

## **Globalization, Democracy, and Muslim World: Some Contemporary (Theoretical) Perspectives**

**Tauseef Ahmad Parray**

Iqbal (PostDoc) Fellow, Iqbal International Institute for Research & Dialogue, International Islamic University Islamabad, Pakistan.  
Email: tauseef.parray21@gmail.com

*Speaking from the ideological and religious point of view, Globalization—encompassing a range of social, political, and economic changes—no doubt, puts various challenges to Muslim and non-Muslim countries, although capital, industrialization, and technology have tended for the past 200 years to aggregate in the West. But, in the present times, the Muslim world, which in the medieval ages, led the world in scientific learning, needs not only a new push toward science and technology to level the global playing field and reap the benefits that globalization can offer, but also needs to reconcile its rich tradition with the demands of the modern world. The impact of 21<sup>st</sup> century globalization on the Muslim world has thus far varied by nation. Generally, however, gender equality, participatory governance, education, and peace are necessary requirements for successful globalization in the Muslim world. It is thus in the context of ‘dissemination of knowledge’—being one of the four basic aspects of globalization; the other are: trade and transactions, capital and investment movements, migration and movement of people—that the term globalization is applied in this chapter, and especially highlights its impact of 21<sup>st</sup> century globalization on the Muslim world in the area of participatory governance or the process of democratization in Muslim countries. The paper specifically throws light on Islam-democracy debate, the process of democratization in the Muslim world as part of globalization, as well as provides an assessment of some key operational concepts of democracy in Islam or “Islamic democracy”.*

### **Introduction: Defining Concepts, Establishing Context**

Globalization, generally defined as the process of international integration arising from the interchange of world views, products, ideas, and other aspects of culture, is a complex phenomenon that not only encompasses the internationalization of capital and new information technologies, but the transformation of culture and, in particular, the massive “transfer of taste” as well. It became a “catchword” for various researchers across a wide range of academic disciplines after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War in the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Increasingly used since the mid-1980s and especially since the mid-1990s, globalization - which “encompasses a range of social,

political, and economic changes”—is shaped not only by the economic and political life of individuals and communities around the world, but is also determined by the different social environments in which people live and operate. That variety creates tensions and opportunities (GPF; “Who Speaks for Islam?” Conference Report, 2006; Abushouk, 2006, 487). For Prof Armando Salvatore, “Globalization is the process of formation of multiple independent ties among various locales in the world, facilitated by the emerging common vision of one interconnected world” (Salvatore, 2013, 194).

The first decade of third millennium has been marked, among others, by rapid and dramatic economic, political, social, and technological changes on a worldwide scale. Transcending borders and accelerating people’s ability to communicate and to trade across continents, this global revolution has been represented as the process of “globalization” (Cheref, 2005). In 2000, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) identified four basic aspects of globalization: trade and transactions, capital and investment movements, migration and movement of people, and the dissemination of knowledge (IMF, 2000).

Speaking from the ideological and religious point of view, globalization, no doubt, puts various challenges to Muslim and non-Muslim countries, although capital, industrialization, and technology have tended for the past 200 years to aggregate in the West. But, in the present times, the Muslim world, which in previous eras—mostly during the medieval ages—led the world in scientific learning, needs not only a new push toward science and technology to level the global playing field and reap the benefits that globalization can offer, but also needs to reconcile its rich tradition with the demands of the modern world. The impact of 21<sup>st</sup> century globalization on the Muslim world has thus far varied by nation. Generally, however, gender equality, participatory governance, education, and peace are necessary requirements for successful globalization in the Muslim world. The importance of such reforms is acknowledged in most Muslim countries, but carrying them out has proven a difficult and often politically sensitive task.

It is thus in the context of ‘dissemination of knowledge’ that the term globalization is applied in this essay, and especially highlights its impact of 21<sup>st</sup> century globalization on the Muslim world in the

area of participatory governance or the process of democratization in Muslim countries.

Similarly, democracy—the most comprehensive, most ancient and complex of all political concepts—has many definitions and connotations in the modern world. Democracy is a variety of many things that evolved many different meanings during different ages: classical, medieval, and modern. Indicating a set of ideals and principles and a political system, a mechanism for governance and a politico-legal culture, democracy is a political system that ensures political equality and self-rule; to others, it is a system that allows the presence of equal opportunities and rights.

Derived from the Greek “demos”, meaning ‘people’ and “kratos” meaning ‘rule’ democracy literally means ‘rule by the people’, which had its beginning in certain of the city – states of ancient Greece in the 4th century B.C. notably in the Athens (Britannica,1994, 4: 5). So, in brief, no definition of democracy can embrace the vast history which the concept connotes. During the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries many revolutions took place in England, France and America—the Glorious Revolution of 1689 of England, the American Revolution of 1776, and French Revolution of 1789—contributing a lot to the emergence of modern democracy (Sharma, 1993, 81-83). In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, equality, freedom and fraternity became the watch-words of modern democracy, and thus “modern democratic ideas” were shaped to a large extent by ideas and institutions of medieval Europe, notably the emergence of “natural rights and political equality” during the enlightenment and the American and French Revolution. In the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, “representative parliaments, freely elected under universal franchise”, became the central institutions of democratic governments and in many countries, democracy implied “freedom of speech and the press, and the rule of law” (Britannica 1994, 4: 5). In the emergence of modern democracy, various political thinkers played an important role. For example, Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), John Locke (1632-1704) and Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) popularized the ideas of liberty and democracy. Hobbes and Locke’s theory of ‘Social Contract’ aiming at to preserve Natural Rights and Rousseau’s theory of General-Will was a fillip to democracy. Charles Baron de Montesquieu (1689-1755), stood for the “separation of powers” to check autocratic rule. He distinguished between “the executive, the legislature, and judiciary” (Held, 2006, 65, 67).

But, as in the modern times, there are various interpretations of this definition and consequently throughout the history political thinkers have defined democracy in their own perspectives resulting that there is no universally accepted or clearly defined model of democracy. Consequently, there are several versions/variants and models of democracy which the world has experienced throughout the history, from the city-state of Greece to present day—direct, indirect/representative, functional, parliamentary, republican, federal, proletarian, liberal, industrial, etc. That is, democracy has taken a number of forms, both in theory and practice.

Thus, from the classical period to the contemporary global age, democracy has appeared in various forms indicating that the concept of democracy has changed and developed in the shade of variety of social, political, and economic developments. Democracy is, in the words of W. B. Gallie, an “essentially contested concept” (Gallie, 1964, 158) and thus capable of multiple interpretations and applications and the acceptance of its contested nature, its diversity and dynamics of development, enables the recognition that there can be alternative rival uses of the term ‘democracy’.

It is in this sense of its ‘contested’ nature as well as on the basis of its varied definitions and models that throughout the Muslim world—from North Africa to South and Southeast Asia and from Middle East to Central Asia—Muslim scholars and thinkers have been earnestly and vigorously engaged in defining and interpreting democracy in Islamic traditions. They are involved in developing, defining and establishing a reliable and feasible ‘Islamic democracy’ by utilizing longstanding traditions and conceptualizations of, among others, Shura (mutual consultation), Ijma (consensus) and Ijtihad (independent reasoning)—the main key traditional concepts of Islamic polity and/or the key operational concepts/notions of democracy in Islam or ‘Democratic Islam’.

The term Muslim world (or in a modern geopolitical sense, the term Islamic Nation) refers collectively to Muslim-majority countries, states, districts, or towns. As of 2009 Pew Research Center’s (Washington, DC) polling and analysis, over 1.6 billion or about 23.4% of the world population are Muslims. Of these, around 62% live in Asia-Pacific, 20% in the Middle East (or Southwest Asia): it includes Arab nations such as Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Oman, United Arab Emirates, Kuwait and non-Arab nations such as Turkey and Northern Cyprus; South Asia: Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran, India, Bangladesh and the Maldives; Southeast Asia: Indonesia, Brunei

and Malaysia; Africa: The North African countries include Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Sudan; Northeast African countries like Somalia and Ethiopia, and West African countries like Mali, Senegal, Niger and Nigeria; 15% in Sub-Saharan Africa, Central Asia: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Xinjiang (China); The major Muslim-populated countries are: Indonesia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nigeria, Iran, Turkey, Egypt, Algeria, Morocco, Iraq, Sudan, Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Syria, Malaysia, etc. (PEW, 2009).

Approximately 23% of the world's population is Muslim. Current estimates conclude that the number of Muslims in the world is around 1.6 billion; they speak about 60 languages, and come from diverse ethnic backgrounds. While historically centered in the Middle East and North Africa, today the largest populations are found in Asia—most significantly in Indonesia, Pakistan, and Bangladesh (PEW, 2009; see also McCloud et. al., 2013, 5).

Today, Islam is the world's second largest religion globally as well as in Europe, and the third largest religion in America, having its followers all through the globe—including, among others, Indonesia, Malaysia (in Southeast Asia) Bangladesh, Pakistan (in South Asia), Egypt, Iraq (in Middle East), Nigeria (in Africa) etc. That is, the “world of Islam is global; its capitals and communities are not only Cairo, Damascus, Mecca [Makkah], Jerusalem, Istanbul, Islamabad, Kuala Lumpur, and Jakarta but also London, Paris, Marseilles, Bonn, New York, Detroit, and Washington” (Esposito, 2011, xvi).

This geographical diversity reflects cultural and theological differentiation as well. And these “internal theological debates” of today reflect long-standing differences within the Islamic tradition over interpretation. These debates, in this decade of third millennium, have increased in postcolonial period “as different communities’ negotiated modernity and came to grips with a rapidly changing world”, and these trends have become even “more relevant in the post-Cold War era, which has been characterized by a high degree of economic and political globalization” (McCloud et. al., 2013, 6-7).

### **Democratization (as part of Globalization) in the Muslim World: Foundations Scriptural, Readings Contemporary**

From 1990s particularly, ‘globalization’ became—as has every age its own trends and clichés—a new trend. But the developments of

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the past two decades suggest that globalization no longer seems to be a mere fad or cliché; it is assuming the position of a framework for a re-ordering of the world. As such, it is incumbent on the Muslim *Ummah* to have a deeper understanding of what is going on. They must be able to shift the grain from the chaff; to identify those aspects of globalization that are useful, and as such desirable and acceptable, and those that are injurious and need to be resisted, modified or adapted to suit their conditions, needs and aspirations. The claim of inevitability and universality has to be taken with a pinch of salt. However, the response should be positive as well as creative, since isolation and autarky are not the best options (*Ahmad, 2006*).

As far as the Muslim *Ummah* is concerned, globalization is not new; because its existence is based on certain universal values, articles of faith, and principles, which provide the intellectual and conceptual foundations for globalization. The Qur'an makes it very clear that though human beings have been made into tribes and nations—something natural and inevitable—this has been done for mutual identification only. All human beings, races and ethnic groups are equal and the only basis for superiority, greatness and leadership is moral excellence (*Al-Qur'an, 49: 13*). So the conceptual framework of Islam and the Muslim *Ummah*, even by definition, has a global dimension. In fact, it may rightly be claimed that Islam provides, par excellence, the intellectual and moral foundations for an appropriate and sustainable conceptual framework for globalization (*Ahmad, 2006*).

### **Reformist/Modernist Interpretation of Islam, its Advocates, and 'Muslim Democrats'**

In the contemporary world there are various interpretations of Islam; that is, there are multiple faces of contemporary Islam. And 'reformist/modernist' interpretation of Islam—represented by a group of scholars, who, among others, admit that there is a connection between Islam and democracy or who argue that Islamic system of government contains a number of 'concepts and values' which are present in modern democracy (when defined in its real perspective)—represents only one strand of a complex and multi-layered phenomenon that collectively constitutes "Islam". There are different interpretations and ways of living Islam—liberal/progressive Islam, modernist/reformist Islam, politically activist Islam, fundamentalist Islam, conservative/neo-revivalist

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Islam, intellectual Islam, so on and so forth—the main faces/strands of contemporary Islam, based on the different interpretation of the Islamic law and Islamic history, are four. According to John L. Esposito (1999, 681), these are, Secular, conservative (or traditionalist), neo-revivalist (or fundamentalist/Islamist), and neo-modernist/reformist; for Mehran Kamrava (2006, 6, 13), these are, popular Islam, political Islam, fundamental Islam or Islamic fundamentalism, and Intellectual Islam (which has its own two internal divisions, viz., “conservative or neo-revivalist” and “reformist or modernist”).

Reformist/modernist interpretation of Islam, representing only one strand of a complex and multi-layered phenomenon that collectively constitutes “Islam”, and what the adherents of this strand/face of Islam—modernists/reformists, and those who argue that Islam and democracy are compatible are described, for example, by M.A. Muqtedar Khan (2006, 153), as ‘Muslim Democrats’—represent is a vision of Islam and its role in human polity that is radically different from that advocated by orthodoxy, a vision whose very certainty has made it emerge, in recent years as the dominant face—among various/multiple faces—of Islam.

They stress the need to renew Islam both at the individual as well as community levels, advocating a “process of Islamization or re-Islamization” that begins with the sacred sources of Islam: the *Qur’an* and the *Sunnah* of the Prophet (pbuh), but that also embraces “the best in other cultures”. They see themselves as engaging in a dynamic process that is as old as Islam itself. Modernists/reformists wish to bring about a “new Islamic renaissance (*nahda*)” pursuing a selective and self-critical path (*Esposito*, 1999, 684). They “distinguish” between God’s revelation and human interpretation, between that part of Islamic law which is contingent and relative, between immutable principles and regulations that were human constructs conditioned by time and place. They are “more creative and wide-ranging in their reinterpretation” of Islam and less tied to the traditional interpretations of the Ulema (*Esposito*, 1999, 684). They call for the modernization of Islam; and for them, interpretation and innovative *Ijtihad* are cornerstones of a “dynamic theology”, which is the essence of true Islam (Kamrava, 2006, 14).

Here it may be pointed out that Islam-democracy compatibility theme—the discourse on Islam and democracy, or the Muslim discourse on political liberalization and democratization—is just

only a single theme of the “*grand narrative on Islam and the West*”. Some of the important themes of this discourse include: ‘the threat of Islam’, ‘Islam and secularism’, ‘Islam and modernity,’ ‘Islam and development’, ‘Islam, Peace, Jihad, Violence, and Terrorism’, ‘Islam and Globalization’, ‘Islam and Pluralism’, etc. (*Khan, 2006, 149-50*).

This “grand narrative on Islam and the West” has posited several binaries to distinguish between essentialized notions of Western and Islamic civilizations. Both Muslim as well as Western historians and political commentators have meticulously constructed narratives about “the Islamic civilization” and “the western civilization”, and in these endeavors their dominant strategy has been “to identify, highlight and even exaggerate real and perceived differences between the two cultural and historical entities”. Secular as well as religious scholars from both sides are involved in maintaining this discourse of difference, but Islamic modernists/reformists break away from this “grand narrative” and register their dissent through appreciation of democracy and arguing that there is more in common between Islam and the West. They insist that what Islam and West share is vast and profound in comparison to what separates them. They are more creative and wide-ranging in their reinterpretation of Islam (*Khan, 2006, 149*).

The voices of these intellectuals—majority of whom are professors, writers, essayists, gifted in the arts of letters and oratory—and their disposition is to be moderate and their political passions tamed and reasoned. What these intellectuals represent is a vision of Islam and its role in human polity that is radically different from that advocated by orthodoxy. The central goal that these reformist Muslim thinkers have set for themselves is to “reformulate and reinterpret” popular notions of Islam in ways that are consistent with and supportive of the tenets of modern life. To put in other words, the central goal of these reformists is to make Islam relevant by articulating a jurisprudence that addresses contemporary issues and concerns. Islam is not the problem, they maintain, and neither is modernity. The problem is with “mutually exclusive interpretations” of Islam and modernity. Such interpretations, they claim, are fundamentally wrong (*Kamrava, 2006, 15*).

In the Islamic tradition, concepts like *Shura*, *Ijma*, and *Ijtihad* are utilized by scholars for providing an effective foundation of democracy in Islam. This ‘reformist/modernist’ represents only one



strand of a “complex and multi-layered phenomenon” that collectively constitutes “Islam” (Kamrava, 2006, 3).

Islam, right from the very outset, has been a global message. As one peruses through the Qur’an, one will certainly find that it addresses the entire humanity and not just a specific ethnic group or community. Furthermore, the first Islamic state established by Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) was founded on a written constitution (Pact of Medina) guaranteeing and protecting the rights of all minorities by which internationalizing the character of Medina society. Through his last sermon, the Prophet launched a New World Order and a declaration of human rights. This was the commencement of “globalization of the human society” (Cheref, 2005), or what Robert Bianchi calls the “Islamic Globalization” (Bianchi, 2013) and Armando Salvatore “Islamic globalism” (Salvatore, 2013, 195)—which is also dubbed as “Islamic transnationalism” or even “cosmopolitanism”—the latest manifestations of it highlight the “prevalence of common standards of globalization especially at the level of culture and communication” (Salvatore, 2013, 195). In the words of Prof Khurshid Ahmad (b. 1932, one of the prominent voices of Islam in present times), globalization provides a very unique opportunity to Islam and the Muslim *Ummah*, because

*Islam with its fundamental value of Tawhid, Oneness of God, and consequently of Oneness of mankind; of supremacy of the moral over the material; of integration of spiritual and mundane; its overriding commitment to justice, beneficence and compassion (al-Adl wa al-Ihsan) for all; and its insistence of Shura (mutual consultation) as the process for decision-making at all levels, can provide a framework for genuine globalization that could be a blessing for mankind (Ahmad, 2006)*

### **‘Islamic Democracy’, ‘Democracy in Islam’ or ‘Democratic Islam’? Some Key Operational Democratic Concepts/Notions**

Islam, the youngest of the three Abrahamic monotheist religious traditions/faiths, after Judaism and Christianity, also preaches equality, justice, and human dignity. These ethos had a significant role in occurrences as disparate as the Christian Reformation in 1517, the American Revolution in 1776, and the French Revolution in 1789. Islam encompasses principles and practices that are consistent with political pluralism (Cheref, 2005). Among this modus operandi we can mention *Shura* (consultation), *Ijma* (consensus), and *Ijtihad* (interpretation, individual inference). These

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concepts are regarded as the “operational key concepts” of democracy in Islam (*Esposito and Voll*, 1996, 23; see also, *Parray*, 2011a; 2011b; 2012).

In this section, *Shura*, *Ijtihad*, and *Ijma*—the crucial concepts that are regarded as the most important, essential and basic to democracy in Islam—are analysed. That is, these are the main operational key concepts of Islamic democracy as well as basic principles of Islamic political system or order (*Parray*, 2011a; 2011b; 2012).

Democracy in Islam is strongly debated, defined, and discussed by the diversity of voices, as mentioned earlier. In the Islamic tradition there are various concepts that provide an effective foundation for describing democracy in Islam. To put in other words, Islamic tradition, in fact, contains concepts that are foundations for the Islamic perceptions of democracy. In particular, Islamic democracy is seen as affirming longstanding Islamic concepts of consultation (*Shura*), consensus (*Ijma*) and independent interpretive judgment (*Ijtihad*). These terms have not always been identified with democratic institutions and have a variety of usages in contemporary Muslim discourse. However, regardless of other contexts and usages, these terms are central to the debates and discussions regarding democratizations in almost all the Muslim societies (*Esposito and Voll*, 1996, 27). These concepts are central to and are very basis of Islamic democracy, because

Consultation [*Shura*], consensus [*Ijma*] and *Ijtihad* [independent reasoning] are crucial concepts for the articulation of Islamic democracy within the framework of the oneness of God [*Tawhid*] and the representational obligations of human beings [*Khilafah*]. These are the terms [concepts and institutions] whose meanings are contested and whose definitions shape Muslim perceptions of what represents legitimate and authentic democracy in an Islamic framework. ... [T]hey provide an effective foundation for understanding the relationship between Islam and democracy in the contemporary world (*Esposito and Voll*, 1996)

### **Shura, Ijma, and Ijtihad:**

The principle of *Shura* (generally translated as mutual consultation or consultative decision-making) in Islamic political thought refers to deliberations conducted with the aim of collecting and discussing different opinions on a particular subject in order to reach a decision. It is not only interpreted as the source of democratic ethics in Islam, but is regarded (by some) as an alternative for describing democracy in Islam context. That is, it is interpreted as the very

basis of democratic government in Islam. The term *Shura*—an act, an idea, a social technique and a political institution—is central to the Islamic democracy and is the very basis of it. It is a direct outcome of the theory of vicegerency and the basic spirit of Islamic society.

During the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, significant efforts have been taken by scholars to broaden the conceptualizations of consultation, and this is associated with the advocates of Islamic democracy (i.e. the Muslim democrats).

*Shura* is regarded as the main key element and the very basis of democracy in Islam. For example, Sadek Jawad Sulaiman (an Omani intellectual), who accepts the compatibility of democracy and *Shura* on the grounds that *Shura*, as a concept and a principle, does not differ from democracy in his '*Democracy and Shura*', writes:

*Both Shura and democracy arise from the central consideration that collective deliberation is more likely to lead to a fair and sound result for the social good than individual preference. Both concepts also assume that majority judgment tends to be more comprehensive and accurate than minority judgment. As principles, Shura and democracy proceed from the core idea that all people are equal in rights and responsibilities. Both thereby commit to the rule of the people through application of the law rather than the rule of individuals or a family through autocratic decree. Both affirm that a more comprehensive fulfillment of the principles and values by which humanity prospers cannot be achieved in a non-democratic, non-Shura environment (Sulaiman, in Kurzman, 1998, 97).*

He regards democracy and *Shura* as synonymous in conception and principle, although they differ in details of application and appliance, on the basis that both *Shura* and democracy—stimulating to find better and better realizations of the principles of justice, equality, and human dignity in our collective socio-political experience—reject and refuse

any government lacking the legitimacy of free elections, accountability, and the people's power, through the constitutional process, to impeach the ruler for violation of trust. The logic of *Shura*, like the logic of democracy, does not accept hereditary rule, for wisdom and competence are never the monopoly of any one individual or family. Likewise, *Shura* and democracy both reject government by force, for any rule sustained by coercion is illegitimate. Moreover, both forbid privileges—political, social, and

economic—claimed on the basis of tribal lineage or social prestige (Sulaiman, in Kurzman, 1998, 97).

*Shura* (consultation) is a basic principle in all spheres of Islamic political and social systems. It is also “essential for the proper functioning of the organs of the state, its overall activity and Islamic identity” (Khattab and Bouma, 2007, 91-92). Muhammad Hamidullah places consultation in a generally accepted framework. He argues that the “importance and utility of consultation [*Shura*] cannot be too greatly emphasized. The *Qur’an* (3: 159, 27: 32, 42: 38, 47: 21) commands the Muslims again and again to take their decisions after consultation, whether in a public matter or a private one” (Hamidullah, 1969, 100). John L. Esposito regarding the importance of *Shura*, writes:

*The necessity of consultation is a political consequence of the principle of the caliphate of human beings. Popular vicegerency in an Islamic state is reflected especially in the doctrine of mutual consultation (Shura). The importance of consultation as a part of Islamic systems of rule is widely recognized (Esposito, 1998, 149).*

Quoting these statements in *Islam and Democracy*, Esposito and Voll claim that consultation is an important operational concept and element with regard to the relation of Islam with democracy. Particularly, during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, “there have been significant efforts”, they argue, “to broaden the conceptualization of consultation and this is associated with *advocates of Islamic democracy*”. For them, in this perspective, *Shura* thus becomes “a *key operational element in the relationship between Islam and democracy*” (Esposito and Voll, 1996, 28; *Italics added*).

