A news report by Swamy published in Indian Express newspaper on 26th August 2015 stated that ISIS is targeting Indian youths through social media platforms. Such dangerous terrorist organizations create groups over different social media platforms and lure innocent youngsters to join them (Tripathi, 2017).

Over the past 10 years, prominent researchers in the fields of the humanities and the social sciences, such as technology, education, political science, psychology and sociology, have been investigating the dynamics of digital social networks and, to a larger extent, the digital universe (games, videos, blogs, forums). Several scholars have been specifically examining the link between the social media and the growing role of personal, political, ethnic, religious, and violent radicalization of youth in sectarian or political groups (Alava, Frau-Meigs & Hassan, 2017). Similarly, researches have been conducted to investigate how social networking sites act as a catalyst and trigger for violence. Few studies have been highlighted to show that social networking sites act as a vector for youth violence. A study conducted by Habiba, Farid & Saud entitled *Social Networking Sites and Deviance among Youth in Islamabad, Pakistan* revealed that the use of social networking apps effect youth behaviour. People use different social networking apps and these apps promote black mailing, abusive language and unethical videos and online harassment. This phenomenon has broadened the opportunity to engage

in deviant and abusive behaviours and has dramatically increased the access of potential offenders to a more expansive pool of victims (Pew Research Center, 2018). Tripathi in his study entitled *Youth Violence and Social Media* conducted by revealed that youths identify the social media platform as the online areas where cyberbullying is most prevalent. The study further revealed that youth witnessed violence over social media platform in various forms. This harassment included bullying, calling names, sharing private information, threatening, sending violent text, images, and videos. More is the 'distance' between two online users, the more it becomes easier to bullying online. It allows for youths to be bolder and more aggressive without the fear of immediate consequences. Moreover, online interaction is devoid of fear of facing immediate reaction for the people engaging in bullying or violent behaviour. Therefore, youths keep bullying others without any constraints (Tripathi, 2017). Rogers and Pikney (2017) in their report commented that the advent of social networking sites has irreversibly changed the way people use technology to communicate and share their lives, and while this presents a unique opportunity for innovation and positive transformation, it does not come without risks. They revealed that social media provides young people with unprecedented opportunities to disrespect one another. Before the advent of social media, disrespect could be communicated either face-to-face or vicariously. Now, however, it can be communicated instantaneously at any time or place, in forms that are far more provocative. These potentially large audiences serve as an incentive for young people to engage in behaviour that that will increase their respect amongst peers, as well as subjecting others to significant social pressures to respond to incidents of online disrespect that threaten to undermine their perceived status and reputation (Rogers & Pikney, 2017). These studies reveal that social networking sites such as Facebook, You Tube, Instagram, Twitter, etc. act as a huge medium for youth violence. However, much more research needs to be conducted in this area. In relation to youth violence studies need to be conducted on how social networking sites are predictive of subsequent development changes in terms of youth violence and aggression.

1.7. Types of Youth Violence via Social Networking Sites

There are many types of youth violence via social networking sites. Some of the most important have been mentioned as under:

Cyber-bullying: In recent years, we have seen many wonders that can be accomplished through ICT. Young people have especially benefitted from these advances, accruing many advantages from the internet and mobile phones—such as access to educational information, resources and

collaborative learning networks, the development and maintenance of relationships and friendships with their peers, an outlet for creativity, civic activity, and self-discovery, to name only a few. However, there have also been risks and dangers that have accompanied the expansion of the 'virtual' world. Cyberbullying is one of the online risks youth face, and the one they are most likely to encounter and more often from someone they know than from a stranger (Cassidy, Faucher & Jackson, 2013).

Hence the first and foremost type of social networking involved youth violence is Cyber-bullying. The word 'bully' can be traced back as far as the 1530s. (Harper, 2008). In its most basic sense bullying involves two people, a bully or intimidator and a victim. The bully abuses the victim through physical, verbal, or other means in order to gain a sense of superiority and power. These actions may be direct (i.e. hitting, verbally assaulting face-to-face, etc.) or indirect (i.e. rumors, gossip, etc.) (Donegan, 2012). Cyber bullying also known as electronic bullying and internet bullying is defined as a form of bullying that involves the use of online or computer-mediated communication such as Facebook, Twitter, instant messaging or text messaging. The National Crime Prevention Council's definition of cyber-bullying is 'when the Internet, cell phones or other devices are used to send or post text or images intended to hurt or embarrass another person' (V, Sharma et.al, 2010). Examples of cyber-bullying include sending insulting or threatening messages, spreading rumors, disclosing personal information, displaying embarrassing pictures, or excluding others during online communications (Perren et al., 2012).