The importance of *Shura* is best understood only when we look back to the political system of Prophetic era and of *Khulfa-i-Rashidin* period, and a thorough study of political system established and developed on by the Prophet (pbuh) and later on carried successfully by the first four caliphs reveals that the system was truly democratic in spirit because its political technique was common consultation and election of representatives and that in form it was representative. These constitute the essential and integral features of an Islamic State.

For Muhammad Asad (1961, 43), *Shura* caters for the continuous temporal legislation of our social existence; while Swiss born Muslim intellectual Tariq Ramadan (2000, 81) describes it as “the space which allows Islam the management of pluralism”. Ramadan (2004, 158-9) also refutes the view of some ulema and thinkers

from the “traditionalist and literalist schools of thought” who argue that the “democratic system (not a Qura’nic concept) does not respect Islamic criteria (the criteria of *shura*)”. Moreover, Omar Ashour (a political scientist of University of Exeter, UK) terms Shura as “an Islamic basis for participatory governance” on the grounds that as the mechanisms and the details of the Shura have never been static, most contemporary Islamic studies scholars, Islamist thinkers and Muslim jurists have provided “firm theoretical grounds that can be used as tools to transform Shura into a broader form of modern participatory government” (Ashour, 2008, 14, 16). *Shura* thus becomes first and foremost key operational concept and element in the relationship between Islam and democracy, or in other words, the very basis of Islamic democracy.

The Islamic scholars agree that the principle of *Shura*, or consultative decision-making, is the source of democratic ethics in Islam; in other words they tend to conflate *Shura* with the modern concept of democracy. Thus the concept of *Shura* is central to the Islamic democracy and is the very basis of it. It is direct outcome of the theory of vicegerency and *Shura* is the basic spirit of Islamic society which runs through its various organs, institutions and associations in general.

***Ijma*** (literally ‘Assembly’ or ‘consensus’)—regarded as the third fundamental source of Islamic Shari’ah, after the Qur’an and Sunnah—is an Arabic term referring ideally to the consensus of the scholars of Islam. It is another important operational concept regarding democracy, for ideally speaking, it is the logical denouncement of the “consultative process and collective decision-making.” (Afsaruddin, 2008, 171) The foundation for the validity of *Ijma* is the often cited *hadith* (Prophetic saying) that Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) stated, as stated in *al-Tirmidhi*: “Never will Allah make my Ummah (Community) agree on a wrong course” or “My Community will not agree upon an error” (*Al-Tirmidhi*, on the authority of ‘Abd Allah Ibn ‘Umar (RA), vide Asad, 1961, 38). *Ijma* is a consensus, expressed or tacit, on a question of law. Along with the Qur’an, Hadith and Sunnah, it is basis which legitimizes law (Glasse, 1989, 182).

*Shura* and *Ijma* (consultation and Consensus) are frequently seen as the basis for Islamic democracy in modern times. *Ijma* played a ‘pivotal role’ in the development of Islamic law and contributed significantly to the corpus of the law or legal interpretation (Esposito, 1991, 45, 83; Esposito & Voll, 1996, 28).

In the modern times, Muslim thinkers have imbued the concept of consensus with new possibilities. It is in this way that Louay M. Safi reaches the conclusion that the “legitimacy of the state depends upon the extent to which state organization and power reflect the will of the Ummah”, for as classical jurists have insisted, the “legitimacy of the state institutions is not derived from textual sources but is based primarily on the principle of Ijma” (Safi, 1991, 233).

On this basis, ‘Ijma can become both the legitimation and the procedure of an Islamic democracy, or in other words Consensus offers both the “legitimation of Islamic democracy and a procedure to carry it out” (Esposito & Voll, 1996, 28). M. Hamidullah says that Ijma need not be static as it offers “great possibilities of developing the Islamic Laws and adapting it to changing circumstances” (Hamidullah, 1969, 130).

**Ijtihad** (literally “Effort”) is another operational concept of major importance related to the relationship between ‘Islam and democracy’. *Ijtihad* is applied to those questions which are not covered by the Qur’an and Sunnah, that is, neither by established precedence (*taqlid*), nor by direct analogy (*qiyas*) from known laws. *Ijtihad* is regarded, by many Muslim thinkers, as the key to the implementation of God’s will in any given time or place. Prof. Khurshid Ahmad presents this position clearly, when he argues that *God has revealed only broad principles and has endowed man with the freedom to apply them in every age in the way suited to the spirit and conditions of that age. It is through the Ijtihad that people of every age try to implement and apply divine guidance to the problems of their times* (Ahmad, 1975, 43)

Virtually all Muslim reformers and reformist intellectuals of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and of contemporary era show enthusiasm for the concept of *Ijtihad*, Allama Iqbal, Khurshid Ahmad, Taha Jabir al ‘Alwani and Altaf Gauhar being few of them. M. Iqbal one of the major figures in modern times, called (in 1930s) for “the transfer of the power of Ijtihad from individual representatives of Schools to a Muslim legislative assembly” (Iqbal, 1934, 165).

In the context of modern world, the advocacy of *Ijtihad* is described by Altaf Gauhar in the following words:

*In Islam power flows out of the framework of the Qur’an and from no other source. It is for Muslim Scholars to initiate Universal Ijtihad at all levels. The faith is fresh; it is the Muslim Mind which is befogged. The principles of Islam are Dynamic; it is our approach*

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which has become static. Let there be fundamental rethinking to open avenues of exploration, innovation and creativity (Gauhar, 1978, 307).

Taha J. al 'Alwani points out that from the second *hijri* century until the present day , the reality , the essence, the rules, the conditions, the premises, the means, and the scope of *Ijtihad* have remained a source of debate engaging some of the Islamic world's greatest theologians, scholars of *al-'usul*, and *fuqaha* (Al-Alwani, 1991, 129)

*Ijtihad* is one of the several fundamental Islamic concepts to have been misused, misrepresented, or misunderstood by Muslims. Because of the danger of misuse, *Ijtihad* has always been a "controversial concept" and the need of the hour is to interpret *Ijtihad* in such a way that it can be used to justify the results.

Thus, *Shura*, *Ijma*, and *Ijtihad* provide an effective foundation for understanding the relationship between Islam and democracy in this age of globalization. To put in other words, they provide the basic concepts for understanding the relationship between the two in the contemporary world, and thus an "effective foundation" to build an Islamic basis for democracy. These are the terms whose meanings are contested and whose definitions shape Muslim perceptions of what represents legitimate and authentic democracy in Islamic framework. These are the concepts for the articulation of Islamic democracy. Presently there are various scholars who are sincerely devoted to the Islamic political issues; they are sincerely in search of resurgence of Islam and have been engaged in a lively debate on Islam and modernity (e.g., the outlook of Islam on democracy, equality, human rights, minority and women's rights).

### **Conclusion**

The foregoing assessment of Islam-democracy debate, the process of democratization in the Muslim world as part of globalization, along with an assessment of some key operational concepts of democracy in Islam or "Islamic democracy" reveal that the Muslim thinkers are engaged in a pursuit to develop an Islamic form of democracy. A galaxy of Muslim intellectuals, reformists/progressive, have attempted in the recent past, and are still making efforts, to develop it by taking help of some Islamic concepts, institutions, values, norms and ideals that emphasize the equality of people, the accountability of leaders to community, and the respect of diversity and other faiths. These are ideals fully compatible with modern conceptions of democracy. Precisely, what

they argue, at least theoretically, is that Islam and democracy are indeed compatible (on many grounds).

The above discussion also reveals that there is no reason at all why, in the modern age and the global era, one should object to the adoption of certain democratic procedures, as the Islamic tradition in fact contains certain key concepts that can be used to conceptualize an authentically Islamic program of democracy. More the same, several democratic values and principles like freedom, justice, equality, and human dignity are not only in harmony with the Islamic teachings, but are embedded in the primary sources of Islam, and its law.

In fact, the term ‘democracy’ is liable to multiple interpretations and applications, a fact that leads to the recognition that there can be alternative uses of this term. Taking advantage of this liberty, majority of these scholars see no problem in accepting the term democracy when conceived in a particular Islamic perspective. There is no surprise, then, that throughout the Muslim world, from North Africa and Middle East to South and Southeast Asia, various scholars and public intellectuals are actively engaged in defining ‘Islamic democracy’ with the help of above mentioned traditional concepts of Islamic polity. Especially the principle of *Shura* (mutual consultation) is the chief source of democratic ethics in Islam and it may be regarded as an alternative for describing democracy in Islamic context.

This study also reveals that the nature of Islamic concepts (especially *Shura*) and their relation to democracy requires a great deal of further reflection, because there is much in Islamic sources and tradition that is favorable to making democracy the vehicle for delivering the products of Islamic governance, such as social justice, economic welfare, and religious freedoms. There is, however, a need for more rigorous, pressure-free and wide-spread discussions and debates within Muslim communities on the need for and nature of good self-governance. Last, but not the least, Islam is not a barrier and obstacle to but a facilitator and supporter of democracy, justice, and tolerance in the Muslim world; and these issues need to be reflected more seriously and, therefore, more and more Muslims must include in the process, in order to make this theoretical reflection itself a “*Shuratic* process”. But, at the same time, it must not be forgotten that there is more in Islam than *Shura*—as the above discussion reveals as well—when it comes to reflecting over the nature of good governance and best polities.



Pertinently, what is also worthy to mention is that the efforts to utilize longstanding traditions and conceptualizations of *Shura*, *Ijma*, and *Ijtihad* reflect concern to create more effective forms of participatory democracy. In this regard Esposito and Voll (1996, 32) argue that with the development of “democratic institutions and practices across significant cultural boundaries” over the millennia, it seems at least possible that the “forces of globalization” will not eliminate wars but will make it possible for different “experiences of democratization” to assist and influence each other.

Finally, this is amply pertinent to end this essay by these words of Professor Khurshid Ahmad (2000, 10-11) As Islam’s guidance is absolute, universal and eternal; it has been left to the *Ummah* to develop different forms, institutions and mechanisms of governance/political setup suitable to different socio-historic conditions. A variety of governmental forms and arrangements are possible within this dynamic framework of Islam. Some of these systems/models have been experienced in the past. New experiments and arrangements can be made today and tomorrow by implementing them in a particular Muslim society/country. This is the beauty and potential of Islam and its law, intellectual and cultural legacy. This has been the distinctive feature of the Muslim historical experience spread over more than fourteen centuries.

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## **Domestic Violence against Women and the Working of Service Providing Centres in Palakkad Municipality, Kerala**

**Deepa N.**

Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, Mercy College, Palak  
Kerala

Email: deepsat06@gmail.com

*Domestic violence is an age old social evil which remains hidden from the eyes of the society for long. Domestic violence occurs in all countries, irrespective of social, economic, religious or cultural group. Socio-cultural attitudes which are discriminatory and economic inequalities reinforce women's subordinate place in society. This makes women and girls vulnerable to many forms of violence. Implementation of the principle of equality challenges traditional practices and necessitates a re-examination of the long held assumptions underlying all human relationships from the family to society at large. Worst affected are the women victims of violence. It affects not only the individuals but also their family and the society at large. It is also important in order to prevent violence that non-violent means be used to resolve conflict between all members of society. Breaking the cycle of abuse will require concerted collaboration and action between governmental and non-governmental actors, including educators, health-care authorities, legislators, the judiciary and the mass media. The paper intends to gauge the extent of violence experienced by women, forms of violence, its manifestations and subsequent consequences on the family and the society. The study also analyze the existing institutional arrangements with special reference to the working of SPCs in Palakkad Municipality and its effectiveness in dealing with the cases of domestic violence.*

**Keywords:** Gender; Domestic violence; Service Providing Centres; Mahilamandirams; Gender Specific Laws.

### **Introduction**

The human rights of women and the girl child are inalienable, integral and indivisible part of universal human rights. A woman's human rights framework equips women with a way to define, analyze, and articulate their experiences of violence, degradation and marginality. Gender based violence is not new – including rape, domestic violence, mutilation, murder and sexual abuse- is a profound problem for women across the globe. Women face humiliation, torture and exploitation; are beaten, kidnapped, raped, burnt and murdered.

Domestic violence is an age old social evil which remained hidden from the eyes of the society for long. Domestic violence occurs in all countries, irrespective of social, economic, religious or cultural group. Although women can be violent in relationships with men, and violence is also sometimes found in same-sex partnerships, the overwhelming burden of partner violence is borne by women at the hands of men. In India, it was recognized as a human rights issue in the 1980s due to the increasing number of dowry deaths.

### **Definition**

Domestic violence takes many forms and includes behaviours such as threats, name-calling, preventing contact with family or friends, withholding money, actual or threatened physical harm and sexual assault.

The United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women defines "violence against women" as any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women. The act of violence may occur in family, general community, or even being perpetrated and condoned by state.

According to the Merriam Webster dictionary definition, domestic violence is "the inflicting of physical injury by one family or household member on another, also a repeated or habitual pattern of such behaviour". Violence includes emotional, physical or sexual abuse of one (women) by any other family members. The definition adds that domestic violence can happen to anyone regardless of race, age, religion and take forms including physical, sexual, emotional, economic and psychological abuse.

### **Objectives and Methodology**

Domestic violence has emerged as one of the most serious problem faced by women. They are experiencing physical and psychological violence not only from their in-laws but also often from their intimate partners. The paper intends to gauge the extent of violence experienced by women, forms of violence, its manifestations and subsequent consequences on the family and the society. The study also analyse the existing institutional arrangements with special reference to the working of SPCs and its effectiveness in dealing with the cases of domestic violence.

Both primary and secondary data have been explored for data collection. Primary data has been collected from the two Service Providing Centers in Palakkad Municipality. The

registered/recorded cases in PSSP SPC, Palakkad and SPC, Mercy College, Palakkad are used to identify the various cases of domestic violence. The appointed advocates, members working in the Helpline, clerks of SPCs are contacted. Secondary data is from books, government reports, internet and relevant publications pertaining to domestic violence.

### **Kerala's Crime Statistics**

Kerala, with its highest literacy rate is recently tagged as the country's most crime-prone state by the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB). According to NCRB's figures, Kochi's crime rate shows a sudden rise of 195 % in 2012 compared to the previous year. The state's rate of crime against women comes at 27. NCRB has also compiled separate statistics for violent crimes that include murder, attempt to murder, rape, kidnapping and dowry death. On this count too, Kerala's figures are high.

#### **Crime Statistics**

<b>Crime Heads</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2009</b>	<b>2010</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2012</b>
Dowry deaths	31	20	22	15	23
Molestation	2745	2540	2936	3756	2798
Sexual harassment	258	395	537	573	343
Cruelty by Husband or relatives	4138	4007	4797	5377	4050

*Source: NCRB*

Serious sexual crimes against women by relatives and people known to the victims have also been on the rise in recent times. Every three minutes, a woman is attacked in the state. The state police registered 432 rape cases in 2012 alone, while 188 cases of domestic violence against women and children and 290 cases of sexual violence were registered. The increase in the crime rate is a matter of grave concern in the changing milieu of Kerala society.

### **Forms of Domestic Violence**

Violence against women can be physical, sexual, psychological, and threat of physical or sexual violence. Physical violence includes acts of physical aggression such as slapping, hitting, kicking and beating. The common sexual abuses women endure are forced intercourse, and other forms of sexual coercion. Psychological abuse includes acts like intimidation, constant belittling, humiliating and various controlling behaviors such as isolating a person from their family and friends, monitoring their movements, and restricting their access to information or assistance.

**Forms of Violence Experienced By Women throughout Their Lifespan**

Phase	Type of Violence Present
Pre-birth	Sex-selective abortion; battering during pregnancy; coerced pregnancy.
Infancy	Female infanticide; emotional and physical abuse; differential access to food and medical care.
Girlhood	Child marriage; genital mutilation; sexual abuse by family members and strangers; differential access to food, medical care and education.
Adolescence	Violence during courtship; sexual abuse in educational institution and workplace; rape; sexual harassment; arranged marriage; trafficking.
Reproductive Age	Physical, psychological and sexual abuse by intimate male partners and relatives; forced pregnancies by partner; sexual abuse in the workplace; sexual harassment; rape; abuse of widows, including property grabbing .
Elderly	Abuse of widows, including property grabbing; accusations of witchcraft; physical and psychological violence by younger family members; differential access to food and medical care.

Source: Heise, Pitanguay & Germain (1994) 'Violence against Women: The Hidden Health Burden'

**Consequences of Domestic Violence**

Cooperation and conflicts are normal features of family life. However, presence of these features creates paradox in the intimate relationships. Violence perpetrated among the members of the family is more common. The domestic violence against married women perpetrated by their husbands or other members of the family spoils the cordial relationships among the members of the family. Worst affected are the women victims of violence. Their family life is affected as a result of violence-conjugal relations are strained and are always under tension, quarrels take place on minor issues frequently, communication gap widens giving rise to misunderstanding, mutual trust is lost and family does not remain a place to live in.

The ill-effects of abuse against women include physical effects like physical trauma, fractures and blunt trauma. Women experiencing violence have more chances of suffering from anxiety, depression, post-traumatic stress disorder, suicide, somatic pain syndromes, phobias and panic disorder. Women whose husbands engage in both physical and sexual abuse have higher odds of gynecologic symptoms. Forced sex may lead to vaginal trauma. In the case of pregnant women the risk for infant mortality is higher among mothers who experience domestic violence compared with mothers who do not.



Domestic violence not only has an effect on a victim's physical and mental health, but other aspects of life and care giving as well. Victims of repeated assaults miss more paid work. A strong correlation exist between domestic violence victimization and mental health concerns. Children, who grow up witnessing domestic violence, are among those seriously affected by this crime. Frequent exposure to violence in the home not only predisposes children to numerous social and physical problems, but also teaches them that violence is a normal way of life - therefore, increasing their risk of becoming society's next generation of victims and abusers.

### **Constitutional Guarantees**

The Constitution of India under Article 14, guarantees "equality before the law" and "equal protection of the law". It empowers the State to take affirmative measure for women under Article 15 (3).

Article 21 guarantees the right to life to every citizen who includes a life with dignity and without violence.

Directive Principles of State Policy, under Article 39 enjoins the State to provide adequate means of livelihood for men and women, equal pay for equal work for both men and women, and ensure just and humane conditions of work and maternity relief for women.

### **Laws Relating to Violence against Women**

Laws relating to violence against women can be broadly classified into two categories:

- Crimes under IPC – Rape, Kidnapping and abduction, Dowry Deaths, Torture-both mental and physical, Molestation, Sexual Harassment etc.
- Gender Specific Laws – Pre-conception & Prenatal Diagnostic Techniques Act, 1994, Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act, 1971, Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961, Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005.

Several other laws have been enacted for the protection and empowerment of women in India. These include:

- a. The Criminal Law (Second Amendment) Act, 1983
- b. The Dowry Prohibition (maintenance of list of presents to the bride and bridegroom) Rules, 1985
- c. The Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Act, 1986
- d. The Commission of Sati (Prevention) Act, 1987
- e. The National Commission for Women Act, 1990
- f. National Policy for the Empowerment of Women, 2001
- g. Prevention of Offences (by acids) Act, 2008

### **Domestic Violence Act 2005**

The Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act 2005 was brought into force by the Indian government from October 26, 2006. The Act was passed by the Parliament in August 2005 and assented to by the President on 13 September 2005.

Primarily meant to provide protection to the wife or female live-in partner from domestic violence at the hands of the husband or male live-in partner or his relatives, the law also extends its protection to women who are sisters, widows or mothers. Domestic violence under the act includes actual abuse or the threat of abuse whether physical, sexual, verbal, emotional or economic. The Act provides for appointment of Protection Officers and NGOs to provide assistance to the woman with respect to medical examination, legal aid, safe shelter, etc.

**Kerala State Women's Commission (KWCs):** Kerala State Women's Commission was established in 1996 as a statutory body constituted under Kerala Women's Commission Act 1990 with the objective of improving the status of women in Kerala and to enquire into unfair practices against women. There is more visibility on violence against women after the formation and functioning of the commission as women get a space to come out and complaint about the violence whether it is domestic violence, harassment at work place or other kinds of atrocities against them.

**Jagratha Samithis:** With a view to protect the rights of women in the State and for the redressal of atrocities against women, the Govt. of Kerala has constituted District Samithis and Jagratha Samithis in all districts and Panchayats in the State of Kerala.

The Jagratha Samithis are a voluntary vigilant group of citizens which act as the eyes and ears of the Kerala Women's Commission. They play a major role in the prevention of crimes. If there is any indication of a place being utilized for immoral and illegal purposes; or a child is abducted, kidnapped; or if any woman has been forced into prostitution; the duty of the Jagratha Samithi is to take up the issue and settle it at the local Panchayat level itself. If the issues require assistance from higher authorities then the Jagratha Samithis take up the matters at the District Samithi level headed by the District Collector. If at the District Samithi level, the matter has not been settled, then it should be brought to the notice of the Kerala Women's Commission.

All districts have Women's Cell and Vanitha Police Stations to look into the grievances of women, regarding harassment against them,

neglect, desertion, non- recognition of their rights and even family discords.

**Shelter Homes:** If an aggrieved person or on her behalf, a Protection Officer or a service provider requests the person in charge of a shelter home to provide shelter to her, such person in charge of the shelter home shall provide shelter to the aggrieved person in the shelter home.

**Mahila Mandirams:** Mahila mandirams are institutions for women who are abandoned, widows and destitute meant for their care and protection and providing training in vocational trades to enable them to earn a living. There are 12 Mahila mandirams in Kerala, in all districts except Idukki and Wayanad. The sanctioned strength of each Mahila mandiram is 25. The Short Stay Home at Kohzikode is a shelter home for women who left home by quarrelling with their husbands and those are rescued by police from immoral life etc for their short stay.

**Service Providing Centres:** Any voluntary association registered under the Societies Registration Act, 1860 or a company registered under the Companies Act, 1956 or any other law for the time being in force with the objective of protecting the rights and interests of women by any lawful means including providing of legal aid, medical, financial or other assistance shall register itself with the State Government as a service provider.

A service provider shall have the power to record the domestic incident report in the prescribed form if the aggrieved person so desires and forward a copy thereof to the Magistrate and the Protection Officer having jurisdiction in the area where the domestic violence took place. They get the aggrieved person medically examined and forward a copy of the medical report to the Protection Officer and the police station within the local limits of which the domestic violence took place and ensure that the aggrieved person is provided shelter in a shelter home, if she so requires and forward a report of the lodging of the aggrieved person in the shelter home to the police station within the local limits of which the domestic violence took place.

No suit, prosecution or other legal proceeding shall lie against any service provider or any member of the service provider who is acting or purporting to act under this Act.

In Kerala, Service Providing Centres function in all districts. In Palakkad, there are 4 SPCs – Social Service League SPC Mercy College, Palakkad, PSSP Helpline, Palakkad, Mahila Mandiram,

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Muttikulangara and National Service Society of India, Mannarkadu. SPCs provide free legal aid to economically backward sections. Legal counselors are appointed in the SPCs with the recognition of the Social Welfare Board.