Although there appears to be a significant conceptual overlap between face-to-face bullying and cyber-bullying, cyber-bullying differs from traditional bullying in that humiliating text or visual materials sent to social media can be permanent and available to the public. Moreover, whereas face-to-face bullying is generally characterized by physical dominance, a physical advantage is not necessary in cyber-bullying; perpetrators can instead dominate a victim through knowledge of social media usage, anonymity, and the victim's limited possibilities of defense and few options of escape (Patton, D.U. et al., 2016). Much of the research has been done to investigate the impact of cyber-bullying on youth outcomes and well-being. A study by Johnson et al. (2016) revealed that the overall majority of participants have negative views about cyberbullying. According to a study by the American Pew Research Center, in partnership with the American Life Project, they found that nine in ten teens have witnessed cruel bullying behaviour on social networking sites.

Sexting: Another type of social networking involved youth violence is sexting. Sexting is defined as 'interpersonal exchange of self-produced sexualized texts and above all images (photos, videos) via cell phone or the internet'. Hudson (2011) defined sexting as a type of sexual communication that can be categorized into consensual sexting (marked by mutual respect, consent and absence of pressure, without harmful intentions, but can cause harm in cases of accidental sharing), sext-bullying (sharing private explicit material without permission with harmful intentions), illegal sexting (child pornography acquired through criminal adult-child communication), and at-risk sexting (results in various negative consequences, like job loss or divorce, but cannot be classified as sext-bullying or illegal sexting)(Kričkić et al., 2017).

Sexting is becoming a more common practice among youth on social networking sites. One of the first published studies on youth sexting was conducted in 2009 before the current prolific use of smartphones among youth. Among youth aged 12 to 17 years, results indicated that 4 percent reported sending and 15 percent reported receiving nude or semi-nude images. A 2012 study revealed a low prevalence of sexting among participants aged 10 to 17 years, with 2.5 percent and 7.1 percent of predominantly older youth sending and receiving sexts, respectively (Madigan, 2018). Several concerns have fuelled the considerable attention to the problem of 'youth sexting' among the media, parents, professionals, educators and law enforcement. One is that youth may be creating illegal child pornography, exposing them to possibly serious legal sanctions. Another is that youth may be jeopardizing futures by putting compromising, ineradicable images online that could be available to potential employers, academic institutions and family members (Mitchell et al., 2014). Youth sexting can have harmful effects on youth, especially when sexts are forwarded without permission. When that happens youth fall prey to sexual harassment online. Feelings of anger, depression, illness (physical and mental), alienation can arise and can lead unfortunately to self-injurious behaviour and suicide. Sexting can also cause emotional distress among youth. With these effects in mind the age specific information on sexting and its potential consequences should regularly be provided as a component of sex education.

Cyber-Stalking/ Cyber harassment: Cyberstalking is 'the use of the Internet, e-mail and other electronic communication devices to stalk or harass another individual, group or organization'. It may include false accusations, defamation, slander and libel. It may also include monitoring, identity theft, threats, vandalism, solicitation for sex, or gathering information that may be used to threaten, embarrass or harass. Cyberstalking is the online version of and is often an extension of

offline stalking. Cyberstalking 'entails the same general characteristics as traditional stalking, but in being transposed into the virtual environment as it is fundamentally transformed'. Stalking itself is not a new crime, but cyberstalking is a new way to commit the crime of stalking while using the Internet or other forms of electronic communication devices (Pauillet&Rota, 2009). The fact that cyberstalking doesn't involve physical contact doesn't mean it is any less dangerous than 'real life' stalking. It's not difficult for an experienced Internet user to find enough of the victim's personal information, such as phone number or place of business, to establish his or her physical location. Social networking websites such as Facebook, Twitter, and LinkedIn, present security issues for victims of stalking. A profile on a social network might have personal details of a person such as email address, phone number, general (or even specific) address information, birthday, legal name, names of family members, and even minute-to-minute updates on your location. If a victim has a public profile, a stalker could easily access any information posted to the social networking account. Even with strong privacy settings or a private profile, a stalker might be able to access another person's account. Hacking an account, creating a false profile and sending a 'friend request' or 'follow request' and gaining access to the accounts of person's already-established connections (such as Facebook friends or Twitter followers) are few of the ways for a stalker to access a person's account. Cyber-stalking annoys, alarms and emotionally abuses another person.

Cyber-stalking among youth through social networking sites is increasing at an alarming rate. Not surprisingly, females are more likely than males to be the victims of cyber stalking. The effects of cyber stalking can be damaging to a multitude of individuals. Victims mostly youth can experience multiple reactions due to cyber stalking, such as powerlessness, shame, feelings of isolation, and anxiety/depression. Further, victims may resort to substance abuse to deal with these feelings. These negative reactions to the cyber stalking can in turn affect family and friends of the victim (Marcum et al., 2014).

All states have anti-stalking laws, but the legal definitions vary. Some state laws require that the perpetrator, to qualify as a stalker, make a credible threat of violence against the victim. Others require only that the stalker's conduct constitute an implied threat. While instances of cyberstalking have increased over the years, it is still difficult for law enforcement to track and prosecute perpetrators. First, victims may not report their experiences to law enforcement or similar support agencies. Second, since the last recession, many law enforcement officers experienced plummeting budgets, loss of personnel, and a lack of

training on how to investigate crimes that occur online. Third, the majority of anti-stalking laws stipulate that the alleged stalker must make a 'credible threat(s) against the victim or the victim's immediate family' to be eligible for prosecution.

Gang Violence: Gang violence means criminal and non-political acts of violence committed by a group of people who regularly engage in criminal activity against innocent people. The term may also refer to physical hostile interactions between two or more gangs. Gangs identify themselves with a common name or sign. Youth join gangs for many reasons like the need for protection, a desire for money and a search for belonging. Gang members now occupy two spaces: the "streets" and the internet. A gang presence on social media is described as a form of cyber-bullying, but the real-world violence precipitated by gang-related online threats or communications suggests this may be a different phenomenon entirely. While researchers have not settled on a term to describe this phenomenon, recent work uses phrases such as "cyber-banging" a term often used by the police and "Internet banging" (Patton et al., 2013) to describe this unique form of computer mediated communication. Gangs spend a significant amount of time surfing the Internet, particularly social media sites (Décary-Héту & Morselli, 2011). Youth Gang violence can be initiated, aggravated and exhibited online via social networking sites such as Facebook, Instagram, twitter etc. Gangs engage in a number of online activities including but not limited to posting videos, watching videos, announcing activities, inciting dares, making fun of a recent homicide or victimization, displaying weapons, and discussing and displaying illegal and other substances (Patton et al., 2013). As for the online presence of gangs and criminal organizations, Womer and Bunker (2010) examined the extent to which the Internet has emerged as a key diffusion outlet for street gangs. They assessed the use of social networking sites by Mexican narcotics gangs by scanning these sites with a keyword search. Their analysis revealed that gangs related to the Sureños were using social networking sites to brag about their exploits and to broadcast images (Décary-Héту & Morselli, 2011). Youth gang violence through social networking sites impacts the health and welfare of the individual, as well as that of his or her family, peers, and community.

Cyber-Suicide/ Cyberbullicide: Another major category of social networking-involved youth violence is cyber-suicide. Cyber-suicide is a self-directed form of youth violence. Definitions of cyber-suicide vary but generally refer to individuals using the Internet to communicate suicidal ideation (D.U. Patton et al., 2014). Roughly speaking also called social suicide, cybersuicide is a slang term used to describe suicide or suicide

attempt that has been influenced by websites on the internet. Suicide is the third leading cause of death for youth between the ages of 10-24. Cyberbullying and cyber harassment are two prevalent ways to lead to pro-suicide behaviour. They augment risk of suicide by amplifying feelings of isolation, instability, and hopelessness. Several researches reveal that youth communicated suicidal thoughts in direct response to negative experiences with personal relationships, substances use, a complicated mental health status which may include thoughts of various methods of suicide (D.U. Patton et al., 2014).