Analyzing the number of domestic violence cases registered during 2008 – 2013 in the SPC, Mercy College and PSSP Helpline, Palakkad, it is observed that the number of cases range from 20-53 and are increasing over the years. The domestic violence cases are comparatively more than other reported cases in these centres. These centres could deal with 138-145 domestic violence cases during the period 2008-2013. Besides, lots of cases are directly registered either in district courts or to the Protection officer of the district.

The legal counselors of the SPCs undertake mediation, give counseling to the victims arrange joint sessions and settlements; if these does not succeed, and they refer to the Court. SPCs provide free legal aid to the economically backward women with the support provided by the Legal Service Authority in the taluk and district levels (TLSA and DLSA). Legal counselors also provide legal awareness classes to women of the locality. The greatest success of these SPCs is that none of the case remains without solution. Counselors are able to provide apt guidance to the victims and also help them to achieve their rights.

The victims of domestic violence are sometimes sent to 'Ayalkootam' or 'Kutumbasree' units so that they are able to earn their livelihood. The victims with health problems and injuries are given free medical aid; those who face severe problems in the family and those who cannot stay in their family are referred to the shelter homes. The greatest problem faced by the SPCs is that Funds and Grants allotted are not adequate to meet the expenses. The grant given to conduct awareness classes is also limited.

The number of cases registered in these SPCs is increasing, but there are large numbers of cases which are un-registered and remain at the garb. Women feel it to be a matter of shame to reveal the violence and atrocities that they face in the family and society. The cases which come under the purview of the SPCs are efficiently tackled by the Counselors. The service and guidance provided by the centres help the women and girls to find a solution to the cruel lives that they lead in their family. SPCs have proved to be extremely successful in redressing the grievances of the needy Women and Children.

### **Recommendations**

With the prevailing status of the domestic violence against women in Kerala, the following are the recommendations which help in reducing the occurrence and prevalence of domestic violence.

- Strict enforcement of the laws regarding Drug addiction and Dowry should be made for reducing the occurrence of domestic violence.
- Procedural reforms must be made by the judiciary to avoid harassment of women and children by the enforcement institutions.
- Special courts must be set up for cases of violence against women and children with up-to-date technological support like video graphing of statements of rape and child abuse victims.
- Domestic Violence cases should be taken up promptly and completed without delay avoiding unnecessary imposition of strains and stress on them.
- Women's commission should be given more penal powers beyond referral powers.
- There should be coordinated efforts of police, administration and judiciary for enforcing measures against atrocities on women.
- Efforts should be made for the proper and effective enforcement of existing laws related to women.
- Government Agencies/department should make use of the assistance of NGOs to create awareness on Domestic violence among the public.
- Police need to be sensitized to treat domestic violence cases as seriously as any other crime.
- Government agencies and NGOs handling domestic violence, should make their work more effective and efficient.
- Non- Governmental agencies and private institutions need to be a part of any initiative that seeks to address the issue of Domestic Violence.
- Children of affected women should be given special care and attention to enhance their education and social functioning.
- Measures should be adopted for empowering women to make use of the various services addressed to domestic violence.
- More counseling centers with professionally qualified counselors should be started at the rural/urban areas focusing more on domestic violence victims.

- Pre-marital and post marital counseling should be made compulsory resulting in the minimization of the breaking down of families.
- Gender sensitization and awareness generation programmes on domestic violence should become a part of the school and university curriculum. This would help to bring about a change in the mindset of the coming generations.
- Media should be given an appropriate training in highlighting and presenting the impact of domestic violence on the victims and their families.

### **Conclusion**

Violence against women spans all geographical region, economic strata, education levels, and age and employment status. It could be seen that despite the total literacy and global model of development, Kerala tops the list in Domestic Violence. Women suffer a multitude of problems within the family which calls for surveys and studies to reveal these problems and also to find solutions. The number of cases to SPCs is increasing over the years. In spite of the active legal measures adopted in favour of women in our society, the spread of education and women's greater economic independence, countless women still continue to be victims of violence. So it can be inferred that the government should make more efforts to reduce violence against women by strengthening various agencies, institutions and departments. The severity and prevalence of crimes against women show different patterns of crime, so efforts should be made to tackle it by making different programmes and policies.

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## **Relevance of public Service Broadcasting in India in the age of Commercial Media**

**Salima Jan**

Research Scientist, Educational Multi- media Research Centre, University of Kashmir, J&K

Email: salimajan@yahoo.com

*In a vast and diverse land like India what is the use of public broadcasting? India doesn't have one language and certainly not one culture as well. The plethora of news channels in India tend to glamorize the ordinary eye. There is a cutthroat competition for Television Rating Points (TRP) ratings and even the sensible journalists sometimes fall prey to it. The Media houses require advertisement and sponsors that is ensured with high TRPs. The Media houses, therefore, do not worry more about the quality of content and its relevance to audience. They need more audience watching their product. There is no place for rationality. All that matters is attention—which brings more advertisements that in turn fills the coffers of media honchos. The media in the process becomes medium of commercialised commodity. Under the circumstances it is pertinent to understand the role and scope of Public Broadcasting Service, and also its chances of survival. Many pertinent questions are being raised, which include, where does public broadcast stand? Or does it stand any chance in a world dominated by the commercial and glamourised media. Why do/ Why don't people need public broadcast? What is its essence in a world that is dominated by breaking and entertaining news? This paper tries to find answers to these questions. The paper also puts in perspective the emergence of public service broadcasting in India in order to understand how Indian public broadcasting responded to the challenges posed by the emergence of commercial media.*

### **Introduction**

One of the important fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution of India to its citizens is the 'Freedom to Speech and Expression'. This right is fine so long as such a right does not abbreviate or abrogate the people's rights. To maintain the sanctity of this right, it is necessary to have a pluralistic media, so that the diverse communities receive information which is of significance to them. The information must also be independent of those in power. People should get this information from a democratic agency.

To have a democratic media, plurality within media agencies is also important. In contemporary times, we do have media plurality, which bring to public a variety of views and opinions about an issue. But does this plurality make any difference? Isn't it that the

world media in today's date is owned by a few global media giants mostly US based. To paraphrase John Jay's maxim 'those who own the world ought to govern it'. Thus, can these global media agencies be value neutral, can they keep themselves away from not having any position on some important issue. Definitely not, as like other large firms, they also want low taxes and less regulations on their business. Though in some cases they support political parties if it increases their profitability. However, one issue needs to be kept in mind; as who will cater to those people where there are small or missing markets. Thus a need for public service broadcasting arises which can be either autonomous or at times fully government controlled.

### **Public Service Broadcasting in India**

In India, up to 1990 we had a fully controlled public broadcasting system – Aakash Vani and Doordarshan. They enjoyed complete monopoly till the arrival of Cable and Satellite networks in late 1990s.

Public Service Broadcasting in India is based on two pillars, Radio known as *Akashvani* or 'AIR' (All India Radio) and Television called '*Doordarshan*'. These two organizations though broadly under Ministry of Information and Broadcasting have a statutory body 'Prasar Bharti'. Prasar Bharti, is thus, India's public broadcaster. It is an autonomous statutory corporation of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India. Prasar Bharti was established in India on 23 Nov 1997, following a demand that the Govt. owned broadcasters in India should be given autonomy like those in many other countries. Before that AIR and DD were working as one of the media units of Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. The other media units of the Ministry are Press Information Bureau, Directorate of Field Publicity, Directorate of Advertising and Visual Publicity (DAVP), Song and Drama Division, Publication Division, Photo Division and Research Reference and Training Division. The mandate of all these media units is to work as conduits between the Govt. and the masses so that a uniform development is achieved in all the parts of India.

### **Emergence of Public Service Broadcasting in India**

**Radio:** Public Service Broadcasting started in India as a private enterprise. In 1927, Indian broadcasting company was inaugurated by then Viceroy of India Lord Irwin. Indian Broadcasting company was an initiative of some Indian businessmen who assembled in



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Madras, Calcutta, Bombay and Lahore to form IBC. These people had got inspired by the potential of radio as a medium of entertainment and profit making. However, the company was closed three years later due to money loss. British government established Indian State Broadcasting Service in 1930 and started Radio Broadcasting. After some years, renamed it as All India Radio.

After independence in 1947, Indian Govt. took several steps for the expansion of Radio. At present, AIR has 406 stations across India compared to six radio stations at the time of Independence, covering 92% of the country's area and 99.19% population. Its programmes originate in 23 languages and 146 dialects. Radio Broadcasting in India caters to geographic, linguistic and cultural diversity through three tier operating levels – national, regional and local. AIR takes pride in its Vividh Bharti Channel – an entertainment channel started in 1957 as a response to the popularity of Foreign entertainment programmes. Ten years later, i.e. in 1967, commercials were allowed on Vividh Bharti. Govt. of India has always kept pace with the changing times. Vividh Bharti was shifted to FM mode due to changing tastes of listeners especially urban youth. In the introduction of FM Radio, AIR is not lagging behind. Even FM broadcasting started on AIR's channel in 1993 when FM Rainbow was launched. In 1999, the Govt. of India approved the establishment of 150 private FM Stations in 40 Indian cities, which in principle allowed, non-government organizations, educational and citizen groups to establish community radio stations. The present position of private FM Radio is that though various FM Radio broadcasters have installed their transmitters, but are still using AIR's antenna for which they are charged. This gives AIR an opportunity to raise revenue. Though this has eroded some of the monopoly of AIR but it will be really difficult for the private partners to compete with the gigantic infrastructure that Govt. of India has created over the years for AIR.

In 2000, AIR's FM network covered 17 % of Indian geographical area and 21% of Indian population (Singhal and Roger – 2001). At present AIR has 206 FM transmitters across the country, by which it covers 24.94% of the area and 36.81% of the population of the country.(source, prasar Bharti)

**Listenership:** Though the listenership of radio is showing downward trend, but still it is not disappointing. For primary channel it was 53% in 2010 and 49% in 2011., while as it is 52% and 40.7% for vivid bharti – the entertainment channel, during the

same period. AIR is the sole broadcaster allowed to broadcast news on radio in India.

**Television:** Television broadcasting in India began in September 1959 at New Delhi. Initially the programmes were telecast twice a week for one hour each. These programmes were educational in nature as they were based on health, social issues, road safety etc. Six years later, regular telecast was started. The year 1972 saw the first major television expansion as five regional stations were set up with relay stations for their coverage. India was also one of the first developing countries to experiment with satellite television. In 1975-76 India launched satellite instructional television experiment (SITE). This was a one year pilot project utilizing NASA's ATS-6 Satellite to broadcast directly to satellite-receiving dishes in 2400 Indian villages in order to reach tens of millions of rural people, most of whom watched television for the first time. Its objectives were to improve rural primary school education, provide nutritional practices, and contribute to family planning and national integration (Agrawal, 1981). It was in 1976 that television was constituted as a separate department under Information and Broadcast Ministry. Doordarshan was operated much like a government department at least as far as critical issues of policy planning were concerned. In 1982 the operation of India's domestic communication satellite made possible the networking of all of DD on regional stations. A nationwide feed dubbed as the 'National Programme' was supplemented by setting up of transmitters to pick up satellite distributed signals and retransmit them to surrounding areas (Likhi – 2004).

1980s witnessed the expansion of DD in India at a tremendous pace. This expansion needed the programme feed. Thus programme production which was solely done by DD, was now opened to private producers, artists etc. 1984-85 marked the beginning of television entertainment programmes on DD. This started with the highly popular soap opera 'Hum Log' (we people) followed by 'Buniyaad' (Foundation). Hum Log was the portrayal of social issues that Indian society was grappling with that time. So, was Buniyaad though it was based on India Pakistan partition. The significant development that took place during Hum Log days was that DD opened itself to commercials. One can not forget 'Maggi – Two Minute Noodle' ad during Hum Log telecast, thus demonstrated the power of TV commercials. These two serials were followed by the Hindu Epic based serials Mahabharata and

Ramayana. Media during the telecast of these programmes was replete with stories about popularity of Mahabharata and Ramayana. It was said that housewives forgetting milk which they had put on gas heaters for boiling. People would get engrossed in the sequence of events portrayed in those epic based serials that they would forget the rest of the activities. DD enjoyed monopoly till 1990. This monopoly, however, was challenged by the invasion of private television networks. DD tried to respond to such a challenge by launching a Metro entertainment channel in 1993, sports channel, several regional channels, international channel and a 24 hour news channel was launched subsequently. The popularity of DD programmes attracted the viewers even in 1990s. Some of the big hit serials in 1990s are The Sword of Tipu Sultan, The Great Maratha. Both of these were historical serials, fantasy serial like Shaktiman, religious serials like Shri Krishna, Jai Hanuman, family serials like Shanti, Udaan, Humrahi, etc.

### **Present Status and Reach of Doordarshan**

Presently DD has 30 channels and a DTH service. These channels include: Five national Channels (DD1 National, DD News, DD Sports, DD Bharti, DD Urdu), 11 regional satellite channels (DD Bangla, DD Oriya, DD Saptagiri, DD Podhigai, DD Chandana, DD Malayalam, DD Shayadri, DD Gujrati, DD Punjabi, DD Kashir, DD North-East), 11 regional service state network (Rajasthan, UP, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand, Chattisgarh, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Mizoram, Tripura) one international channel (DD India) DD Rajya Sabha, DD Gyandarshan and a DTH Service (DD Direct Plus). DD1 National and DD News are both in terrestrial and satellite mode. This reveals the huge infrastructure created by Govt. of India for both terrestrial and satellite broadcast. DD at present is one of the largest terrestrial networks in the world. It covers 90.7% population through terrestrial mode and 100% reach through satellite channels.

### **Viewership of DD**

In contemporary times, there is boom of electronic media, giving audience choice to select from a variety of subjects. Availability of 300 TV channels, beaming programme from within and outside the country and competing for attracting more and more viewers by adopting all methods, the utility of public service broadcasting is in question. Out of a total 231 million households in India, 126 million households do have Cable and Satellite connectivity. The total TV

households in India are 148 million. This does not mean that DD is losing relevance. As per the official website of DD (April 2014), 39 % watch only DD. DD has exclusive viewership of 53% in rural and 22% in urban TV homes. DD1 captures the biggest pie among General Entertainment Channels with 38% share, Star Plus 15%, Colors 13%, Zee TV 11%. DD National News leads in all homes 9.35%, AajTak 0.56%, Star News 0.48%. DD1 News (20:00-20:30hrs) gets the highest share 1.05%, AajTak 0.78%, Star News 0.61% on cable and satellite too.

### **Do we need Public Service Broadcasting?**

With the mushroom growth of satellite channels and internet, the PSB across the globe is declining. In this scenario where does the public service broadcasting fit in the new media world order. On its face value, nowhere. Public service broadcasting was justified in earlier days due to scarcity of spectrum. Nowadays the abundance of multiple media channels have lead to the fragmentation of audience, each programme/channel has created a niche of its own. These varied channels thus, satiate the taste of its specific or niche audience. This does not mean Public Service Broadcasting is no more needed. Public Service Broadcasting on one side has its own niche audience and on the other has an immense responsibility as well as significance, in India due to number of reasons:

- a. India is culturally, religiously and linguistically a diverse country. Pluralism being the hallmark of Indian society needs to be given due care. Commercial broadcasters may or may not make programmes which address to this diversity. Since their concern is to raise TRP and revenue from their programmes, thus social responsibility is last priority for them. A study on cultural 'diversity in TV advertisements in entertainment channels' reveals that advertising media are not concerned about representation of cultural diversity and are stereotyping role portrayals in spite of India constitution's emphasis on 'No discrimination policy'. The study concludes that people from culturally and religiously diverse backgrounds are underrepresented in Indian TV advertisements. Fair skinned models are used more than dusky or dark skinned models. (Patil – 2014). Even the popular soap operas telecast on other satellite entertainment channels like Star, Colors, Zee Tv etc. depict characters with upper class background with gorgeous dresses, jewellery, five-star home setting etc. The depiction of these characters is removed from the daily lives of ordinary people.

- b. DD being the largest terrestrial network can cater to people living in small and remote villages of India. It is very important for Public Service Broadcasting to take into account the media needs of these people. Commercial broadcasters may not value these people, but DD from the very beginning has earmarked a sizable chunk of time for these programmes. For the socio-economic development of the country, DD's programmes on agriculture, rural development, family welfare, women and children, adult education, youth, science and technology, public awareness and special programmes on natural calamities are very important. Though such programmes are produced by some leading private channels as well like a programme on '*Mera Gaon Mera Desh*' (my village my country) telecast on Star News on advancement in agricultural technology and the success stories of people living in small villages due to use of these technologies can not be undermined, but Star News may or may not be in the bouquet of channels that a customer has opted for or there may be thousands of people who are bereft of access to Star News. DD being a 'must carry' channel for all private broadcasters as per the law, so its accessibility automatically gets increased.
- c. For a participatory democracy a robust media is very essential. Can such a need be left to private broadcasters only? It is said that private broadcasters are more responsive and cater to the needs of market with greater efficiency. This is true to a great extent but in a world run by corporate interests public broadcast channels play the role of a filter. They are often accused of being the mouth piece of the government but they have changed a lot since there exists no monopolies now. It is ironic in Indian context that when corporate owned channels go shrill on most issues that are concerning to elites, only two government owned news channels—Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha TV come out as sane voice. Unlike other Indian news channels they do not bring Parliament Members, Members of Assembly and same kind of analysts on every issue. There the debates are debated threadbare and it is hard to believe that they can air such thoughts that other private channels hardly broadcast.
- d. Then there is another problem of obscene ads shown in private owned channels. Ads particularly on deos, men shaving cream, women sanitary napkins and other obnoxious ads that are shown on prime time programmes. Compared to it, public broadcast

channels use gate keeping. They obliterate such ads. They are discernible in that and also selective about which film to show. Unlike other private owned entertainment channels the public broadcast channels show restraint in not telecasting programmes that are filled with obscenity. Private channels have kept no restrictions. One of the entertainment channels even went ahead to telecast adult movie '*The Dirty Picture*' on prime time but was promptly stopped by the Supreme Court of India (Central Board of film certification).

- e. India has a huge population of marginalized groups which include scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, backward classes and other weaker sections. The scheduled castes and scheduled tribes constitute 16% and 8% of the population respectively. They are socially and economically deprived. Caste being a dominant factor in the stratification of Indian society, placing some castes as socially high and some as low. The constitution of India has laid down various provisions including the reserved quotas for them in order to bring them into the overall development of Indian state. Both DD and AIR being the subsidiaries of Govt. of India, have certain quota reserved for them in employment, however, no such provision can be seen in the private sector which wholly works on how the talent of the person can be exploited to the maximum profit gaining of that particular company. To report the issues of downtrodden, excluded population and other marginalized section it is important to give them representation. However, a study done by 'Centre for the Study of Developing Societies' found that out of 315 editors and prominent journalist, not one of them belongs to SC/ST (Dreze & Sen, 2011).
- f. Indian democracy, the largest democracy on the map of the world, flourishes because of increased public participation. A democracy whose roots are getting deeper and stronger thereby empowering people to fight for their rights but this advantage comes with a lot of problems that plague a nation in the form of poverty, hunger, illiteracy and backwardness. India still has the maximum number of children facing malnutrition. Beneath a glossy India lies a heart rendering tale of restitution writ large on the faces of millions of people still living below poverty line. The Indian media would not tell to its audience that 456 million of its population or about 42% of Indians live below the new international poverty line of \$1.25 per day as per the World

Bank report (Dreze & Sen, 2013). And if the bar is upped to 2 dollars per day then the figure balloons upto 828 millions! It is staggering figure in a country where the media is busy selling slogans of 'rising India', 'shining India', 'economic power'. But, how many channels and newspapers do report such things. And if they are reported, are they put on front page? Or given enough space for display? A prominent Indian satellite news channel is running a campaign programme of 'positive India' as it believes enough of bad things have been said about India! The bitter fact, according to UNDP report of 2010, is that eight Indian states have more poor than 26 combined poorest African nations. These eight states comprising of Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, and West Bengal have combined population of 421 millions, 11 million more than the 26 poor African countries. WHO and UNICEF's findings for the year 2008 revealed that 636 million of 'rising' Indians defecate in open (Spears, 2013; Prasad, 2012). It means India has the highest number of people who defecate in the open. But the middle class media doesn't report. The Indian media may say day in day out that their country is progressing but that progressiveness is only for elite section. "The rhetoric of inclusive growth," argue authors Dreze and Sen "has gone hand in hand with elitist policies that often end up promoting a two-track society whereby superior ("world-class") facilities are being created for the privileged, while the unprivileged receive second-rate treatment, or are left to their own devices, or even become the target of active repression." (Dreze & Sen, 2011)

- g. Who will tell these people that Govt. of India has plenty of schemes for their uplift? I think, the answer is Public service broadcasting.
- h. An euphoria has been created about the onslaught of FM Radio in India. A simple question has a simple answer. Can FM Radio compete with the huge data base that AIR has created over the decades? Is attractive packaging of musical programmes and an interesting interaction with the listener all that the people need? "By its very nature the media cannot be like an ordinary business," wrote Justice Markandey Katju. "The media," he wrote further "deals with ideas, not commodities." To quote Vinod Mehta, Editor-in-Chief, Outlook, saying while delivering a speech at the International Press Award 2007 "Content is a mix of what the reader wants and what he does not want. The

trick is to marry the two and make money”. More importantly, he concluded, “Really great journalism must do more than merely give people what they want. There has to be room for the unexpected, for stories the public has no idea it wants until it sees them, ideally this would be a fitting motto for good public broadcasting too. A good broadcaster also leads audience tastes, doesn’t always follow them.”

### **Public Service Broadcasting – Case Studies from India**

The main objective behind Public Service Broadcasting is to inform, educate and entertain the masses in general and diverse groups in particular. Indian Public Service Broadcasting has always been the major player in providing healthy media support for the overall development of the nation. Though Public Service Broadcasting in India enjoyed monopoly till 1990, however, it did experience a challenge after that when media was thrown open to global media agencies under Economic Liberalization Policy. There was a dilemma and two important issues emerged.

- a. Can Govt. of India still control its Public Service Broadcasting, as it used to. There was already a growing pressure on Govt. of India to give some autonomy to these organizations as a result of which Prasar Bharti came into existence in 1997.
- b. Can Govt. of India afford to lose its hold on Prasar Bharti, which wields tremendous power. The Govt. adopted a mid path by giving away certain matters and retaining certain powers in some areas.

For entertaining masses, a number of steps were taken to address this issue, various satellite channels catering to the entertainment requirements of the people were launched both at regional and national level (details given above in emergence of TV). At the same time, the motto behind Public Service Broadcasting was not given away.

For informing general public, a separate unit was created in DD in 2001 called Development Communication Division (DCD) with the aim to provide developmental programmes to the viewers. This unit is also a marketing division and production house for various ministries and public sector undertakings. Another unit known as Narrow Casting has also been established which cater to the agricultural and other subjects.

The power of Public Service Broadcasting in creating health awareness in masses can better be understood from one of its popular programme *Kalyani*. This programme received various



national and international awards. The other programmes produced by DCD in the recent times is *Grameen Bharat* on rural development, *Bhoomi* on environment, *Janjatiya Darpan* on tribal affairs, *Khel Khel Mein Badlo Duniya* on petroleum conservation, *Jal Jeevan* on water conservation, *Paisa Humara Faisla Apka* on financial matters, *Aatmaja* on female infanticide, *Jago Grahak Jago* on consumers' affairs. *Jasoos Vijay*, a detective serial made in collaboration with BBC World Trust and National Aids Control Organization to create awareness about HIV/AIDS among masses in India received tremendous fame. It was on air from June 2002 to 2006. This serial was made to reduce the number of HIV infections in India because that time India had second highest number of HIV/AIDS cases in the world.