1.8. Conclusion and Recommendations

It is an undeniable fact that technological advancement has augmented human progress. Viewed in this context, the most popular technological innovation of the 21st century is Internet. The contribution of Internet is bringing forward the propensity of social networking sites. Social networking sites have become an integral part of our lives. It has influenced every sphere of life. People of all generations especially youth use internet to engage in social networks. Social networking sites have become a vital part of the life of today's youth. These sites Facebook, Twitter, Skype, Instagram and WhatsApp have revolutionized the way youth interact with each other. While social networking sites serve several useful purposes to youth, it also has the potential for harm. Social networking sites have the potential to facilitate violence among youth thus acting as a catalyst and trigger for youth violence. As for the elements of youth violence cyber-bullying, sexting, cyber-harassment, gang violence and self-directed violence may be pointed out. These forms of cyber violence increasingly occur in online spaces. Youth violence on social networking sites has a negative impact on youth health, academic performance and relationships.

Therefore, it is recommended that attempts should be made to raise consciousness toward the potential threat that unconscious and uncontrolled use of social networking sites may bring about. Governments should focus on increasing cases of cyberbullying and cyber-harassment and take stringent actions to check it immediately. Students should be made aware about the negative consequences of social networking in schools, colleges and universities. Organized teams should conduct workshops at school and university level for this purpose. Parents should keep a strict vigil on their children and should understand the vulnerability of cyber-violence and deal with them in a more cordial manner which will help in increasing the chances of reporting of cyber-bullying and catching the culprits. Proper training programmes should be conducted for the law enforcement bodies so that

they became well-equipped and prepared to counter any such case of cyber-violence.

References

- Habiba, U et al. (2018). Social Networking Sites and Deviance among Youth in Islamabad, Pakistan. *European Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 1(1), 48-58.
- Tripathi, V. (2017). Youth Violence and Social Media. *J Soc Sci*, 52,1(3), 1-7. DOI:10.1080/09718923.2017.1352614
- Irwin-Rogers, K. & Pinkney, C. (2017). Social Media as a Catalyst and Trigger for Youth Violence. Retrieved from eugangs.eu > pdf > Catch22-Report. Accessed on (15/04/2019).
- Johnson, D.L. et al. (2016). Cyberbullying on Social Media Among College Students. *Ideas and Research You Can Use: VISTAS 2016*. Retrieved from <https://www.counseling.org>
- Mengü, M. & Mengü, S. (2015). Violence and Social Media. *Athens Journal of Mass Media and Communications*, 1 (3), 211-228.
- Hétul, D.D. & Morselli, C. (2011). Gang Presence in Social Network Sites. *International Journal of Cyber Criminology (IJCC)*,5(2), 876–890. ISSN: 0974 – 2891.
- Subrahmanyam K, et al. (2009). In their words: Connecting online weblogs to developmental processes. *British Journal of Developmental Psychology*, 27: 219-245.
- Chaudhary, M.(2016). Cyberbullying in India is a Form of Censorship. Retrieved from <https://www.firstpost.com> Accessed on (16/04/2019).
- Recuero, R. (2015). Social Media and Symbolic Violence. *Social Media + Society* Retrieved from <https://www.researchgate.net/publication>
- Boyd, D. and Ellison, N. B. (2007). Social network sites: definition, history, and scholarship. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 13(1), 210-230.
- Singh, K.P. and Gill, M.S. (2011). Use of social networking sites by the research scholars: a study of Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar. *Library Herald*, 49(3), 229-241.
- Rohani, V.A & Hock, O.S. (2010) On Social Network Web Sites: Definition, Features, Architectures and Analysis Tools. *Journal of Advances in Computer Research*, 2, pp. 41-53.
- Haythornthwaite, C. (2005). Social networks and Internet connectivity effects. *Information, Communication, & Society*, 8(2), 125–147.