An illustrating account of Public Service Broadcasting is that of DD Hyderabad. When N. Chandrababu Naidu was the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, there was a programme in Telegu called face to face with Chief Minister (*Mukhyamantri thou mukhamikhi*), which created a positive reaction among the masses about the redressal of their issues. Such programmes are not confined to Hyderabad only. Most of regional radio and TV stations do broadcast such programmes which at least bring into light the plight/problems of masses if not solved quickly.

Both AIR and DD has an Audience Research Cell, which takes into account the feedback of their audience. They have an obligation to listen to the opinions of public.

While fulfilling the objective of educating the masses, what can be the best example other than the one taken by both AIR and DD. In India we have a huge population of illiterates (30%). Her gross enrollment ratio in higher education is 13.8%, which is almost half of the world average. In 2012 (Chronicle Year Book) India is having a shortage of 1.2 million teachers. Out of 90 million college age students only 12 % attend colleges and if India wishes to maintain its current GDP growth, then 8 million more students should join the colleges by 2014. To fulfill this huge demand the India is taking measures to reach to the unreached through use of modern communication technologies. In this endeavor Public Service Broadcasting is an important tool.

In 1984, when University Grants Commission, (apex body of Universities in India) initiated a project called countrywide classrooms to reach to the doorsteps of those students living in remote and far flung areas with quality education television

programmes, it could think of Doordarshan only. DD being the nation public broadcaster came forward with a one hour broadcast of these programmes each day. This telecast was then repeated twice a day. It is only off late that the telecast has been stopped. However, a separate channel DD Gyan Darshan – an educational television channel, has been launched in the bouquet of Doordarshan in collaboration with IGNOU. Taking advantage of FM Radio stations a chain of dedicated radio stations called Gyan Vani have also been established with All India Radio.

### **Conclusion**

Public Service Broadcasting in India has seen tremendous expansion both in software, hardware and audience reach, but at the same time, it underwent huge changes as a result of private broadcast revolution. Presently Public Service Broadcasting in India is neither a monopoly of government nor autonomous. It is swinging between the two. In spite of its status, it is contributing immensely for the development of the country.

The plethora of news channels in India has glamourised the ordinary eye. Today an average who watches these corporate owned news channels knows more about film stars, sports persons and page three people. An average viewer of these channels may not be knowing much about health conditions, education sector, economic problems, social-cultural challenges and political happenings that affect him. (Auletta, 2012) The corporate or political parties mostly run these satellite channels in India (Jaffery, 2009).

Because political parties want majority of the people to remain unconcerned they are investing huge in these channels. These channels in turn keep masses away from the real issues that should concern the public. The issues of public concern are not given any coverage or if sometimes given they are often in special appearances. In his very recent book Nobel Prize Winner, Amritya Sen along with John Dreze severely criticises Indian mainstream media.

Yes we need public broadcast media. We need it more today. The public needs it to have their senses intact. In a world run by corporate interests public broadcast channels play the role of filter. They are often accused of being the mouthpiece of the government but they have changed a lot since there exists no monopolies now.

A severe concern has been raised by Public Service Broadcasting official particularly those working in AIR and Doordarshan. They say that Ministry has to decide as to whether they really need a

public broadcasting service or not. On the one hand they are asked to function as mouth pieces of the government and on the other hand they are expected to generate revenue, both the goals cannot be achieved simultaneously.

However, at the same time everything cannot be left to private broadcasters. If the public broadcasters are removed from the media scene, it means as if state is shunning away its responsibility of protecting the national integration and unity of its people.

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## **Globalization and Differential Development in the Third World: Few Insights from Kashmir**

**Idris Hassan Bhat**

Ph. D. Scholar, Political Philosophy, Jawaharlal Nehru University;  
Email: idris.bht@gmail.com

**Fayaz Ahmad Dar**

Ph. D. Scholar, History, Hyderabad Central University  
Email: fayaz.hist@gmail.com

*Certain aspects constitute a permanent ingredient in any definition of the term globalization, although as a theoretical category it eludes a consensual definition. A 'borderless world' is one such ingredient. This paper however shows that such notions have manifested in a very exclusive manner. By taking the case study of the Valley of Kashmir it points out that it has operated in an opposite manner in many places.*

**Key Words:** Globalization, Kashmir, Secluded periphery, Third World, Borderless World.

### **Introduction**

Among the most frequently used terms presently, globalization for sure eludes a consensual perception. Its proponents and advocates present it as a panacea to all kinds of inequalities in the world. Its critics, on the other hand, vehemently refuse to accept its claims of bringing a harmonious order to the world society. While nobody denies the existing reality of globalization, the debate over its working manifestation on the ground has become somewhat polarized. It is sometimes seen as becoming tantamount to express the clash between the developed and the developing world. For the Third world countries, Martin Khor, the then President of The Third World Network in 1995 described globalization as 'colonization'<sup>1</sup>. Another scholar Neeraj Jain puts it more bluntly stating that "...it is nothing but 're-colonization' in a new garb."<sup>2</sup> On the other hand its proponents idealize its power of the mobility and exchange it is /was supposed to bring in. Thomas Friedman would have us believe that the globalization armed with technology could be a 'leveler of countries by generating growth'<sup>3</sup>, which would make the whole world 'flat' for all types of exchanges. The Swedish journalist Thomas Larson, emphasizes the "increasing ease with which somebody on one side of the world can interact, to mutual benefit,

with somebody on the other side of the world.”<sup>4</sup> The Dependency theorists feel a kind of vindication of their theoretical standpoint wherein they predicted the many new forms of control the capitalist/industrialist/core world would invent in order to control the economies of the Third world. They look towards Globalization as a new tool of dominance, wherein no formal political control is needed to exploit the periphery economies. The middle ground in between these two extreme perspectives is held by scholars and practitioners like the economist Amartya Sen and the ‘internal rebel’ Joseph Stiglitz who propose creative ways in which globalization can be worked out to the best advantage of the underprivileged. They try to bring out what they call as the ‘human face of globalization’ to the fore. It is certainly not the easiest thing to define globalization. Even the definitional aspect of this term has a sprawling literature to its credit. A working definition is always used as a tool to make any headway in research related to the topic. The debate is not only on the abstract level. It has implications on the ground.

### **The non-existing Borderless World: A small voice of dissent from Kashmir**

One of the major themes running across all definitions or approaches to globalization is that of a borderless world, and through this means intermingling of people, cultures, goods, ideas and knowledge. Kenichi Ohmae has in fact defined globalization as meaning the “onset of a borderless world”<sup>5</sup>. Prominent political theorists and scholars such as Immanuel Wallenstein, Anthony Giddens, Charles Oman<sup>6</sup>, Malcom Waters, Fredric Jameson<sup>7</sup> among others have given a prominent place to this constituent of Globalization. At one level there is substantial amount of basis to believe in such a proposition. Technology has infiltrated through the national boundaries so lovingly constructed throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries in Europe and the western part of the world. The fall of Berlin Wall is usually perceived as a symbolic moment of beginning of the decline of the nation state led world.

It was just the next year, in 1991, that saw the biggest south Asian economy (India) to plunge, though under compulsion, into the fray of the globalized world (the LPG scheme). However, many other parts of the same south Asian region took the movement of the wind in a different direction. The valley of Kashmir saw a slowly growing protest movement take a militant plunge in order to give a hard expression to the forced ahistorical isolation suffered in the last

four decades. It can be looked as a harsh response to the long term 'psycho-historic alienation' which the valley of Kashmir had/has suffered owing to its getting choked after the partition of its territory in 1947<sup>8</sup>, which fell under two hostile nation states. From a place located at and thus connected to various politico-cultural civilizations of the world, Kashmir, both the territory as well as its people, became increasingly choked as the outer world was getting opened up. Its only route connection to the world now remains a perilous road kept in order by the hard labor of men employed mainly from the lowest rung of Indian society.

The small experience of Kashmir puts questions to the theoretical notions of a borderless world. Noor Baba uses the term 'Secluded Periphery'<sup>9</sup> for the way Kashmir has been going through in this supposedly global-village. As a conflict region of South Asia it has been internationalized but the rest of advantages have hardly been able to percolate in or reach the place.

The borderless notion of the globalized world has thus been practically reduced to a European/Western phenomenon at the functional level. Or to the maximum been able to create zones or patches of globalized spheres in many parts of the developing world. Or at the individual levels divided the societies into 'globalized individuals' and the rest. In fact it has in many ways and places strengthened the already existing traditional restrictions which it had put in its manifesto to eradicate. Much in the similar vein of the Weberian model that promulgated that with the coming of modern liberal democratic outlook, the traditional affiliations, restrictions and bondages would vanish, they on the contrary in many places in the third world found new ways to reinvent themselves. The pre-existing elite have utilized its traditional economic and socio-cultural capital to venture into new spheres of profit which the new globalized world opened for them. The rest has got arrested in history.

It can be safely said that the more globalized the world is becoming, the more the reverse way Kashmir seems to be going. In the medieval world and in general pre modern world Kashmir was actively connected to the broader world. In fact it was located at the confluence of various cultural routes and trends. The more it became associated with the politics of the colonized subcontinent, the more isolationist trend got strengthened in Kashmir. The notion of permanent residents of the state or 'state subjects' came for the first time during the period of the Dogra rule (1846-1947 C.E) in

Kashmir. The post-colonial 'independence' has not been any watershed in the history of Kashmir in the sense it has been for the better part of South Asia. Through various legal and absurdly 'constitutional' techniques it has been turned into a secluded space, with a very strict control on mobility of its inhabitants.

Of late there has been a demand for Cross border trade even some argue for an economic autonomy for both parts of Kashmir. The people of Kashmir have protested and demanded that trade shall be allowed between Indian side of Kashmir with the Pakistan controlled one as that has been a traditional route for trade in Kashmir for centuries. Though some preferential items are allowed to be traded between these two parts but one can really argue that border in Kashmir is preventing what globalization promises to usher as an archaic system of trade known as barter is allowed. There goods are exchanged and people to people movement is also selective. It can be understood as tokenism by the two rival nations who have stifled Kashmiri economy by closing its traditional routes of economy. Thus, one can conclude that globalization has worked in a reverse sense in Kashmir. Traditionally it has been more connected to other civilizations in terms of trade but in the post-independent South Asia its economy has been choked owing to the territorial claims of India and Pakistan and thus in a way the two nation states have prevented the process of globalization to make the borders permeable.

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## **Dimensions of Violence against Women in Kashmir: A Wholistic Perspective**

**Bashir A. Dabla**

Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Kashmir  
Email: drbashirdabla@yahoo.com

### **1. Introduction**

[i] The practices related to social offence to women in society have been observed from earlier times. In reality, these practices represented a global social phenomenon in which women were made to suffer extremely. While gender discrimination maintained practices which denied them equal role and status and made them exploited, various practice of violence were imposed on them forcefully to dominate and suppress them. All types of societies had these practices in vogue on the pretext of functional requirements. Moreover, these deep-rooted and widespread practices had engulfed the whole society as all social, economic, cultural, psychological, political, educational and religious fields got influenced. Several cross-cultural sociological studies<sup>1</sup> revealed that the global phenomenon of violence against women [VAW] was prevalent in all primitive and modern societies in different degrees. The studies also revealed that there was not always the organized opposition to these practices, rather these were considered functional and unavoidable. This situation was characterized as part of the functional dynamics of changing societies.

[ii] However, in the previous centuries, especially 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, women at the global level, particularly in the continents of Europe and America, faced a kind of change vis-à-vis VAW which stood bi-dimensional. On the one hand, this macro-level change reduced significantly the incidence of discrimination against women due to economic, legal, social, cultural, demographic, and gender changes. On the other hand, this change also led to creation of environment in which practices of VAW got reduced due to their de-legitimization. Both these aspects of gender social life emerged in the complex social ethos of modern society.<sup>2</sup>

### **2. VAW in Indian Society**

[i] Like other societies in the world, the Indian society was characterized with the phenomenon of VAW with ideological, institutional and organizational support. It may be said with

authenticity that women in India in the past were usually treated unequal and inferior social partners. This clearly reflected in women's lower status and role and continuous violence against them. These features of social-cultural environment made women socially paralytic, exploited and pathetic. These practices got even social legitimacy in which religion and culture were used to get support for gender offences. Sociological studies revealed that this gender situation prevailed in all classes and groups irrespective of their differences and was quite visible within and outside family. It must be noted here that there was no organized opposition or collective action against these practices.<sup>3</sup>

[ii] But, the situation discontinued after independence in 1947. Subsequently, the Indian society experienced significant degree of change mainly due to the processes of change and development initiated by the government. Thus post-independence developments contributed towards partial improvement in the traditional role and status of women, which directly resulted in decrease in VAW. The attainment of modern education, consequent adoption of economic role and economic independence and extension of social role [through dual role, one at home and other at place of work] made their emancipation more realistic and helped them in reducing violence against them within families. In totality, though a significant degree of change in violent attitudes and behaviour patterns was realized, the traditional practices against women didn't die down but continued with religious, cultural and ideological support.

[iii] The preceding gender situation was characterized with two parallel features. On the one hand, women achieved better position and faced lesser chances of violence against them within and outside their families. The legal consequences of this situation gave much needed physical security to them. On the other hand, the broader society didn't reciprocate in the same way. Men in significant numbers did not welcome and did not digest this type of change. They reacted violently to this process within and outside family. In family situation, they carried out violent acts such as domestic violence, dowry deaths, threat to divorce, physical beating, mental harassment, and physical torture. In out-family situation, these acts included sexual harassment, molestation, kidnapping, eve-teasing, rape, mass rape and other related acts. Some scholars observed that this negative change against women was mainly because of least

emphasis on values, norms and religiosity in the processes of social transformation.<sup>4</sup>

[iv] Both these aspects of change have the statistical support. In the first case, the conditions in literacy and education improved considerably. In 2011, women's literacy rate was 65.50%.<sup>5</sup> In the case of enrolment in schools at primary, middle and higher levels, there were 69.20 %, 65.60 %, and 56.80 % respectively recorded. Again the dropout rates for the same levels were 30.2 % 40.50 % and 53.38 % respectively for the period 2009-2010.<sup>6</sup> In the field of health, while the IMR for women was reduced to 49/1000 in 2010<sup>7</sup>, their life expectancy at birth was increased to 64.20 % in 2002-06.<sup>8</sup> It was reported that, in economy, 153.18 million women had any kind of accounts in commercial banks and they had deposited 5.19 lakh crore in 2010. The average wage of regular employees was Rs. 155.80 [rural] and Rs. 308.00 [urban] for women.<sup>9</sup>

[v] On the negative side, the broader society had not undergone radical and desirable change. So, there was rise of opposite trend to emancipation of women as a reaction, which was characterized as VAW. In reality, the Indian society, had not accepted the changing position of women wholeheartedly and its male members were not tolerant towards change among women. While they wanted to enjoy the benefits of patriarchy, they didn't want to share the economic opportunities, educational facilities, social progress and cultural freedom. This kind of male attitude-behaviour reveals in the following statistics:

[a] 24,270 categories of crime against women were committed in India during 2011 and details follow<sup>10</sup>:

- sexual harassment	03.70	5 %
- cruelty by husbands, relatives	43.40	%
- Dowry deaths	03.80	%
- Kidnapping/abduction	15.60	%
- Rapes	10.60	%
- Molestation	18.80	%

[b] The following groups of women became victims in these crimes<sup>11</sup>:

- Below 10 years	875	10 -14 years	1707
- 14 -18 years	4646	18 – 30 years	13264
- 30 – 50 years	3637	50 years and above	141

[c] The rape cases formed about 10 % of the total VAW cases which were 228650 in total in the year 2011. It was observed that in most of the cases of rape, the culprits were known to the victims.<sup>12</sup> It

also revealed that occurrence of rape had gone up by 873.3% from 1971 in the country.<sup>13</sup> The following details reveal the fast increase in the number of rapes in India in last few years<sup>14</sup>:

Year	rapists charge-sheeted	cases convicted [ No. & % ]
2009	23996	5314 [22.15]
2010	25215	5632 [22.34]
2011	26436	5724 [21.65]

[d] The sexual harassment has emerged the most common crime against women in India. A study in the year 2010 gave the following details in this regard<sup>15</sup>:

- 1/3 of women in India face harassment in their life time;
- 60 % women faced sexual harassment on the streets, 22 % in public transport.

[v] This grave situation gave rise to anti-gender ideology and consequent attitudes and behaviour, which had three main sociological features. These are

- a. It represented traditional ideas and ideals of gender inequality that necessarily gave birth to the actions against VAW;
- b. Though gender-related positive developments had their impact but they could not negate totally the anti-women attitude and behaviour; and
- c. Thus the trends of VAW increased, expanded and intensified despite partial empowerment of women in India.

### **3. VAW in Jammu and Kashmir State**

[i] Traditionally, the society in Kashmir was completely non-violent and peaceful in its ethos. The same kind of treatment was meted to women in general. Though they were not considered equal partners in family and society, they were consciously differentiated, discriminated and exploited primarily within the family context. This traditional situation was in existence and continued till the dawn of 20<sup>th</sup> century. In the early decades of this century, there were some formal as well as informal social initiatives for improvement of life conditions and general emancipation within the theoretical parameters of modernity and development among women. These initiatives included some major objectives of gender equality and gender justice. These conscious efforts on the part of Kashmiri political leadership started from 1931 movement of emancipation of Kashmiris and from 1947 in particular.

[ii] But, it was observed that there was a negative reaction to the emerging gender equality in Kashmir. It had happened in the

background of the existence of ideology and practice of patriarchy. Some groups and classes resented the gender emancipation processes apparently on cultural, religious and economic grounds. They didn't felt comfortable with the increasing social power, economic independence, cultural exposure, and educational advancement of women in Kashmir. They didn't want to disassociate or deviate from their traditional gender-bias. These feelings gave rise to two developments which are, first, the feelings of gender bias got formalized and it maintained the patriarchal system. Second, there was strong reaction on the part of women who had extended their role to different fields outside family. In fact, they started undergoing stress, harassment, molestation, eve-teasing and other related offences at their places of work.<sup>16</sup>

[iii] These processes of gender change, both positive and negative, were going on at the inset of militancy in Kashmir in 1989. In totality, it may be observed that it proved an added and intensificatory factor to the ongoing process of VAW in the entire territory of the state. It may be explained in terms of the impact of the arrival of non-local security forces and their immoral behaviour here. In other word, it may be characterized as the impact of militarization [as Kashmir stands as the most militarized spot in the whole world] Thus various acts of VAW , especially molestation, rape and mass rape, were carried out consciously and later on justified under the garb of security reasons. These criminal offences were initiated on the part of alien forces in league with some local police officers. It may be argued validly that this organized and pre-planned VAW in Kashmir was initiated by the forces which were put on duty here for shorter periods. This criminal type of VAW was legitimized by the perpetrators and they even got the shield by imposing the draconian laws such as APHSA and DATA. In this way, militarization introduced these criminal acts of VAW. Majority of women in rural and urban areas of Kashmir had no real concept of mass rape till it happened in the days of militancy. Though the forces issued denials of their involvement in these crimes, there are evidences and documents which confirm the reality of their [involvement]. There are reasonable daily reports published in the local print media which clearly reveal the unprecedented trend of VAW. This phenomenon was also characterized as a collective attack on the part of alien security force on the gender, local and cultural identity of women in Kashmir.<sup>17</sup>

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[iv] In the post-militancy situation, these types of VAW got increased and intensified and spread to all areas, classes and communities. Empirically, VAW in Kashmir operates in the framework of inside family and outside family. In the inside family framework, most of the VAW relates to various kinds of domestic violence. It includes all varieties of violence and post-marital violence especially dowry demand, mental torture, psychological harassment, mal-treatment, physical abuse, social discrimination, taboos imposition, teasing and so on. It seems important to note here that this VAW in the family background usually started after marriage and it stood for inter-sex rather than intra-sex violence. It follows that men usually imposed violence on women in the former case, while women did violence against women in the latter case. On the other hand, VAW in outside family framework generally refers to the formal and informal offensive acts against women committed by known and unknown individuals at places of work and outside. These offences include harassment on the part of seniors and colleagues in the offices where women work along with their male counterparts, torture, threats, eve teasing, discrimination and molestation. These problems can primarily be related to the emerging extended dual role of women, one at home and second at place of work. The exposure of women's role outside traditional family has exposed most of them to the societal abuses and excesses which are carried out by a variety of individuals irrespective of their age, class and status factors.<sup>18</sup>

[v] At the same time, the out-family VAW also reflected in the criminal violence against women which has risen in the militancy and following period. In this kind of violence, the alien security forces carried out series of offences against women and left the state without any punishment. They were found involved in sexual crimes like sexual assault, threats, harassment, molestation, rape and mass rape. In most of these cases, they were shielded by emergency laws. The cases of mass rape in *Kunan* and *Poshpora* stand as glaring examples in this regard. On the other hand, this type of violence entered into social arena and locals also started involving in these acts. It follows that a trend of criminal sexual offences against women were carried out and culprits were locals. Thus it became a social phenomenon according to which crimes against women were committed for indigenous reasons/factors, by indigenous actors and in the indigenous context. We observe the rape of women in Kashmir not in exceptional situations. Even the

girls of early age of 7 – 8 years became the victim of rape by none other than their kins, neighbours and family friends. Moreover, criminal violence against women also increased considerably which revealed in the cases of murder of women by killing in the brutal ways like cutting the throat or burning the bride or cutting the body in to pieces, especially in the context of post-marital disputes.<sup>19</sup>

[vi] Now it has been established that VAW in Kashmir has emerged significantly and there are no limits to control this expanding trend. It involves all age groups-children, young and elderly – and all areas, groups and classes. Sociologically, it may be said that the acts of crime against women have been institutionalized, though there prevails no mass societal support. It happened only in the context in which there is total violation of social values, norms and principles of life that led to criminalization of treatment of women.<sup>20</sup>

[vii] All types of VAW prevail in J&K state. In fact, these offensive and criminal acts have emerged as a strong social trend and increasing fast. Though the situation stands grave, there is no official or unofficial statistics available on this crucial topic. While government stands apathetic towards this, the academics too have not shown active approach. However, some years back, the government revealed the following statistic in the state assembly about VAW in J&K state. This statistics has been included in following two tables:

**Table No. 1**  
**Number of Offences/crimes against women in J&K, 2010-2012**

S. No.	Year	No. of offences/crimes
01	2010	2,763
02	2011	3,330
03	2012	3,514

**Table No. 2**  
**Details about VAW in J&K: 2010 – 2012**

S. No.	Year	Nature of offence/crime against women	No. of events
01	2010	Registered rape cases	243
		FIRs for molestation cases	1,037
		Registered kidnapping cases	850
		Registered eve-teasing cases	262
02	2011	registered molestation cases	1,194 [968 K.; 226 J.]
		Registered eve-teasing cases	351 [240 K.; 111 J.]
		Husband's cruelty cases	286
03	2012	registered rape cases	300
		Registered eve-teasing cases	347
		Husband's cruelty cases	495



On the other hand, a local weekly newspaper<sup>21</sup> published statistics showing increasing number of VAW in J&K state in previous years. These statistics are shown below in table 3:

**Table No. 3**  
**Increasing number of VAW in J&K: 2008 – 2013**

S. No	Year	Nature of Cases of VAW							
		Rape	Gang rape	Kidnapping	Molestation	Eve teasing	Dowry Deaths	Cruelty of Husbands	Immoral Trafficking
01	2008	221	00	653	869	293	19	164	04
02	2009	232	02	819	972	371	11	193	05
03	2010	243	00	850	1037	262	10	208	03
04	2011	273	02	1041	1194	350	11	286	02
05	2012	299	02	1059	1322	347	08	301	03
06	2013	418	00	794	2881	461	13	874	14

Source: *Kashmir Life, Srinagar, 31 August 2014.*

[iii] In addition to these statistical figures, the reports about VAW published in the local print media during last 8 months of this year reveals the clear trend of increasing number of cases of physical abuse, sexual offences, molestation, criminal violence and rape of women in the valley of Kashmir by their own and local people.<sup>22</sup> Some serious cases among these include the following:

- Minister of Health [himself] calls a lady doctor of his department to the cabin of his chamber and molested her there.<sup>23</sup>
- A police officer, after drinking, entered a house in his locality and molested a young girl there.<sup>24</sup>
- A gun man, after entering in a local PHC, abused, threatened, molested and physically hurt the lady doctor there.<sup>25</sup>
- A nurse in a health clinic was often harassed and sexually abused by her superiors in the department.<sup>26</sup>
- A 52 year old man – a teacher – raped a girl student in the school premises after office hours.<sup>27</sup>
- Several dowry deaths of daughters-in-law took place in which some were found pregnant.<sup>28</sup>
- The newly married daughter-in-law was butchered when her throat was cut to kill her on a post-marital dispute.<sup>29</sup>
- A young girl was raped in a lonely field by a boy of her own locality, who was helped by his friend.<sup>30</sup>

- A minor girl of 8 years was raped by two known boys of the locality.<sup>31</sup>
- A teacher molested a girl student in the school premises.<sup>32</sup>
- A local boy kidnapped a local girl and raped her forceably.<sup>33</sup>

#### **4. VAW and Religion**

[i] Religion has been often used in Kashmir with reference to VAW, especially in terms of its role in curbing this phenomenon. But, the empirical fact reveals that both perpetrators and victims of VAW belong to the same religious community and sect. So, religion has not provided a barrier between these two opposite groups in practice. But, in the broader context, religion seems greater and effective force [at the ideational level, at least] which can counter the acts of VAW. In this context, VAW as the social phenomenon is explained in terms of deviation and violation of religious values norms and principles. So, religion may be used consciously to negate the existing practices of VAW. The sermons of ideologues and speeches by religious scholars in mosques and shrines can be useful only when it is not only presented at the ideational level only but actually made realistic, emancipatory and desirable social-cultural force. Sociologically speaking, it must generate an institutional process in which

- In-time marriage of boys and girls will be preferable and late marriage will be avoided;
- Religious values, norms and principles related to the human dignity and security of women must be seriously implemented and its violation made difficult, even impossible;
- In the religious framework, the unlimited male-female interaction outside family, especially at the places of work and in educational institutions, must be rationalised in order to perform the acts of VAW difficult and impossible;
- The moral and sex code of the society must be enforced individually and collectively. Social-community associations and crime control agencies must forcefully perform acts to make VAW a non-recurring phenomenon;
- At the general societal level, even individuals and families must take care of women's rights and obligations and must define clearly the limits of their safety and security;
- Much of the violence will be curbed if marriage between minimum eligible partners is made cheap and easy and not costly and difficult. If the sexual needs of the youth [of both sexes] are fulfilled at the early desired age, most of the social

crimes against women, which are usually committed under sexual frustration can controlled effectively and with productive sexual behaviour and implication.

### **5. VAW and Legislature**

The matters related to the role of legislature, police agency and judiciary have been highlighted in regard to the ongoing practices of VAW. Since legislature has a positive and crucial role vis-à-vis curbing legally these acts, it has played that role at the central and state levels. One may observe that many laws have been formulated after independence related to the subject-matter. These have fulfilled the needs of time. However, if there are some concerns which have not been covered under the existing laws, new laws need to be introduced. So, the legislature, while maintaining the existing laws, must respond positively to new concerns. It must also take care of the relevance, limitations and utility of the existing laws regarding violence directed against women.

### **6. VAW and Police**

Since the police stands as the primary agency of control of crime in the whole society, it performs the essential duty of stopping and controlling VAW. It performs its duty in an organized and systematic way. It also takes the help of modern technology. In fact, police performs these activities with a lot of resistance of social, cultural, political and other forces. Though it has not succeeded fully in its great job, its deterrent effect has been confirmed vis-à-vis the VAW. In totality, the police performance over a period of several decades in J&K has not fulfilled even its declared objectives related to VAW. This can be explained partly by limitations on the part of police force and partly by the functional societal problems. In this way while the police force has not been able to play an ideal and effective role, the proportion of cases of VAW is increasing and expanding beyond reasonable limits. That has made the concerned situation worst and perpetrators of crime usually go unpunished, even are not arrested and charge-sheeted.

### **7. VAW and Courts**

In this connection, role of courts also need to be assessed in the context of increasing number of cases of VAW. It may be mentioned here that not all cases of VAW get registered in police stations and not many among these go to courts for getting justice. It has been observed in J&K that huge majority of women victims

do not report to police stations, do not go to courts for justice and do not wait for judicial process to settle the cases. Those who opt for legal action against culprits of VAW have to wait for many years, even decades. First, they have to complete all formalities in police stations and in courts which takes a lot of time and money. In this way, the essence of justice to the victims was lost and not many victims got justice in time. So, many victims felt tired and stopped to pursue their cases. In this context, there seems basic need for establishing an efficient, effective and realistic judicial system in the state.

### **8. VAW and IT Revolution**

In the recent years, an argument has been presented that, like other places/countries in the world, the IT revolution has increased and intensified the degree of VAW in Kashmir. Since youngsters get exposed to immoral and sexual situations at their very young age, they often felt motivated towards minor and major offences against women. It was observed in Kashmir that youth has been exposed to the IT impact to such an extent that they started offensive sexual acts even against local, related and locality women.

Societal institutions like family, school and religion have failed to control this trend among them. So, there emerged a gender problem related to the impact of IT instruments, particularly mobile, face book and so on. Generally, parents have become alert in this regard. Here two points need to be explained, which are: first, the reality stands that the IT impact cannot be erased or negated after it got deepened with social support. Second, the youth can be saved from this negative impact by adopting moral-cum-social strategy through basic institutions of family, school and religion. That may lead to the development of social environment which may prove very effective in saving the youth from ill-effects of the use of IT.

### **9. END OF VAW**

[i] At the end, we may observe that VAW represents a degenerative and dangerous social problem which needs to be controlled fast. The efforts in this direction can be carried out at two levels, individual and collective levels. At the individual level, every member of society

- a. has to follow ideal moral character and strict sex code;
- b. has to establish equal, just and realistic relationship between opposite sexes inside as well as outside family; and

- c. Apply, establish and legitimize the equal gender code of conduct with the help of societal institutions, organizations and associations.
- [ii] At the collective level, social efforts need to be carried out to
- a. build an institutional arrangement of family, school and religion for establishing gender equality and stop gender discrimination, which will curb the acts of VAW significantly;
  - b. social efforts may be started to create a suitable environment of gender safety and security by making legal marriage [Nikaah] cheap and easy and Zinna [illegal sexual relationship] costly and complex;
  - c. initiate organized and pre-planned efforts to create an environment of gender courtesy in government and non-government offices, organizations and other agencies in order to make these places of work safe and secure for functioning and interaction with male colleagues there; and
  - d. organize and initiate the reform movement with political support to follow the objectives of gender equality in general and stopping VAW in J&K in particular.

## 10. The End

At the end, we may reiterate that VAW in J&K stand for a dehumanized phenomenon in which women suffer always. But, at the same time, it must not be used as an excuse for violence against men. In reality, both, men and women, represent honourable and mutually related social entities. The balanced and just type of relationship between them can only ensure an ideal social order for them.

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## **Structural Violence: A Useful Framework for Understanding Direct/Personal Violence at a Micro Level**

**Aatina Nasir Malik**

Post-Graduate in Sociology from South Asian University, SAARC, New-Delhi

Email: aatinamalik@gmail.com

*This paper analyses violence at the micro or personal level and tries to locate it in the wider social structure. It elucidates how violence at a micro or personal level cannot be merely restricted or understood in terms of just one perpetrator and one victim. Also, violence at a micro level cannot be understood in terms of a single cause and effect relationship which seems to be apparent in that event of violence. However, its roots actually have to be traced in the structure that makes up our everyday in society. For example, one may understand one event of rape as a brutal act of violence against one woman but one needs to pay attention to the unequal gender relations that are rooted in the very structure of the patriarchal society which in turn give rise to violent events like rapes etc. The paper is written in the context of Kashmir conflict post-1989 when enforced disappearances became a norm in Kashmir. It basically highlights the case of half widows (women whose husbands have disappeared in the course of armed conflict) and traces how violence that these women experience can be attributed to the factors that are rooted in the very structure of the society. The research is qualitative based on the analyses of the reports and newspaper articles written on the lives and experiences of half widows. The paper thereon tries to integrate the macro and micro worlds that these women harbour and thus, explains how structural violence can offer a useful framework for understanding what one may term as direct/personal violence.*

**Keywords:** Structural Violence; Micro/Personal Violence; Kashmir; Half Widows.

In the words of Joan Galtung, ‘if a person died from tuberculosis in the eighteenth century it would be hard to conceive of this as violence since it might have been quite unavoidable, but if he dies from it today, despite all the medical resources in the world, then violence is present. Correspondingly, the case of people dying from earthquakes today would not warrant an analysis in terms of violence, but the day after tomorrow, when earthquakes may become avoidable, such deaths may be seen as the result of violence. Violence is that which increases the distance between the potential (latent qualities which could be developed on account of efficient utilization of existing resources) and the actual (existing

qualities), and that which impedes the decrease of this distance. Thus, when the potential is higher than the actual is by definition avoidable and when it is avoidable, then violence is present'. (Galtung, 1969:168-169).

When one goes on to understand violence in terms of the involvement of the actor who commits the act of violence we can even talk of violence when nobody is directly committing the act of violence but again it is indeed a highly meaningful act and this is what usually is termed as structural or indirect violence. In both the cases i.e. direct and indirect violence individuals may be killed or mutilated, hit or hurt in both senses of these word, but whereas in the first case these consequences can be traced back to concrete persons as actors, in the second case this is no longer meaningful. There may not be any person who directly harms another person but the violence is built into the structure and shows up as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances. Resources are unevenly distributed, as when income distributions are heavily skewed, literacy/education unevenly distributed, medical services existent in some districts and for some groups only, and even the power to decide over the distribution of resources too is unevenly distributed. The situation is aggravated further if the persons with low income are also low in education, low on health, and low on power as is frequently the case because these rank dimensions tend to be heavily correlated due to the way they are tied together in the social structure. Marxist criticism of capitalist society emphasizes how the power to decide over the surplus from the production process is reserved for the owners of the means of production, who then can buy themselves into top positions on all other rank dimensions because money is highly convertible in a capitalist society. Liberal criticism of socialist society similarly emphasizes how power to decide is monopolized by a small group who convert power in one field into power in another field simply because the opposition cannot reach the stage of effective articulation (Galtung, 1969:170-171).

Violence with a clear subject-object relation is manifest because it is visible as action and it is personal because there are persons committing the violence. It is easily captured and to some extent expressed verbally since it has the same structure as elementary sentences with both subject and object being persons. Violence without this relation is structural, built into structure. And in case of structural violence one also finds the difficulty in expressing it.



However, the scholarship in sociology helps us make sense of such violence where it helps us integrate the macro and the micro worlds and thus brings to the forefront violence which otherwise seems invisible and hard to grasp. In order not to overwork the word violence the condition of structural violence is sometimes referred to as social injustice. (Galtung, 1969:171)

A number of sociologists and anthropologists have from time to time worked on violence and suffering and elucidated how the notion of structural/everyday violence offers a useful framework for understanding violence and suffering. The key issues which notion of structural/everyday violence helps us understand is that the violence which might seem to be very personal and stemming from the intimate relations between the perpetrator and the victim are actually engrossed in the very structure of the society. Beyond the eventful nature of the violence, structural violence does not seem to be an aberration from the normal. If, for example, a rape takes place so as to divest the woman or her family of honour, would it be wrong to hold the gender inequality which forms the basis of the patriarchy responsible for the same? This gender inequality is rooted in the very structure of the patriarchal society where woman is seen to be the repository of honour and shame not only for herself but for the entire family and therefore the perpetrator targets woman's body because the very structure of the society and its so-called norms and values give him the grounding to commit such violence. Therefore, I argue that when a woman gets raped instead of seeing it as an act of violence against one woman one needs to locate its basis in the larger structure of society where the unequal gender relations give way to such violence at personal/micro levels. Farmer (2003) in his study 'On Suffering and Structural Violence: Social and Economic Rights in the Global Era' argues that the individual experience is embedded in larger social matrix and ultimately it is the social processes and events ranging from poverty to racism that transform into personal distress and disease. His research is based on a Haiti refugee peasant settlement that has been displaced more than 40 years ago by the construction of Haiti's largest dam. Here, the fight for basic necessities of life like food and water is the everyday struggle for the poor. The poor peasants in these settlements are trying to cope up with abject poverty and where the dictatorial government is turning a blind eye to their rights and needs. What the author wants to bring to light is the suffering of poor due to everyday violation of their social and economic rights, and this

human right violation is greatly on account of the disparity between the affluent and poor and thereon the desire for the maintenance of the status quo by the powerful few. Here poverty in form of structural violence translates into vulnerability which further translates into disease and ultimately death for the peasants.

Similarly Hughes (2004) in her study in Northeast Brazil brings out the clear cut linkage between high infant mortality rate and poverty. In this case the major cause of death amongst children is hunger and diseases like diarrhea. Mothers neglect the weak children and allow them to die off because they believe anyways these children are going to die of poverty and hunger. Here, violence might appear to be very personal and mothers as the perpetrators of violence against children, but then, can we actually blame the mothers? If one tries to understand the larger context, violence in terms of inequality is embedded in the very structure of the society which is further epitomized by state violence whereby the state seems to be indifferent towards the poor and invests much in the super specialty hospitals instead of community health services which would benefit the poor. Poverty in terms of lack of access to food, healthcare, water is the reason for their sufferings which effects a relationship as intimate as that of a mother and a child and leaves one gaping to put ones finger on the perpetrator of such violence. The effect of structural violence in terms of what it does to the intimate mother-child relationship is also highlighted by Bourgois (1998) in his study which looks at high level crime area in El-Barrio. In this case also one cannot make sense of violence in terms individualistic and psychological approaches but one has to take into account larger political, economic and cultural context. The understanding of violence is based upon unequal power relations around class, ethnic, or gender and accompanied by changing gender sexual categories. Structural problems of persistent poverty and changing gender power relations have made drug dealings, street fights, teenage pregnancy an everyday affair in this neighborhood. Teenage women in El-Barrio don't abort their babies because it involves a concrete material interest in bearing a child, for example, a chance of establishing an independent household given the extraordinary scarcity of affordable, subsidized public housing in New York city. Homeless pregnant teenagers were given priority in obtaining apartments to relieve crowding in emergency homeless shelters and welfare hotels. The dearth of alternative scenarios for female adulthood on the street in turn leads to normalization of motherhood

at an early age and in such situations people don't know how to escape because they know no other way out. In such situations street culture takes for granted the fathers right to abandon his children which in turn leads to further exploitation of women who have to take the additional responsibility of the children. But here mothers too abandon their children and seek ecstasy and independent lives like the fathers leading to breakdown of these maternal households set up by very old patriarchal forces. So the double standards of street culture which strive to maintain women in subordinate roles ultimately lead to women seeking new public spaces for themselves. These women take to drugs and often went to crackhouses. The male-dominated ranks of the underground economy exclude females from the more profitable areas such as dealing, burglarizing etc. and hence they penetrate these male spaces via crack smoking and rely on prostitution to support their habits. Women criticize the hypocrisy of street culture that condemns them while eagerly making money off them but they don't see the absence of state or society that could provide support services for them. Mothers on crack are representative of women seeking meanings in their lives and that has altered the intimate mother-child relationship where these pregnant addicts are ambivalent towards their future babies. But then who is to be blamed for violence of this kind? Mothers? But then in search of ecstasy for themselves even if they harming their babies, isn't it an already doomed progeny who are anyways is to become victims of violence in their adolescence when they will become a part of the vulnerable street culture. One can however trace the roots of violence in the patriarchal set up, roles expected of men and women and of course the marginalization of women. When Biehl (2001) conducts his study in an asylum named Vita in Porto Alegre, he finds that Vita which means life in Latin is a place ironically meant for the people who are socially dead. These socially dead people have been termed as abandonados who are representative of the people who are not acceptable to the society as they are unproductive to the same and cannot contribute to its economy in anyways. So, Vita in short becomes a dump site for people who have been discarded by the state and their families. At face value Vita consists of people suffering from various mental disorders but then they are at the same time people abandoned by their families because the state policies and neo-liberal reforms are not supportive of the treatment of such people. So the poor families when unable to

look after these patients, such people find recourse in places like Vita. Here one can see the social death preceding the biological death and unfortunately it's several forces like the state, family, medical networks who come together to make such decisions. Here the agency of the individual is reduced to nothing and their voices are hardly ever heard.

In the same context, I put forward the case of half- widows (women whose husbands have disappeared in the course of armed conflict) in Kashmir, and highlight how their sufferings and violence that is inflicted on them is as a result of combination of various factors that form the very structure of the society. Violence in such cases ought not to be restricted to a single event of 'disappearance of their husbands' but needs to be located and its roots traced in the societal undercurrents. One needs to look beyond this single event of 'disappearance' to make sense of the sufferings of such women. According to a report titled Half Widow, Half Wife (2011), there are at least 1,500 half- widows in Kashmir whose husbands have 'disappeared' but not yet been declared deceased.

Taking experts from report titled Half Widow, Half Wife ? (2011) I highlight various types of violence that these half-widows are subjected to and then link all the violence experienced by these women at micro or personal level be it physiological or psychological to the conditions of being a woman which I argue is the basis of all violence that they encounter in their lives.

'the half widow is mostly not equipped, educationally or socially, to begin earning for her family, as a result she, as well as any children she has, become dependent on others, most often the husband's family' (Half Widow, Half Wife?, 2011:10).

'The prolonged and indeterminate nature of the husbands' absence makes half widows vulnerable to several threats against their physical and mental well-being' (Half Widow, Half Wife?, 2011: 11). 'Most half- widows report anxiety (often described in terms of "speeding up" or palpitations), sleep disorders, and lack of interest in everyday activities. Many half widows exhibit Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD); anxiety attacks may be triggered by memories of the disappearance or the disappeared' (Half Widow, Half Wife?, 2011:13).

Further, the report states, 'In Islamic law, Shariah, there is no consensus around the marriage of women who are half- widows, because there is no special provision for the phenomenon of enforced disappearances. All four major schools of Islamic

thought—Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi, and Hambali—provide different guidance about re-marriage’ (Half Widow, Half Wife? 2011:11).

The excerpts from report clearly brings out the economic, social, psychological and legal violence that the half-widows are subjected to and this paper makes an attempt to integrate the violence suffered at various micro levels with the violence that is embedded in the very structure and organization of society in form of patriarchy leading to the consequences of gender difference and gender inequality. In order to understand the violence against half-widows in particular, one needs to draw its roots from violence against women in general. Half widows as this paper argues suffer less on account of losing their husbands than they suffer from being women! Here, I bring in what Ortner (1974) calls the nature-culture divide. According to Ortner, every culture implicitly recognizes and asserts a distinction between the operation of nature and operation of culture. Culture at some level asserts itself not only to be distinct but superior to nature and that sense of distinctiveness and superiority rests precisely on its ability to “culturize” nature. Ortner has used this nature- culture distinction to understand and explain the universal devaluation of women. Women are being symbolically identified with nature as opposed to men who are associated with culture. Woman is thus being identified with something that culture devalues, controls, something that every culture defines as being of a lower order and thus identified with nature. Certain factors which tend to align woman with nature are: Woman’s physiology and social role is seen closer to nature. Her physiological functions have tended to universally limit her social movement and to confine her universally to certain social contexts which in turn are seen closer to nature, for example her close association with domestic context and the implication of “domestic/public” opposition is relevant to understand the position of women. The nature/culture distinction is however, a product of culture itself, rather than the fact of nature and this distinction which makes woman appear closer to nature and inferior are embodied in institutional forms that reproduce her situation. On the similar lines Simone de Beauvoir (1989) proposes that one is not born a ‘woman’ but various external processes shape ones experience of being a woman. It is the very forces in society that plot to deprive her of subjectivity thus reducing her into object. In her book, *The Second Sex* (1989) she argues that a girl is socialized and conditioned into accepting passivity, inwardness and dependence and therefore lack of accomplishment and passivity is

not the 'cause of her subordination' but the 'consequences of her subordination'. This subordination which is enmeshed in the structure of society is thus equivalent to structural violence!

Thus, the reason why half widows suffer economically is because of this public/private divide that is so apparent in the society. Confinement of women to the domestic or private realm and therefore, the lack of education and jobs for such women make things difficult for them. Had these women been educated, they would at least be in a position to take up jobs in order to satiate their needs along with the needs of their children. So, their sufferings cannot be attributed to disappearance of their husbands alone but has to be located in the wider societal norms and values which restrict women to the interiors leading to her economic dependency and her helpless condition as a half widow. Also, the legal system that turns out to be violent for half widows is not because there is an ambiguity with respect to their husbands being dead or alive but the fact that these laws are grounded in this nature/culture vis-à-vis women/men distinction that lead to subordination of women. Though, Shariah allows men to simultaneously have four wives, but 'the Islamic laws till last year had no such provision for re-marriage of half widows (Half Widow, Half Wife?, 2011: 12) and its only lately that these half widows are allowed to remarry after a wait for four years for their disappeared husbands (Wani, 2013). Other than this, the psychological and mental ailments that might be taken as a suffering or violence at personal or micro level as it involves a women and the memory of her disappeared husband but it can at the same time be argued that these psychological ailments/ diseases which half widows fall prey to are on account of double marginalization that society and its norms confers upon them. On one hand they are economically marginalised because of the already mentioned public/private divide (structural violence) and on the other hand these half-widows are socially marginalized because as women they are considered vulnerable and might fall prey to the evil eyes of the strangers in the absence of her male counterpart. This social marginalization is on account woman being considered as a repository of honour and shame for herself and for her family and thus needs to be controlled and protected. The absence of her husband deprives us of security in an already insecure societal setup. Therefore, interiors, concealment, security, control, protection and the like are already a part of woman's lifecycle, and the violence that a half widow faces has its roots in them only. Absence

of husband might be a way of seeking a quick reason and explanation for her sufferings but one needs to delve deeper to uncover the basis of such violence. Thus, 'being a woman' is a violence that society endorses against women and when one goes on to analyze the condition of half widows in Kashmir one can question, would it be equally difficult and violent for men if they would have been 'half-widowers'?!