- Liu, Y. & Ying, X. (2010). A Review of Social Network Sites: Definition, Experience and Applications. The Conference on Web Based Business Management Retrieved from file.scirp.org > pdf.
- Hussain, M., Loan A.F. and Yaseen, G. (2017). The Use of Social Networking Sites (SNS) by the Post-Graduate Students. *International Journal of Digital Library Services*, 7(1), pp. 72-84. ISSN:2250-1142.
- Zaidieh, Y. J. A. (2012). The Use of Social Networking in Education: Challenges and Opportunities. *World of Computer Science and Information Technology Journal (WCSIT)*, 2(1), pp. 18-21. ISSN: 2221-0741.
- Bushman, J.B. et al. (2016). Youth Violence: What We Know and What We Need to Know. *American Psychologist*, Vol. 71, No. 1, 17-39.
- Khurana, N. (2015). The impact of Social Networking Sites on The Youth. *J Mass Communicat journalism*, 5,285.
- Murray, K. E., & Waller, R. (2007). Social networking goes abroad. *International Educator*, 16(3).
- Alava, S. Meigs, F.D. & Hassan, G. (2017). YOUTH AND VIOLENT EXTREMISM ON SOCIAL MEDIA. *United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization*.7, place de Fontenoy, 75352 Paris 07 SP, France. ISBN: 978-92-3-100245-8.
- Ghosh, S. (2017). Does Social Media Induce Violence Among Youth? Retrieved from <https://www.ibtimes.com> Accessed on (27/04/2019).
- Cassidy, W., Faucher, C. & Jackson, M. (2013). Cyberbullying among youth: A comprehensive review of current international research and its implications and application to policy and practice. *School Psychology International*. Retrieved from <https://www.researchgate.net> Accessed on (18/04/2019).
- V, Sharma et al. (2010). Cyber-bullying. *Delhi Psychiatry Journal*, 13(1). Retrieved from medind.nic.in. Accessed on (25/04/2019).
- Patton, D. U., et al. (2014). Social media as a vector for youth violence: A review of the literature. *Computers in Human Behavior*. Retrieved from <https://www.academia.edu> Accessed on (25/04/2019).
- Mitchell, J.K. et al. (2014). Youth Involvement in Sexting: Findings from the Youth Internet Safety Studies, *Crimes Against Children Research Center*. Retrieved from unh.edu/ccrc>pdf Accessed on (3/05/2019).

- Espelage, L.D., Wasserman, S. & Fliesher, M. (2007). Social Networks and Violent Behavior. Retrieved from <https://www.researchgate.net> Accessed on (24/04/2019).
- Madigan, S. et al. (2018). Prevalence of Multiple Forms of Sexting Behavior among Youth a Systematic Review and Meta-analysis. *JAMA Pediatrics*, 172 (4) Retrieved from <https://www.researchgate.net> Accessed on (24/04/2019).
- Patton, D. U., Eschmannb, D.R. &Butlerb, A.D. (2013). Internet banging: New trends in social media, gang violence, masculinity and hip hop. *Computers in Human Behavior*, A54–A59.
- Marcum, D. C., Higgins, E.G & Ricketts, L.M. (2014). Juveniles and Cyber Stalking in the United States: An Analysis of Theoretical Predictors of Patterns of Online Perpetration. *International Journal of Cyber Criminology*, 8 (1): 47–56.ISSN: 0974 – 2891.
- Paultet, L.K. & Rota, R.D. (2009). CYBERSTALKING: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF STUDENTS AT A MID-ATLANTIC UNIVERSITY. *Issues in Information Systems*, Volume X, No. 2. Retrieved from iacis.org Accessed on (3/05/2019).
- Perren, S., Corcoran, L., Cowie, H., Dehue, F., Garcia, D., & Mc Guckin, C. (2012). Tackling cyberbullying: Review of empirical evidence regarding successful responses by students, parents, and schools.*International Journal of Conflict and Violence*,6, 283–293
- Pew Research Center (2018) The Demographics of Social Media Users and Adoption in the United States. Retrieved from <https://www.pewinternet.org> Accessed on (27/04/2019).
- Youth Violence- World Health Organisation Retrieved from <https://www.who.int> (Accessed on 11/04/2019).
- O'Keeffe, S. G. et al. (2011). Clinical Report—The Impact of Social Media on Children, Adolescents, and Families. *American Academy of Paediatrics*. Retrieved from ohioaap.org > uploads >
- Online Harassment and CyberStalking. (2019). Retrieved from <https://www.privacyrights.org>Accessed on (3/05/2019).
- Cyberstalking (March 2015)-NW3C. Retrieved from www.nw3c.org Accessed on (3/05/2019).