Hence, the violence which these women suffer is actually a result of multiple social and economic factors which is embedded in the very structure of the society. Thus the nexus between 'economic disparity' and 'being a woman' together plays a part in making the situation violent for these half-widows. Disappearance of their husbands is just one event but what they have to suffer beyond that is due to the very violence embedded in the structure of the society be it in terms of unequal distribution of resources because of the public/private divide and the consequent poverty that these women have to face or be it the gender inequality which makes things worse for them.

Thus structural violence might seem to be as normal as the air around us but it is at the same time the cause for the complexities or aberration from the normal which is manifest in form of direct /personal or violence that makes itself vivid at micro levels. In the case of half widows mentioned above one can make sense of violence by linking the events taking place at the micro level to macro aspects of life which though seem to be "out there" but are actually the source of sufferings and miseries that they encounter in the course of their lives. In such cases along with poverty the category of gender become very important to grasp the meaning of structural violence.

Thus, coming back to Galtung's definition of violence i.e 'violence is that which increases the distance between the potential (latent qualities which could be developed on account of efficient utilization of existing resources) and the actual (existing qualities), and that which impedes the decrease of this distance' (Galtung, 1969:168), I argue that half widows do have the potential to make lives better for themselves but the norms and values that make up the patriarchal setup and inturn lead to gender inequality lead to increase in the distance between actual and potential and thus can be termed as the structural violence due to which women in general and half widows in particular experience direct or personal violence

in terms of psychological, physiological, economic and legal hostility.

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## **Role of Education and Employment in the Empowerment of Muslim Women of Kerala with Special Reference to Palakkad District.**

**Jasmin Treesa T. J.**

Research Scholar, C. B. M. College, Coimbatore

Email: jasmintreesa@gmail.com

*Woman education helps the woman population of all fields nowadays. Through education among women, family status-economic as well as financial- is developing. Emphasizing education among Muslim women helps them to come out of their economic misery because economic dependency is an important factor contributing to the low status of women. Women from different socio-economic strata have a great deal of disparity in their life situations. There are also significant differences in women's specific status across religions, communities, castes, regions, etc. Therefore Muslim women who constitute a large minority cannot be denied from this segregation. Education is a continuous, complex, dynamic and lifelong process. The role of education is to make growth and development in the individual's life. It includes all the influences which act upon an individual during his passage from cradle to grave. Education should prepare the individual to discover his talents, sharpen his abilities and realize his potentials and prepare him as a responsible citizen in the community. The analysis of "Role of education and employment for the empowerment of Muslim women in Kerala with special reference to Palakkad district" primarily needs an inquiry on the present educational, economic, social and occupational status of Muslim women. An attempt was made economic and educational background of the sample respondents, namely, the educated Muslim women. The total sample of Muslim women is randomly selected from the Puthucode Grama Panchayat which is a strong representative of Muslims in Palakkad district.*

**Keywords:** Education; Dependency; Empowerment; Community

### **Introduction**

Education is a continuous, complex, dynamic and lifelong process. The role of education is to make growth and development in the individual's life. It includes all the influences which act upon an individual during his passage from cradle to grave. According to the National Dictionary of Education, 'Education is the total process of developing human ability and behaviour'. It implies that education should prepare the individual to discover his talents, sharpen his abilities and realize his potentials and prepare him as a responsible citizen in the community. For Vivekananda, education means the

manifestation of divine perfection already exists in man. According to Gandhi, education is an all round drawing out of the best in child, man, body, mind and spirit. Thus education is a guiding force in the life of every individual influencing his physical, mental, emotional, social and ethical developments.

Education is an important determinant of the level of living. In poor countries, it has definite effect on human productivity and constitutes an important form of investment. In the present day world, education is one of the important basic needs. Improvement in economic status through education has been an important area of discussion ever since education began to be viewed as a form of investment in human beings.

The contribution of education to economic development is established beyond doubt. The effect of education on economic productivity is both direct (through increments in earnings) and indirect (through its effects on population growth and hence better per capita GDP). There are also effects on poverty and income distribution, since the spread of education facilitates higher participation of the skilled labour force in development, besides providing the basis for sustained democracy.

The role of education in development is more important and should finally determine how much an economy should invest in education. This is the basic tenet of the Human Capital Theory. Professor Krause claimed that "education brings revolution in ideas for economic progress." Therefore it has been maintained that educational gap is mainly responsible for the backwardness of low income countries. General advancement in technology is hindered in underdeveloped countries by the lack of education.

Educational development and national development is a two way process. Education makes positive contribution to a society. Literate people and educated labour force play a significant role in social, economic, demographic, political, and cultural development. The twin economic growth allows further development of education systems by providing higher level of resources for educational expansion. The relationship between the two is referred to as the chicken and egg relationship. There is abundant literature that estimates the impact of education on development and vice versa.

Woman education helps the woman population of all fields now- a - days. Through education among women, family status-economic as well as financial- is developing. Emphasizing education among Muslim women helps them to come out of their economic misery

because economic dependency is an important factor contributing to the low status of women. The literacy rate among Muslims is far below the national average and the gap between literacy and educational status is greater in urban areas and for women. Nevertheless, regional differences do also emerge.

Discrimination is pervasive in employment, housing, as well as schooling matters in the Muslim community. Gender injustice is usually identified purely with personal law to the exclusion of gender related concerns in education and employment that Muslim women do face on a continuing basis. The feeling of insecurity among Muslims is high, especially in communally sensitive states and among women. The discriminatory attitude of the police and others compounds this feeling; ghettoisation is a result of insecurity and discrimination in housing, schools and jobs. Insecurity adversely affects mobility, especially of women, leading to situations where in Muslims are not able to fully exploit economic opportunities.

The perception of discrimination is widespread, leading to a sense of alienation and thus appears as an important cause of inequality. Backwardness in education is a key concern of the community. Limited access to good quality schools is a major problem that affects female students more adversely. Discrimination and 'communalisation' of reading materials and school atmosphere adds to this problem. Life of women continues to be limited by the personal laws that govern the private space of Indian family and actual and expected roles and norms for women in the under-life structures.

Literacy rate among Muslims are lower than most other Socio-Religious Communities (SRCs) (except for SCs and STs) and are not increasing fast enough to coverage with literacy rates of other groups. In fact, in recent years, the growth in literacy rates among SCs and STs has been higher than for Muslims. The percentage of Muslim children who never attended school is high; only slightly lower than that of SCs/STs. Dropout rates are the highest among Muslims and this seems to go up significantly after middle school. School enrolment rates are among the lowest but interestingly have improved in recent years. This is consistent with the perception that the community is increasingly looking at education as a means of improving socio-economic status.

Primary education and higher secondary attainment levels are also lowest among the Muslim women and inter SRC differences rise at

the school leaving stage. This contributes to large deficits in higher education; Graduate Attainment Rate (GAR) also the lowest among them and not converging with the average. The major problem lies at the school level; once that hurdle of eligibility is crossed, differences in GARs across SRCs narrow down substantially. As with other areas of education, participation of Muslim women in technical and engineering education is also the lowest than women of other religions.

### **Statement of the problem**

Muslims constitute India's largest minority as well as the largest Muslim population in the world. Educationally Muslims constitute one of the most backward communities in the country causing concern. Muslim girls and women are lagging behind their male counterparts and women of all other communities. However education of Muslim girls and women cannot be seen in isolation from the overall situation of female lag in education in India, the rural, urban, regional and inter group disparities and the poverty of the households. This needs examination of the educational status of Muslim women.

Women in Muslim communities face considerable challenges as the members of largest minority. The study tries to analyze the present educational and employment status of Muslim women. It attempts to find out the factors hindering their participation in educational, social and economic fields. Unlike women of other religions, Muslim women are backward in all fields. Educated Muslim women and their uneducated counter parts show reluctance to participate in the activities of society. The reluctance is mainly because either they are compelled to or prefer to be confined within the four walls of the house. So this analysis tries to explore their current condition in the society with special reference to education.

### **Significance of the Study**

Education and economic development go hand in hand, even though the casual nexus between the two is not yet indisputably established. In India, the post colonial period has witnessed rapid progress in the educational status of different regions, communities and economic groups. However the rates of progress achieved do not seem to have been uniform among various groups. The earlier disparities still persist. One of the sections which have thus remained backward is the Muslim community, which is the largest

minority group in India which account for about 13.4 per cent of India's population.

Even in Kerala, which has entrenched itself among the rest of the states in India with respect to literacy levels, Muslims seem to have educationally backward. Moreover, the relative educational backwardness of the community is seemed to be intimately related to its backwardness in social and economic status as well.

While comparing with women in other communities Muslim women are educationally backward in Kerala. Compared to other districts, Palakkad is the least developed one in the field of education. The study of "Role of Education and Employment for the Empowerment of Muslim Women" in Puthucode, Palakkad is relevant. It is one of the Panchayaths in Palakkad in which Muslim community, both rich and poor, is densely populated. Vast majority of Muslim Women in this panchayat are educated and they enjoy better social status. But at the same time there are a good number of Muslim women who face all the atrocities of life due to low education, income and social status. Thus the area selected for the study is also relevant.

### **Objectives of the Study**

The main objectives of the study are the following.

- To analyse the educational status of Muslim women.
- To evaluate the level of education of Muslim women in relation to their income and employment in Puthucode Panchayat, Palakkad.

### **Data Sources and Methodology**

The study has collated and analyzed by all relevant indicators available from both primary and secondary sources, related to the education of Muslim women. The total sample consists of 80 respondents which are taken to analyze the economic and educational aspects of women in the Muslim community. Secondary data has been collected from various sources like economic reviews, reports, and websites of education of Muslim girls and women.

Primary data has been collected through personal interviews. Interview schedules were used to collect information from the selected sample respondents. It was collected to analyse the educational and economic status of Muslim women in Puthucode panchayat which consists of six theruvu, namely, Marladu theruvu, Palli theruvu, Kunnathu theruvu, Cheenikka theruvu, Valiya theruvu

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and Cheriya theruvu. Out of these Theruvu, Marladu theruvu and Cheenikka Theruvu has been selected for detailed study.

With regard to the age wise classification of educated Muslim women, it is clear that most of the respondents belong to an age group of 20-40. Age at marriage of the respondents clearly indicates reduced incidence of girl child marriages in the Muslim community. Majority of the respondents got married during their 18-24 age period. There is less number of Muslim women who got married below 18 years. The average size of the family is 4 persons. Out of the 80 respondents' families, nuclear families constitute 43 percentage followed by 14 percent of joint families and only 5 percentage of extended families.

In the sphere of education, majority of the respondents have at least higher secondary education. 40 percent of the total respondents have higher levels of education that is they are graduates; post graduates and some are professionally qualified. It is interesting to note that most of the respondents have reported that their parents are the major encouragement for completing the education. More than 60 percent of Muslim women completed their education because of the encouragement given by their parents. Though Muslim girls are getting married at their 18-19 years of age, their husbands are helping them to complete education, showing the changing attitude of Muslim men and their family towards the education of Muslim girls and women.

More than 70 percent of Muslim women favoured higher education for both boys and girls and none of the respondents favoured discouraging girls from higher education. 9 respondents favoured higher education for boys only and 14 respondents favoured higher education for only girls indicating that they are not biased towards girl child's education

The major constraints in attaining education for the Muslim women are family problems and financial problems. 45 percent of the respondents revealed that they are not able to study further because of family problems and 33 percent of respondents could not complete higher education due to financial problems. Only 4 percent of the respondents opined that they could not continue education after high school because of their parents fear about girls' safety, poverty and other related constraints.

The respondents had different views regarding the education to girls. Growing enthusiasm for modern education, particularly among women from economically more prosperous families see

modern education for girls to be consonance with their understanding of Islam. They view education not only as important for girls to be better housewives but also enable them to develop their career, economically empower themselves and to develop their personality. 35 percent of the respondents viewed it for achieving economic independence and 18 percent considered education as a factor to develop the personality of girl children.

In the sphere of occupation, the more educated Muslim women exhibits their own special features. The respondents who engaged in agricultural labour and coolie works and other similar occupations have a lower educational status. Further population of educated and employed respondents have more number of people employed in white collar jobs and other employments receiving higher monthly salary. 75 percent of the respondents viewed that employment of women as a necessity. But 10 percent of working women were of the opinion that women should not work. This reveals that there exists a small group of Muslim women who had not yet come out of the veil.

Reasons for entering into employment given by the respondents were economic necessity followed by economic independence, personality improvement and leisure - time activity. But majority of the respondents engage in employment because of economic necessity in their respective families.

With regard to freedom in spending the salary of respondents, 9 percent of them reported that they have absolute freedom to spend their salaries, but some of them have agreed that they do spend their salaries after consulting with other members in the family. 60 percent of the respondents hand over it to the head of the family, and 27 percent spend their salaries by consulting with their husbands.

While analyzing the educational level of respondents' husbands, majority of them have high school and higher secondary education. 36 respondents' husbands are graduates, some are post graduates and professionals. While examining their occupational patterns, majority of them are engaged in businesses, 15 percent are government employees and others are employed in private firms, self employment, gulf employees, etc.

As far as monthly incomes of the Muslim women are concerned, it is clear that education created a difference among the more educated employed respondents and less educated employed respondents. In monthly income of families also, the educated employed families

are much better than that of others. Majority of the sample fell in the monthly income category of Rs. 7000 - 9000. The respondents who fall in a monthly income group of Rs. 11000 – 15000 and 15000 and above are less in number but they earn more as they are professionally educated.

Analyzing the housing pattern of the respondents, we get a clear picture that majority (51%) of the educated Muslim women have houses made up of tile followed by 36% of the respondents who have concrete houses. The possession of assets and electronic equipments at home disclose the modernized lives of educated and employed Muslim families. Majority of the respondents have vehicles (60%) and land (28%). They possess much of the sophisticated electronic equipments such as LCD TV, refrigerator, washing machine, computer or laptop, stereo system and so on.

In the sphere of expenditure, most of the respondents' family come under an expenditure category of Rs. 6000 – 8000. Only highly educated and higher income families have a monthly expenditure of Rs.12000 -14000 and 14000 and above. In the sphere of saving, a quite large number of respondents and their families can save up to Rs.6000 – 8000 per month.

Hundred percent of the educated Muslim women prefer banks for their savings.34 percent of the respondents and their family prefers post offices for their savings. Only 24 percent respondents have chits, Kuries and other saving patterns.

### **Inferences**

In the light of these findings, we may come under the conclusion that the Muslim women those who have more education got better jobs and earn a higher income, thereby leading a better life than those who have lesser educational qualifications. The attitude of educated and employed Muslim women towards giving higher education to girl children are favourable. A greater percentage of the respondents viewed that employment is a necessity for Muslim women to come out of the veil. They favoured giving education for both boys and girls in equal manner. In their view, giving higher education to girls helps to develop their career, personality and achieve economic independence.

Thus, we may come in to an inference that as Muslim women are more educated, they can lead a much better life in the social, economic and cultural spheres of human life. Recently, Muslim women seem to be overcoming all the barriers of their life.



It is important to note that the study is about the educated Muslim women who are employed also. But we cannot ignore a section of Muslim women who are living in the margins of the society. While examining the current conditions of Muslim women residing in Cheenikka theruvu, Valiya theruvu and Cheriya Theruvu (the regions where extremely poor Muslim families in the study area are located) we get a clear picture of those who were weaker sections and BPL families, land less labourers, spending nominal incidental charges and other expenses of life which come beyond their capacity.

Every foot step for the renaissance of weaker sections or minorities should be taken from the grass root level. Therefore, upliftment of the downtrodden, poor and uneducated Muslim women will gradually reflect its rays on the rest of the community.

Status of women in any society cannot be delineated in absolute terms but they can only be done in relative terms. Further no society or community is static but changes over time and space. Even under modernization, one cannot expect 100 percent change in any community. Usually a kind of syncretism is observed in such societies and Muslim society is no exception to this rule. Looking from this point of view in the attitude of Muslim women, changes are occurring and it can be said that Muslim community is passing through the stage of transition. Muslim educated women as seen from the study are also passing through the same stage as in the case of small family norm, controlling reproduction, enjoying economic independence, willingness to work outside, and so on. This clearly indicates that they are now enjoying better position and status when compared to their illiterate and less educated counter parts.

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## The Proletarianization of Women: Addressing the Consequences of Globalization

**Aneesha Shafi**

Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Kashmir, J&K  
Email: aneesashafi@yahoo.co.in

*Looking at the Gender dimensions of globalization is essential for promoting a 'fair globalization', one that, according to the World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization, creates opportunities for all, does not exacerbate existing problems of inequality within and between nations, and enables men and women to meet their aspirations for democratic participation and material prosperity. The most obvious reason for addressing gender issues is that women workers make up the overwhelming majority of the workforces of labour-intensive, export industries in developing countries, dominate the international migration of care services workers, and tend to be concentrated in the most vulnerable jobs of global production systems. Any assessment of the benefits and costs of globalization would thus be insufficient if it does not differentiate the outcomes for female and male workers. A second, perhaps less obvious, reason is that failure to take into account gender-based differences in economic behaviour and labour market outcomes could lead to the formulation of ineffective and inefficient strategies. Women and men are differently, often unequally, positioned in the economy, perform different socially determined responsibilities, and face different constraints; thus, they are unlikely to respond in the same way to policies and market signals. The present paper aims to address the process of proletarianization vis-à-vis women resulting from the globalization.*

**Key Words:** Globalization; Gender; Feminization; Violence

### **Introduction**

Globalization encompasses the dynamic processes of international trade and finance that interconnect and increasingly integrate national economies. These global processes have an impact on local labour markets – on employment structures and relationships, wages and working conditions, opportunities for women and men and their labour force participation. Globalization has given countries access to a bigger workforce across the world.

The adverse effects of this economic restructuring have been felt within all regions, and especially by the respective labour force. With increased trade, the prices of imported goods often compete with the prices of domestic products, forcing domestic capitalists to attempt to cut labour costs. In the developed countries, as plants relocate to sites elsewhere in search of cheaper costs of labour and

production, jobs disappear and wages erode in the declining industrial sectors (Moghadam 2007). As the developed countries shift from manufacturing to high-tech services, blue collar unemployment grows, along with the expansion of part-time and temporary jobs at the expense of the kind of stable unemployment that men came to expect during 'the golden age of capitalism' (Marglin and Juliet 1990). Developing countries have seen a shift from internally oriented to externally oriented growth strategies and the shrink-age of large public sectors and nationalized industries. The result has been an expansion of informal sectors and self-employment. In both developing and developed regions, the stable, organized, and mostly male labour force has become increasingly flexible and feminized.

Through institutions such as the Multi National Corporations and the state, the global economy generates capital largely through the exploitation of labour, but it is not indifferent to the gender and ethnicity of that labour. Gender and racial ideologies have been deployed to favour white male workers and exclude others, but they have also been used to integrate and exploit the labour power of women and members of disadvantaged racial and ethnic groups in the interest of profit making (Maghadam 2007). In the current global environment of open economies, new trade regimes, and competitive export industries, global accumulation relies heavily on the work of women, both waged and unwaged, in formal sectors and in the home, in manufacturing and in public and private services.

### **Proletarianization**

With the expansion of world-markets a process of female proletarianization has taken place. In developing countries especially in Asia, more and a more women have been drawn into the labour- intensive and low-wage textile and garment industries, as well as into electronics and pharmaceutical, which produce both for the home market and for export. No strong export performance by any developing country in manufactured goods, which are characterized by marked labour intensity, has ever been secured without reliance on women workers (Susan. 1987). From exports of clothing, footwear and processed foods, and, if diversification takes place, to the production of micro-circuits and electronic products for use by consumers and business, women have typically constituted the majority of the manufacturing workforce. In recent decade, exports of fruit, flowers and vegetables, again largely based on

women's labour, from some developing countries have emerged as new areas for international trade and employment (Barrientos, Dolan and Tallontire 2003). The increased demand for women workers in export industries has been credited, mainly or at least partially, for the phenomenal expansion of women's paid employment in developing countries.

The surge in women's waged employment in developing countries in 1970s, following an earlier period of capitalist development and economic growth that was characterized by the displacement of labour and craft work, commercialization of agriculture, and rural-urban migration. Some have called the earlier marginalization of women 'house wifeization (Mies 1986)'; others have described it as the 'U-pattern (Maghadam. 2007)' of female labour force participation in earlier modernization.

Globalization has made many international corporations richer by the billions. However, what most people are not aware of is that women in these developing countries are suffering enormously due to this expansion of corporate empires. According to estimates from World Development Indicators, Women work two-thirds of the world's working hours, produce half of the world's food, but earn only ten percent of the world's income, and own less than one percent of the world's property. Globalization along with the support of organizations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, have created slave wages. These wages are not necessarily the result of "unjust" societies, but of the fact that global trade devalues the worth of people's lives and work. While globalization has brought jobs to rural, developing areas such as India where there was previously no employment, these jobs seem to be wolves in sheep's clothing. The work available to women is almost always poorly paid, mentally and physically unhealthy, demeaning, or insecure.

Under the current international division of labour, labour-intensive portions of production where wage costs are important are located in low-wage locations. These segments are at the low end of global supply chains, where workers and producers receive proportionately the least return for their labour, and wield the least negotiating power over the terms of the exchange (Gibbon and Ponte 2005). New job possibilities in outsourced, off-shored services have also expanded as a result of improvements in global telecommunications networks and information technology (Sturgeon. 2006). Financial services are leading the way. From call centers and basic data entry,

off-shored services have expanded to include back-office functions such as payroll and accounting, financial and legal research. India has been the primary recipient of this new business and investment, but service work has also shifted to other places in Asia, East Europe, Ireland, Canada and the Caribbean, which have previously been used only for limited and simple tasks, primarily data entry (Yeo 2008).

The new information-based job opportunities are of a different profile from those generated by manufactured exports: more skill requirements that may be specialized (as in software development and investment analytics), white-collar work for women and men with at least modest educational levels, and higher pay levels. Although this young sector could offer women access to non-traditional occupations, it is replicating the gender division of labour in export manufacturing. Women are clustered in traditional roles in banking, telecommunications and insurance, and in the low-skilled end of the hierarchy: simple, single-tasked jobs such as data-entry, invoicing, payroll administration and routine accounting; and call centre work. These jobs offer few prospects for career development; as skills involved could become redundant with technological advances. Men, on the other hand, are more likely to be found in high- paying, creative work of software development and internet start-ups. Countries where women have made inroads into skilled jobs as software programmers and computer analysts include Brazil, India and Malaysia where national policies have promoted science and technology education for all (Primo 2003). However, many of these women are from privileged backgrounds and numbers are low. Jobs are also characterized by long hours, stringent productivity targets, lack of job security, and limited long-term career prospects. The less optimistic view highlights three issues. First, although jobs have been created, most jobs are not secure. Export market dynamics have generated a layer of flexible and mobile workforce (casual, temporary workers, contract workers and homeworkers) who serve as a buffer to accommodate just-in-time ordering, fluctuations in orders and prices, and stiff competition among suppliers, while a smaller core of regular, permanent workers ensure quality and stability. The flexible workforce experiences high job turnover, moving from one factory or production workshop to another, or shifting between formal sector and informal activity. Case studies in agriculture and manufacturing across a range of countries have found that even first-level suppliers with direct

linkages to internationally recognized brands and retailers often use casual, migrant and contract labour to meet seasonal fluctuations in demand or sudden changes in orders (Barrientos. 2007). A study of job creation and job losses at factory level in export manufacturing in Turkey showed that women experienced higher net job creation rates in unskilled jobs in export-industries, while men had the advantage in skilled and non-production jobs; and that women experienced higher job destruction rates.(Ozler 2007)

Second, while women's paid employment has vastly expanded, they are concentrated in lower segments of global supply chains, which are beyond reach of good MNE corporate practices and legal and social protection. Jobs are insecure, wages are low, and working conditions are poor. The gendered production structure has been likened to a pyramid: at the tip are workers in permanent employment with better benefits, social entitlements and better able to organize; towards the bottom are workers employed by 2nd and 3rd tier subcontractors and hired through third-party providers, homeworkers and migrant workers (Barrientos. 2007). According to the report of World Economic Forum, the survey, based on responses of 60 of the 100 best employers in India, showed that women employees held only 10% of the senior management positions in two-thirds of the surveyed companies. Third, work in global production systems has replicated and reinforced gender inequalities: women's segregation in stereotyped "feminine occupations" and lower-skilled jobs; and women's labour is perceived as more flexible and available at lower cost than those of men.

As the same time that women have been entering the formal sector of labour force in record numbers in the developed countries, much of the increase in female labour force participation in developing countries has occurred in the 'informal sectors' of the economy. Employment opportunities within the informal sector are also stratified according to gender. Like the formal sector, males hold supervisory positions, while females are simply subcontracted workers. Women perform informal assembly work in their homes (done by most women) or factories as methods of survival.

The plight of women in this sector is miserable as they work for extremely low wages, with a total lack of job security and social security benefits, working hours are long and working conditions are unsatisfactory. According to census 2011, women constitute 48.46 percent of the total population in India and about 25.67

percent of female population is designated as workers. The most important features of unorganized sector are that most of the women labourers are appointed as contract labourers. Studies conducted in several parts of the country indicate the awful conditions of the women workers in this sector. They continue to face discrimination and marginalization both subtle and blatant and do not share the fruits of development equally. Ignorance, traditional bound attitudes, illiteracy, lack of skills, seasonal nature of employment, heavy physical work of different types, lack of job security, lack of a comprehensive legislation to cover these workers in unorganized sector and competition in employment are resultant deprivation of real wage. Wages in the unorganized sector are arbitrarily fixed, often without regard to the minimum wage legislations, which adversely affect the income of the wage workers in general, and women workers in particular. In the informal sector, wage workers constituted 36% and the remaining 64% were self-employed. Average wage of men and women workers are Rs. 75 and Rs. 45 respectively (Mittal 2012). which is much less than the wage of Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) i.e. Rs.100. Another dimension of this wage result shows the existence of gender bias in unorganized sector in terms of wage level.

The life of unorganized sector worker is very tough. They are exploited in many ways. The exploitation is not only carried on the class lines but also on the lines of male domination over females. Sexual harassment is common but unarticulated due to fear of loss of employment. Despite the advances women have made in many societies, women's concerns are still given second priority almost everywhere. Their contribution is not given due credits. Women workers in unorganized sector lag behind the males in terms of level and quality of employment. There are still cases where women workers are deprived of the benefits and amenities like equal remuneration vis-à-vis their male counterparts, maternity benefits, proper child care services and indifferent attitude of the employers towards women workers.

In certain countries where restructuring has occurred in enterprises employing large numbers of women, the unemployment rates of women have also reflect job losses by previously employed women. A gender perspective also allows us to understand changes in the skill-designation and downgrading of jobs resulting from technical improvements many enterprises producing textiles, vehicles,



electronics especially those for export rely heavily on women workers. And yet as more sophisticated technology is used to produce these goods, women workers tend to be replaced by men or recruited at a slower pace. In all regions, highly unemployment represents the downside of globalization and economic restructuring, especially for women workers who must contend with not only the class biases but also the gender biases of free market economics. The feminization of unemployment, therefore, is as much a characteristic of the global economy as is the feminization of labour.

The proletarianization of women has cultural repercussions and sometimes entails gender conflicts. During the 1980s the increasing participation of women in the labour force in Middle Eastern Countries was accompanied by subtle and overt pressures on them to conform to religious dictates concerning dress. France, some German states and now Italy have, to varying degrees and in certain contexts, banned or intend to ban the *Hijab* and other Islamic headdresses.

Globalization also has its impact on gender violence. It has been undermining the cultural tradition through its employment, technological and cultural effects. The media, especially in the wake of globalization, has glamorized the women resulting in more exposure which ultimately leads to violence against women. Globalization has encouraged the growth of sex tourism. Young girls are entering into prostitution business which again is a form of violence against them. Medical advances, which can ascertain the gender of the foetus, have resulted in more abortions of baby girls in recent years resulting in violence against them even before birth. Sexual abuse in offices and particularly in call centers has multiplied manifold.

### **Conclusion**

A critical consideration for understanding gender dimensions is the interdependence between the market, 'paid' economy (the recognized focus of economic policy and corporate actors) and the non-market, 'unpaid' care economy (the private sphere). Unpaid caring services, which are provided directly to household members as well as the wider community, are vital to individual socialization and the reproduction and maintenance of human capabilities upon which economic life depends. It is women's time that is mainly stretched between work in the unpaid care economy and paid

economy. State-provided services (e.g. health care, childcare, education, water supply) and any service that can be bought privately in the market assist or alleviate unpaid care work. Measures that favour the market paid economy at the expense of the unpaid care economy have gender-differentiated effects, with women bearing the heavier burden.

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## **Governance in the Era of Globalization: From Uni(state)-centrism to Polycentrism**

**Aijaz Ashraf Wani**

Sr. Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Kashmir, J&K  
Email: aijazpol@gmail.com

*Governance is both a cause and effect. While it impacts every structure of the society, it is itself the product of its own specific context or to be more accurate contexts. Broadly speaking by governance we mean the manner in which power is exercised by governments in the management of a county's social and economic resources. However, governance is not confined to governments alone. That is why emphasis has been on adopting broader definitions of governance that enables us to go beyond the theme of public-sector management and consider how all the sectors of civil society can act as a catalyst. Governance expresses a widespread belief that the state increasingly depends on other organizations to secure its intensions, deliver its policies, and establishes a pattern of rule. By analogy, governance can also be used to describe any pattern of rule that arises either when the state is dependent upon others or when the state plays little or no role. However, there is an alternative perspective that does not agree with the view that there has been a general loss of the governing capacity of the state, and instead argue that governance is about governments seeking to govern better rather than govern less. The governing process is not static and, over a period of time, has undergone tremendous changes especially under the impact of forces unleashed by globalization. Alongside, and often in close relation with, shifts in the social structure of production, globalization has also encouraged a number of changes in the organization of governance in the contemporary world. The move away from territorialism in geography under the impact of globalization has unfolded together with a move away from statism in governance. The present paper attempts to trace the changes governance process has undergone under the impact of globalization process by making a brief analysis of some of the important theories of governance. While agreeing with the fact that States have not lost their sovereignty, the paper argues that the state autonomy has surely undergone a radical change as a result of what we have moved from uni-centricism (State as a sole actor) to poly-centricism (multiple actors— formal & non-formal institutions).*

### **Introduction**

*Governance* as a concept has developed considerably since it emerged in discussions of development issues around the late 1980s. Simply put "governance" means: the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented (or not

implemented). Governance can be used in several contexts such as corporate governance, international governance, national governance and local governance. Since governance is the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented, an analysis of governance focuses on the formal and informal actors involved in decision-making and implementing the decisions made and the formal and informal structures that have been set in place to arrive at and implement the decision. Since 1990s the term governance has expanded from the language of international organizations, regional integration unions and policy/decision-makers to journalists, NGOs and scientists. Although much governance happens through government, in the sense of regulatory activities through local and national public authorities, however, governance entails more than government. *Governance* refers to something broader than government, and it is about steering and the rules of the game. It focuses more on collective action and the networking of various stakeholders.<sup>1</sup> According Gary Stoker “*governance* refers to the development of governing styles in which boundaries between and within public and private sectors have become blurred. The essence of *governance* is its focus on mechanisms that do not rest on recourse to the authority and sanctions of government<sup>2</sup>. Moreover, governance goes beyond state and sub-state institutions to include supra-state regimes as well.

Globalization is often defined expansively as networks of interdependence that span intercontinental distances. As such, the term incorporates a host of profound changes in world politics: growing political linkages at the global level, erosion of local space and time as structures of economic life, and homogenization of social life through global standards, products, and culture. Conceived in this way, globalization is an umbrella term, covering a wide variety of linkages between countries that extend beyond economic interdependence. Thomas Friedman defines globalization as “the inexorable integration of markets, nation-states and technologies to a degree never witnessed before—in a way enabling individuals, corporations and nation-states to reach around the world farther, faster, deeper and cheaper than ever before . . .”<sup>3</sup> The globalization process entails three fundamental elements namely, capitalism, technology and power politics. While Immanuel Wallerstein considers capitalism as the root cause for globalization<sup>4</sup>, James Rosenau takes technology as being primarily responsible for

global interdependence and reciprocity<sup>5</sup>. On the other hand scholars like Robert Gilpin finds power politics responsible for the process of globalization<sup>6</sup>. There is no unanimity on the characterization of globalization process among scholars. There is a vibrant debate on the characterization of globalization at least among three groups of scholars, namely, the Hyperglobalizers, the Sceptics, and the Transformationalists. While the Hyperglobalizers like K. Ohmae<sup>7</sup> believe that global marketization is the main driver behind the process of globalization, the Sceptics like P. Hirst and Thompson<sup>8</sup> downplay the level and distinctiveness of the change, and the Transformationalists like Anthony Giddens<sup>9</sup> considers it as a distinctively new phase wherein societies and states across the globe are experiencing profound social, political and economic changes. These changes are leading to a massive transformation of social relations, economies, governance and politics.

The governing process is not static and has over a period of time undergone tremendous the changes especially under the impact of forces unleashed by globalization. Just as the modes of production have and may change over a period of time, similarly the prevailing structures of governance also undergo constant restructuring. This has been distinctively visible since the globalization process gained unprecedented momentum. Infact globalization process has transpired in conjunction with the shift from statist towards polycentric mode of regulation<sup>10</sup>. Hence, it is perhaps not accidental that the words 'globalization' and 'governance' have entered common usage roughly simultaneously around 1989-90.

### **Impact of Globalization on Governance Process**

For a very long period of human history the affairs of the state-local, regional, national, international—were strictly regulated by a centralized state authority. This situation which commonly came to be referred as the Statist mode of governance peaked between the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century. During this period, the territorial bureaucratic centralized states reigned supreme over the vast majority of humanity, including through state-based colonial empires. Governance through local councils, religious orders and market actors was everywhere superseded by or subordinated to regulation through the state. States supplied rules to govern pretty well every aspect of social relations: money, language, armed violence, sexual behavior, employment, formal education, health standards, heritage, nature conservancy etc<sup>11</sup>.

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World politics in this statist era was very much an international (or, to be more precise, inter-state) system. Provincial and municipal authorities had no significant trans-state relations. Supra-state regionalism did not exist apart from a few international river commissions. A few small and minimally resourced international organizations showed but the faintest trappings of Global Governance. The situation fell very much into what international relations theorists have typically called 'Westphalian' mould, after the 1648 Peace of Westphalia that formalized the modern concept of a system of sovereign states<sup>12</sup>. Westphalian sovereignty held that each state would exercise supreme, comprehensive, unqualified and exclusive rule over its territorial jurisdiction. With supreme rule, the Westphalian sovereign state would answer to no other authority; it always had the final say in respect of its territorial realm and it governed all aspects of social life. With exclusive and unilateral rule, the Westphalian sovereign state did not share governance over its realm with any other party<sup>13</sup>.

Since the mid-twentieth century, a strong argument has been put forth that in globalized world that we are living in today the notion of sovereignty has undergone radical change. In today's world economic spaces are increasing and political spaces are constantly shrinking. During pre-globalization phase, political boundaries restricted economic cooperation by way of labour restrictions, capital restrictions, tariffs, quotas etc. In fact political boundaries represented economic boundaries as well. Globalization has dismantled this completely. In present world economics dominates politics and economic integration is becoming wider and stronger (EU, ASEAN, MERCOSUR, SCO etc.). In public policy economic diplomacy has replaced political diplomacy of Kissinger era.

In fact it is being argued that accelerated globalization and the rise of supra-territorial connectivity has made the Westphalian constructions of state sovereignty obsolete. On the other hand there are people who argue that theories of globalization of a particular genre that contend that globalization led to 'the retreat of the state' or 'the end of the state' also mistake state autonomy for state sovereignty. Paul Kennedy in his book *Preparing for Twenty First-Century* stressed that 'globalization threatens to undermine the assumed integrity of the nation-state as the central organising unit of domestic and external affairs'. According to him, the capacity of the state to formulate and implement policies autonomously has been breached by the discipline of global markets. It is state autonomy

that is being eroded, not sovereignty. As Marc Williams points out, ('Rethinking Sovereignty' In Eleanor Kofman & Gillian Youngs, eds. *Globalization: Theory and Practice*) '[sovereignty] is absolute and not relative. An entity cannot be more or less sovereign'. Similarly, Janice E.Thomson also contends in his paper *State Sovereignty in International Relations: Bridging the Gap Between Theory and Empirical Research*, that 'State control [and autonomy] has waxed and waned enormously over time, regions and issue-areas while the states' claim to ultimate political authority has persisted for more than three centuries'.

'The salient point here', writes Adrian Kuah 'is that sovereignty is a claim. Hence, whilst the claim by the state to overarching sovereign political power over a territory may at best be a convenient fiction or ideology, it is the process of the claim-making that makes statecraft possible at all. Globalization does not erode sovereignty. The spatiotemporal transformations that lie at its heart endanger the territorial logic underpinning state sovereignty. It calls into question the adequacy of our established political knowledge and sets the context for a different discourse on sovereignty. In other words, globalization engenders new and different practices of statecraft, which in turn leads to a re-writing of the state in terms other than that of exclusivity and territoriality<sup>\*</sup>. The challenge of globalization does not consist in the breaking down of established boundaries enshrined by the principle of state sovereignty; instead, globalization destabilises our political knowledge by undermining the spatial categories demarcated by sovereignty and statecraft. It is not the case that globalization brings into question the analytical primacy of the state 'both endogenously and exogenously', but rather alters the conditions under which 'endogenous' and 'exogenous' spheres have been articulated in the first place'<sup>v</sup>.

The history of states during the half-century prior to the onset of accelerated globalization was in good part a case of growing, public-sector guarantees of nutrition, health care, housing, education, minimum income and other human welfare needs. At the same time, many states introduced regimes of progressive taxation to effect a substantial redistribution of wealth among their resident populations. Such programmes of state-centered social reform unfolded (in different ways and to different extents) across the planet: North and South, East and West. A number of circumstances encouraged this trend, including the spread of universal suffrage in national politics, pressures from organized

labour, the global communist movement, and promises made by governing elites to suffering masses during the world wars and decolonization struggles.

In contrast, the last decades of the twentieth century has witnessed considerable reduction of state-supplied welfare guarantees and other measures for progressive redistribution. 'Transition economies' in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union experienced major declines in state provision of social services and a large increase of social inequalities. 'Opening up' the economy to private market activity across the world dominated the globalization era. Many material conditions in the current globalizing world have made statist governance unviable. Governments interact rather than direct or completely control the organizations and institutions in a state. Likewise, governments intervene in, rather than control, global trade. Such a situation has given rise to network governance as well as global governance. Powers of states are certainly drifting in the global age. For instance, Keynesian economic policies, the foundation of western economies throughout much of post Second World War period, do not work once there is a global marketplace.<sup>14</sup> A casual look at various meanings and theories of *governance* clearly bring out the impact of globalization and how it has brought about a change from statist mode of governance to multi-centered governance. For example the theory of "Governance as the Minimal State" refers to an organizational structure that arises when there is least government involvement. This use is a blanket term redefining the extent and form of public intervention and the use of markets and quasi-markets to deliver 'public services'. In the words of Stoker '*governance* is the acceptable face of spending cuts'<sup>15</sup>. The extent of any change is a matter of dispute. Indisputably, the size of government was reduced by privatization and cuts in the civil services. The ideological preference for less government was stated loudly and often. *Governance* encapsulates that preference, but says little else being an example of political rhetoric.<sup>16</sup> Applying this theory to international affairs would suggest that international affairs would be regulated without intervention from a formal actor, such as national governments or international organizations. Rather, *governance* would arise from the aggregation of individual decisions in the marketplace, and as a result, there will always be some sort of organic framework that governs the behavior of all actors within international relations. In the field of international economics, this theory would suggest that the field would be



governed by an invisible structure even if the IMF and the World Bank were not to exist. More often than not, this concept of the minimal state is brought up as rhetoric to demonstrate a preference for less government and fewer international organizations.

Similarly “Governance as Self-organizing Networks” refers to the first-wave of governance that is associated with the changing nature of the state following the public sector reforms of the 1980s. These reforms are said to have precipitated a shift from a hierarchic bureaucracy towards a greater use of markets, quasi-markets and networks, especially in the delivery of public services. Network governance evokes a world in which state power is dispersed among a vast array of spatially and functionally distinct networks composed of all kinds public, voluntary and private organizations with which centre now interacts<sup>17</sup>. Importantly these social institutions are self-governing and to a great extent autonomous. They are not controlled by any single super ordinated actor, not even the government. They largely control themselves. Autonomy not only implies freedom, it also implies self-responsibility. Deregulation, government withdrawal and steering at a distance...are all notions of less direct government regulation and control which leads to more autonomy and self-governance for social institutions<sup>18</sup>.

*Governance* consists of the traditions and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised. This includes the process by which governments are selected, monitored and replaced; the capacity of the government to effectively formulate and implement sound policies; and the respect of the citizens and the state for the institutions that govern economic and social interactions among them. *Governance* relates to decisions that define expectations, grant power and verify performance. It consists either of a separate process or of a specific part of management or leadership processes. Usually people set up a government to administer these processes. Therefore, some theorists tend to identify *governance* more closely with government. Jon Pierre and Guy Peters define *governance* in their words, “*Governance* is the capacity of government to make and implement policy, in other words, to steer society”<sup>19</sup>. This definition refers more to traditional steering capacity of states and it introduces an important distinction between ‘old’ and ‘new’ *governance*. Inherent in the old *governance* is a traditional notion of steering by national governments from top down. It has to do with

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the degree of control the government is able to exert over social and economic activities.

The new *governance* has more to do with how the center interacts with society and asks whether there is more self-steering in networks<sup>20</sup>. Current use does not treat *governance* as a synonym for government. Rather *governance* signifies a change in the meaning of government, referring to a *new* process of governing; or a *changed* condition of ordered rule; or the *new* method by which society is governed<sup>21</sup>. In terms of distinguishing the term *governance* from *government*, “*governance*” is what a “*government*” does. It might be a geo-political government (nation-state), a corporate government (business entity), a socio-political government (tribe, family), or any number of different kinds of government. But *governance* is the kinetic exercise of management of power and authority, while government is the instrument (usually, collective) that does it. *Governance* refers to something broader than government, and it is about steering and the rules of the game. It focuses more on collective action and the networking of various stakeholders.<sup>22</sup> In general terms *governance* can be used to refer to all patterns of rule, including the kind of hierarchic state that is often thought to have existed before the public-sector reforms of the 1980s and 1990s. This general use of *governance* enables theorists to explore abstract analyses of the construction of social order, social coordination or social practices irrespective of their specific content<sup>23</sup>. Specifically, the term *governance* can be used to describe changes in the nature and role of the state following the public-sector reforms of the 1980s and 1990s, under the influence of globalization. Typically, these reforms are said to have led to a shift from a hierarchal bureaucracy toward a greater use of markets, quasi-markets and networks, especially in the delivery of public services<sup>24</sup>. *Governance* is also seen as shift from bureaucratic state to the hollow state or third-party government<sup>25</sup>. It has also been defined as development of social capital, civil society and high levels of citizen participation<sup>26</sup>.

Conceptually *governance* is linked with the ideological triumph of neo-liberalism. The theoretical roots of *governance* are located in ‘neo-liberal’ economic theories, especially ‘new right ideology’<sup>27</sup>. Government is ‘redefined’ in market paradigms by redrawing boundaries of public administration. In the new dispensation, *governance* is an interface between state, market, and civil society. The *governance* discourse has its origins in, (1) the new thrust

towards neo-liberalist restraint on the 'state' along with the positing of 'market' as a competing social authority and bringing in 'civil society' as a competing social services, (2) the international funding authorities' concern for more accountable, transparent, open and participative rule, and (3) the newly emergent 'globalization' trend—a socio-economic integration of the world propelled by economic, technological and political considerations<sup>28</sup>. The new right seeks to redefine public administration by championing the cause of the free market and calls for a significant reduction in the size and role of government in society.

This new *governance* refers to the apparent spread of markets and networks following the public sector reforms since 1980s.<sup>29</sup> These informal institutions and networks constitute supplements and supplant the government authority. These reforms attempt to increase the role of markets and corporate management techniques in the public sector. New *governance* highlights the role of markets, networks and non-state actors and weakens the distinction between states and other domains of social order and the term *governance* has come to refer to social and political order other than the state. The concept of good *governance*, as introduced by the World Bank in 1992 as part of its criteria for lending to developing countries, has invoked *governance* to refer to changes in the public sector associated with the new public management, marketization and even privatization.

Recent public sector reform has occurred in two principle waves. The first wave consisted of the New Public Management (NPM) as advocated by neoliberals with the aim to increase the role of markets and of corporate management techniques in the public sector. The second wave of reforms consisted of attempts to develop and manage a joined-up series of networks informed by revived public-sector ethos.<sup>30</sup>

### **New Public Management**

The resultant effect in the twenty-first century, under the impact of globalization, is change and innovation in public service management. The concept of welfare state, due to the influence of market forces, is being overridden by corporatist state. Globalization is affecting the system of *governance* as it is embedded in the state-framework. Thus, a management discourse has emerged referred to as New Public Management (NPM) to indicate the application of managerial themes, practices and patterns to public administration. New Public Management is also envisaged

as the means to transform public service from a traditional bureaucratic structure to a market-driven entrepreneurial form that functions at arm's length from the state.<sup>31</sup> NPM refers to the first wave of public sector reforms inspired by the ideas associated with neo-liberalism and public choice theory

The two main strands of NPM are Marketization and Corporate Management. Privatization, an extreme form of marketization, aims to make public services more efficient and accountable. Typically, marketization transfers the delivery of services to autonomous or semi-autonomous agencies and the proponents of new public management offer various arguments in favour of such agencies<sup>32</sup>.

New Public Management sought the application of ideas and techniques from private sector management to the public sector as an attempt to promote effective management. These ideas and techniques involve management by results, performances measures, money value and closeness to the customer<sup>33</sup>. Public-private partnership is often advocated as a way of promoting social inclusion as well as increasing efficiency. Citizen groups participate as partners in aspects of policy making and policy-implementation<sup>34</sup>. The involvement of citizens, voluntary organizations and private companies in policy process is hoped to build public trust in government. The state reasonably might make policy decisions, but instead of delivering services itself, it should promote an entrepreneurial system based on competition and markets—'less government' and 'more *governance*'<sup>35</sup>. To neoliberals, the hidden hand of globalization explains and guarantees the spread of *governance* defined in terms of the minimal state, marketization and the new public management<sup>36</sup>.

New Public Management sought to tackle four key weaknesses in public service provisions<sup>37</sup>:

- a. The public services, which have been traditionally organized and managed, do not effectively control costs and hence there is a need for competition between service providers through quasi-market arrangements. Providers that are more expensive or unable to control costs will secure fewer contracts, and efficient service providers will increasingly emerge.
- b. Traditionally organized and managed public services do not effectively improve quality. Competition leads to innovation in better service provision practices.
- c. Public services also generally fail to meet the standards of service expected by citizens

d. Traditionally organized and managed public services have given too much power and influence to special interest groups representing nationally organized work forces on whom services provision depends. This demands a reduction in the power of public sector trade unions and professional associations. Legislative restrictions on industrial action, an appeal to ethical codes of practice and the threat of privatization have the potential to change working practices for the better.

### **Joined-up Governance—Networks, Partnerships and Inclusion**

*Governance* has also been used by political scientists to convey the belief that we are living through an era of various public-sector reforms, many of which owe a clear debt to neo-liberalism, without thereby privileging any one type of policy or outcome<sup>38</sup>. However, the most prominent alternative to neoliberalism comes from political scientists who define *governance* in terms of networks, which are conceived as the unintended consequences of the neoliberal policies to establish the minimal state, marketization and the new public management<sup>39</sup>.

Just as the neoliberal narrative has a symbiotic relationship with rational choice theory, so the narrative of governance as networks often evokes an institutionalist approach. Its proponents typically accept that pressures such as globalization, inflation, the underclass and state-overload brought about neoliberal reforms. However, they are quick to emphasize that the embedded institutional patterns and inertia were such that the reforms did not operate as the neoliberals had hoped. Neoliberal reforms fragmented service delivery thereby weakening central control without establishing proper markets. Institutionalists explain this difference between the dream of governance promulgated by neoliberals and the reality of governance as networks. They created networks as opposed to both markets and hierarchies<sup>40</sup>. The state now acts as one of a number of organizations that come together in diverse networks to deliver varied services. All the organizations in any given network depend on the others to achieve their goals.

The main thrust of the second wave of reforms is to improve coordination across agencies. This ambition to join-up networks reflects concern that the earlier reforms have led to fragmentation of public service delivery. Joined-up governance promotes horizontal and vertical coordination between the organizations involved in an aspect of public policy. Joined-up governance often draws on the

idea that networks can coordinate the actions of a range of actors and organizations.

The New Governance theories speak volumes about the changes brought about in the traditional form of governance under the impact of globalization process. The “Rational Choice Theory” has a complimentary relationship with the neoliberal narrative of *governance*.<sup>41</sup> Both of them clearly draw on neo-classical economics, which explores human affairs using an analytical approach located at the micro-level to derive formal modals and predictions from assumptions about rationality, utility and profit maximization. However, while the later deploys a similar approach to promote reforms such as the new public management, the former seek to extend it from economic matters to political activity. The economic approach to politics presupposes that actors chose a particular action or course of actions because they believe it to be the most efficient way of realizing a given end, where the ends an actor has are supposedly given by his utility function.<sup>42</sup> Thus, rational choice theory draw on micro-economic analysis with its attempt to unpack social life in terms of individual actions, and its attempt to explain individual actions in terms of rationality conceived as utility-maximizing actions. It attempts to explain all social phenomenon’s by reference to the micro level of rational individual activity.<sup>43</sup>

Just as the “Rational Choice Theory” has a symbolic relationship with the neoliberal narrative, so the “Institutional Approach” to *governance* often evokes the narrative of *governance* as networks. The proponents of institutionalism typically accept that pressures such as globalization, inflation, the underclass and state-oriented brought about neoliberal reforms, only then to emphasize that embedded institutional patterns and inertia were such that the reforms did not operate as the neoliberals had hoped.<sup>44</sup> Institutions create a space between policy intentions and unintended consequences as well as explain the difference between the dream of *governance* promulgated by neoliberals and the reality of *governance* as networks. Institutionalism emphasizes the diverse national, organizational, and at times even cultural contexts within which capitalism operates.<sup>45</sup> It shifts our attention to the ways in which inherited institutions generate diverse responses to the pressures exerted by globalization capital mobility and competition between states.

### **Conclusion**

Though globalization is often defined in terms of increasing economic integration at global level, but it has serious political

implications as well, and has influenced the governance process of states in a profound manner. In a “power shift” of historic proportions<sup>46</sup>, some analysts claim that we are entering an age of the “virtual state”.<sup>47</sup> Globalization, they argue, drains political authority from nation-states, long the dominant form of political organization in world politics. The state’s monopoly of familiar governance functions is ending, as governance migrates up to supranational organizations; down to newly empowered regions, provinces, and municipalities; and laterally to such private actors as multinational firms and transnational non-governmental organizations (NGOs), that acquire previously “public” responsibilities. In this view, globalization not only transfers governance in conflicting directions, it also forces a convergence of state institutions and policies. In exercising their residual authority, states are constrained to look and act alike.<sup>48</sup>

The end of Westphalian state sovereignty under the influence of globalization has not marked the end of state power. The state continues to be the primary force that regulates both inter-state as well as intra-state affairs. However, the state has reinvented itself in the post-neoliberal and globalized era. State sovereignty has not completely eroded but it is definitely being shared with others networks and institutions within the state. Externally also the emergence of global institutions like World Bank, IMF etc have not replaced the state but they have considerably influenced the governance mechanism of the state.

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## **Islamization Experiences from Everyday Life: The Kashmiri Case**

**Abdul Raqeeb Lone**

Research Scholar, Department of Sociology, School of Social Sciences,  
Indira Gandhi National Open University, New Delhi  
Email: lonesafapori@gmail.com

**Manzoor Ahmad Wani**

Research Scholar, Department of Sociology, Andra University  
Vishakhapatnam  
Email: umidmanzoor28@gmail.com

*In recent times Islamisation has been a subject of intense debate. The debate has assumed significance particularly in the context of prevailing geopolitical situation, social and political upheavals in Muslim societies. In the context of Kashmir we explore the lived realities of the social process called Islamization. By observing the lived reality from the experiences of everyday life we explore the never ending dialogue between the great traditions of Islam and local cultural traditions. Our focus is on the various means and channels of communication particularly the spread of religious education and the experience of pilgrimages vis-à-vis Islamization. The process of Islamization is essentially a dialogue between the great traditions of Islam and the local traditions. The passive adherence to the basic principles of Islam gradually attains a more activist orientation. The dynamics of various social processes particularly emergence of reference groups, access to and spread of religious education particularly scriptural; development of a specialized class of interpreters (Ulema); increased channels of communication among the Muslim societies; changing geopolitical and technological landscape have reoriented the process of Islamization. The political downfall of Islam in contemporary times adds a new dimension to the process. However this reorientation still remains embedded in the socio cultural traditions.*

**Keywords:** Islam; Islamizatio; Kashmir; Sayyidisation/de Sayyidisation; Syncretism;

### **Introduction**

Religion is one of the pervasive and universal institutions of the society. Humans everywhere do proclaim their allegiance to one or other religious belief systems which evolves with the evolution of human societies. The way people perceive or orient their actual life and world views viz a viz religious belief systems changes with the overall changes taking place in human societies. The eighteenth century enlightenment despite its universal appeal and emphasis on

reason rather than blind faith particularly in the context of religious dogmas did not result in the displacement of religion from the social life of the people. Religion still remains a dominant force in the society. What really changes from one period to another is however the lived reality or the influence of religion in the day to day affairs of human beings and society in general.

The history of Islam in South Asia is almost a millennium old. The Islamic missionaries and rulers over a period of time through their proselytizing zeal, control of political and economic forces were able to transform the belief systems of whole societies bringing them in Islamic fold. However the transformation of the belief system does not signify abandonment or total break from the socio cultural traditions but their reorientation and also their continuation in a new and different framework. During the initial phases of Islamization the prevailing or dominant socio-cultural traditions particularly those which were not in conflict with the basic tenets of Shariah were not objected to and allowed to flourish. (This is in tandem with the belief that Iman has different stages and levels) In fact scholars have emphasized that the syncretism between the great traditions of Islam and local traditions was the main reason for the rapid spread of Islam in this part of the world.

The spread of Islam in Kashmir is significant both historically and sociologically. In the context of the valley of Kashmir the primary phase/processes of Islamization is an example par excellence of this syncretism. The appeal of Islam and mass conversion owed a great deal to the role played by Sufis and Rishis. It was only after local Rishis interpreted the Islamic traditions by drawing elements from the cultural repertoire that Islam became a dominant social force and the religion of the masses in Kashmir. Although the so called Sufis were themselves well versed and deep rooted in Quran and Sunna, they never sought radical transformation or enforcement of the Shariah from above. Through their exemplary behavior they were able to create a deep psychological impact on the people, reorienting their religious beliefs and world view. In this era there was hardly any change in the actual religious practices and beliefs of the people in their everyday life (Mustaq A Kaw, 2010). Over a period of time there is a gradual shift to 'Shariah oriented culture by gradually assimilating its values' (Ishaq Khan, 2008). The dynamics of various social processes particularly emergence of reference groups, access to and spread of religious education particularly scriptural; development of a specialized class of interpreters (Ulema);

increased channels of communication among the Muslim societies; changing geopolitical and technological landscape have reoriented the process of Islamization.

In this paper we will try to examine the processes of Islamization in Kashmiri society from a sociological perspective by drawing experiences from everyday life. Our primary focus will be to study the syncretism between the great traditions of Islam and local traditions, the role of religious education particularly the emergence of Ulema; and experiences of pilgrimages particularly the Haj in the process of Islamization.

### **Observing the Lived Realities of Islamization: A Methodological Note**

The observation of everyday life provides a best opportunity for understanding the intricacies of social life. For a sociologist everyday life is like an observatory similar to that of an astronomical observatory where a sociologist can observe the lived reality of social life. In a complex and multi cultural society with multiple traditions everyday life provides the best opportunity for understanding realities of social life. It is in this context we think the best way to understand the processes of Islamization is to understand the lived reality and dynamics of Islam in everyday life.

The observation of a social process requires a great deal of 'sociological imagination'. We adopted a multipronged strategy in our observation of the process under investigation. From the review of the literature of social history of Islam and Islamization in Kashmir we could isolate certain sociologically significant social processes. We set to observe the dynamics of Islamization by observing various religious practices and rituals. The analysis of the sermons delivered by preachers, the narration of the experience of Haj provides a deep insight into the process of Islamization.

### **Understanding the Context of Islam and Islamization**

Literally Islam means submission to the will of God (Allah). The faith (Iman) on the unity of God (Wahadat, Tawheed); the prophets of Allah (Rasuls) of which prophet Mohammad (PBUH) is the last Prophet (Rasul); books revealed on earlier Prophets and on Quran being true word of Allah transmitted to humans as revelation (Tanzil) through Muhammad (PBUH); the angels (Malaika), the life after death, the day of resurrection and judgment (Qayama) form the basic elements of the Islamic belief system. The allegiance to this belief system is affirmed by way of testimony (Shahadah)

proclaiming the unity of God (Allah) and Mohammad (PBUH) as the Prophet *Kalima*; offering five daily prayers at specified times (*Salat*); fasting from dawn to dusk during the month of Ramadan (*Rozah*); paying a fixed portion of wealth for redistribution among the people at margins (*Zakah*); pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina once in life time if economic situation permits (*Haj*), are called the five pillars of Islamic edifice.

Going by strict scriptural traditions, Islam is not a new religion which originated in Arabia (as is generally believed by scholars). According to Islamic belief system Islam was the religion of more or less one Lakh twenty four thousand Prophets sent by Allah to guide the human race towards the straight path (Seerat-e-Mustaqeem). These include Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses and Jesus among others. It is rather the expression of Islam in its final form that was revealed on Prophet Mohammad (PBUH).

‘This day have I perfected your religion for you, completed my favor upon you, and have chosen for you Islam as a religion’.

The faith (Iman) on Prophets “Rasul” “Ambia” as messengers of Allah is one of the basic elements of the Islamic belief system. However according to Islam the practice of revelation (Tanzil) and sending Prophets was discontinued after the revelation on the prophet Mohammad (PBUH), the last Prophet (Khatimul Ambia). The responsibility of guiding the humanity to the straight path or spreading/preaching Islamic message (Dawa) was transferred to the Muslim community (umah).

*‘Ye are the best community (Umat) that has been raised up for mankind. Ye enjoin right conduct and forbid indecency; and ye believe in Allah’ (Al Imran: 110)*

One who proclaims his submission to the Islamic belief system is a Muslim. However there is a clear distinction between a Muslim commoner (Iman wallah) and a Momin (one who strictly adopts and follows Islamic way of life). Thus by proclaiming his faith on the belief system of Islam one becomes a Muslim, it is only after one orients his social and individual life on the basic principles of Islam that one becomes Islamic. The term Islam represents the belief system of a Muslim while Islamic denotes social as well as cultural setting of the faith consisting of Muslims (Abbasi, 2006). By implication Islamization is a process through which one’s beliefs, attitudes or modes of conduct are brought in conformity with the Islamic way of life. Thus ‘Islamization signifies the unfolding of a continuous historical process in a society in terms of an unending dialogue between religion and society. Such a process brings to fore

various implications of the process of conversion to Islam, ranging from spiritual to social in individual and collective terms' (Khan, 2008). As a natural corollary Islamization symbolizes a gradual transformation of the *Muslim* to the *Momin* both as an individual and as a social being. The Islamic way of life is precisely based on the framework provided by Quran and actual practice of Prophet Mohammad (PUH) called Sunna. The perfection of one's attitudes and beliefs in practical social life is what signifies transformation of a Muslim (commoner) to the Momin (selected one) or in other sense Islamization. What is of interest to a sociologist is the dynamics of various social processes involved in this transformation in different socio cultural settings.

### **Kashmir and the process of Islamization**

During the early stages of the spread of Islam throughout the globe the emphasis of the missionaries was to introduce the basic concept of Islam. The strategy of not challenging the prevalent traditions in their entirety was vital in its spread. These missionaries themselves were well versed with the basic tenets of Islam and strict followers of Sharia. They worked on the basic premise 'one who proclaims or professes the unity of God and finality of Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) is a Muslim'. It emerges that the initial demand of Islam and the missionaries was simply to proclaim one's allegiance to the Islamic faith. As a corollary the neo – converts were simply to affirm their allegiance to Islamic faith and perform certain basic and mandatory practices. They were not expected to totally part with their culture or abandon it completely but certainly expected over a period of time to adopt 'certain distinctive traits of culture, personality and consciousness' (Khan, 2008) of Islamic way of life. 'Islamization is thus a slow and long process involving initially the converts passive adherence to Islam but ultimately a continuous progress towards bringing one's beliefs, attitudes or modes of conduct into harmony with Shari'ah' (ibid). Thus there is a time gap 'a period of transition between accepting the new religion and adopting the principles of Shariah' (ibid).

The Islamic influence in Kashmir is the result of cultural and economic exchanges with central Asia and Persia. What is thus significant is that it was not the strict Arabian practices but their central Asian and Persian variants that travelled to Kashmir. Islamization in Kashmir in its initial stages what we have earlier referred to as primary Islamization as elsewhere was contextualized by prevailing and dominant socio cultural traditions. The

propagators of Islam 'understood the need to present Islam in a form intelligible to Kashmiris' (Sikand, 2008). The need for interpretation in local languages and local idioms was immensely felt. Thus religious sermons were not delivered in Arabic but in local languages. And extensively depended on Hindu religious idioms further the propagators did not object certain prevailing customs and practices in order to avoid conflict.

The realization that Islamization could be expedited only by bringing Islam in line with the local cultural setting was felt. 'Under the circumstances the age long traditions featuring a mixed brand of Pagan, Zoroastrian, Buddhist and Hindu practices continued to have a space in the existing religio-cultural basket of Kashmir' (Kaw, 2010). Emphasis on Islamic education was less and *pardah* for women was not mandatory. Through their sustained and peaceful efforts, the religious missionaries from central Asia and Persia laid the foundation of the Islam in Kashmir. This was achieved without challenging the customs and cultural traditions but by assimilation and reorientation. After adopting the philosophy of local Rishis as the local base of Islam, it emerged a powerful social movement. Kashmiri Muslims learned to differentiate between monotheism and polytheism. The success of this primary phase of Islamization lays in the efforts of these Rishis to acculturate their message in a form that ordinary Kashmiris could understand. Thus in contrast to Brahmins who preached in Sanskrit and the Ulema who spoke and wrote in Arabic and Persian, the Rishis preached in the language of the people employing the genre of poetry which readily appealed the masses. Nund Rishi's poetry derived from Quran and Sunnat enriching Kashmiri literature and subsequently was granted the status of Kashmiri Quran or the Kashmiri commentary on the holy Muslim scripture. However what is important as said earlier the use of elements from cultural repertoire. Thus during this phase of Islamization there is a mutual exchange between the Islamic traditions and local traditions. Moreover as the process of Islamization is a long drawn process multiple currents impact the society in different ways. 'Islamization is both variable in its content and never ending in time' (Khan, 1997). Its ebb and tide are influenced by external stimuli, the arrival of charismatic preacher or new experiences such as the pilgrimage to Makkah and Medina where the ummah is experienced in flush and blood (Madan, 2011). Gradually as Islam consolidated itself in Kashmir the dialogue between Rishism and puritan Islam and hence Islamization attained



new dimensions. The internal dynamics of the society and various changes both orthogenetic and heterogenetic taking place in the society provided new dimensions to the process of Islamization.

From the review of the literature of the social history of Islam in Kashmir certain sociologically significant social processes could be isolated.

### **Settlement of Immigrant Missionaries Saddats**

The settlement of immigrant missionaries (saddats) all over Kashmir is sociologically significant. They were Sayyids of different orders such as Kashanis, Badakshanis, Bukharis, Geelanis and Andrabis (Mustaq, 2010). These missionaries (also artisans and craftsmen) spread throughout the length and the breadth of Kashmir and sensitized the Kashmiri's to the essentials of Islam besides teaching them new crafts and arts. Permanent settlement of these missionaries in different parts of Kashmir provided new dimensions to Islamization. At the local levels they emerged as reference groups for the people to emulate. Though in certain matters particularly in marriage practices they maintained separate identities by following endogamy and lived in separate localities called "Peer Mohallahas" however no restrictions were placed on social interactions. Thus started a process of mutual exchange, the masses gradually started emulating the Sayyid way of life which during the initial stages was based to a certain extent on puritan Islam. This process resembles or to a certain extent is similar to Sanskritisation and in the particular context of Kashmir can be called *Sayyidisation* (Dabla, 2010). However there is a basic qualitative difference between Sanskritisation and Sayyidisation, which lies in the fact that in the former the process of adaptation is not smooth and faced resistance from the Brahmins or upper castes due to strict caste hierarchies, in the later the Sayyids or religious elites were the facilitators of the process of Sayyidisation as they were motivated by the religious zeal and committed to the Islamization of the society.

Ideologically Islam does not allow any institutionalized role for priests. The nature of this ideological orientation negated the role and status for clergy in Islam. As such any ordinary Muslim is authorized to lead congregational prayers provided he has achieved elementary knowledge of performing these prayers. However due to lack of religious education 'Kashmir lacked a developed class of Ulama well versed in the intricacies of the Shariah' (Sikand 497). The later generations of the Sayyids took to religious preaching and assumed the role of professional priests. Gradually their role as

priests became institutionalized and they emerged as ultimate religious authority for the Kashmiri Muslims. Thus a priestly class was added to the social structure. Due to the Rishi influence, the tradition of constructing hospice, Asthans or Dargaha in reverence of the Sufis or Rishis was prevalent. As torch bearers of Islam sayyids became the hereditary custodians of the shrines or mosques and the custody passed from one generation to the next. Over a period of time the economic interests of the Sayyids particularly of later generations became associated with these shrines, what is significant in this process is the emergence of institutional priesthood and the adaptation of the local practices by sayyids due to economic interests. Their role as custodians (mutawalis) and the practices they followed as custodians in certain cases are considered to be unislamic. Thus a local tradition reverence for shrines in the process circulated upwards and became the legitimate element of the Islamic great tradition in Kashmir.

### **Spread of Religious Education**

The significance of education in Islam is itself part of its belief system. In fact it is reported that the first verse of Quran which was revealed on the prophet Mohamed (PBUH) itself exhorted the prophet Mohammed (PBUH) 'read in the name of thy lord who createth'. It is further reported that prophet Mohammed (PBUH) said '*Talabul Ilmi Farizatun Ala Kuli Muslimun Wa Muslima*' (Acquiring education is a compulsory religious duty for every Muslim men and women). In the later interpretations emphasis was laid on religious education and according to some Islamic scholars this preference is for acquiring religious education. The absence of institutional role for the priests meant that everyone could acquire religious education. 'Islam is equally accessible to all believers it does not have a formal church or priest hood. All believers have the right to speak for Islam provided that they are learned and have followers' (Abubaker, 2008). During the initial phases of Islamization the emphasis on religious education was less. It does not mean no efforts were made in this direction. However the fact is that the barrier of language remained a stumbling block as the great traditions of Islam remained enshrined in Arabic and Persian languages. Thus it was through actual practice in the everyday life that Islamic education was spread among the masses (congregational offering of prayers; collective chanting in chorus). The local interpreters who specialized in interpreting Islamic

traditions at the early stage interpreted them by using local idioms which were comprehensible to the local masses.

Gradually people started learning Arabic and Persian, madrasas played an important role in this process. The emphasis was on learning or at least on reading Arabic because it was a precondition for reading the Quranic text and more so to say Salat (Nimaz) which is mandatory in Arabic. Over a period of time emerged a section of the people well versed in Arabic and Persian. The influence of scriptural Islam started gradually increasing. As a natural corollary to this the local idioms which derived their origin from Hindu scriptures were gradually replaced by more Shariah oriented terms originating from Islamic scriptures and literature.

The influence of a new breed of religious scholars exposed to different schools of thought and associated with various reform movements gradually increased. As more and more people started learning scriptures the Islamization started proceeding on new lines. The local traditions which through the process of universalization became associated with the great traditions of Islam and were considered legitimate became the locus of criticism. The practices which had attained legitimacy among the masses were labeled illegitimate, unislamic and mere innovations ( bidaat and shirk).

### **Contemporary Islamization**

#### **Observation: De-Sayyidisation**

As stated above the fact that Islam does not recognize institutionalized priesthood and all believers have a right to speak for Islam. The position of a preacher or Imam is open to all and can be achieved by any Muslim irrespective of his social background. However in actual practice these positions were predominantly occupied by members of sayyid community (Decedents of Immigrant missionaries). The gradual spread of religious education among the common masses a feature of Islamization created a churning in the society. We observe a sociologically significant pattern in Kashmir, the gradual dilution of Sayyid hegemony in religious affairs.

The position of Imam, the prayer leader in the Mosque is a very important position in Kashmiri society. The position is significant socially, economically and also politically. The sayyids as torch bears of Islam and as a tradition were the usual occupants of this position. The tradition was a near universal tradition and due to the social, economic and political significance of the position the baton usually passed from father to son.

We observe a clear departure from this tradition/practice both in Urban and Rural areas of Kashmir. We trace the genesis of this shift to the gradual process of Islamization in the Kashmiri society and also modernization among sayyids. A new class of religious preachers and scholars who are not sayyids and have mastered the art of preaching, teaching and interpreting Islam by acquiring such qualifications as Hafiz, Aalim etc. have started replacing sayyids as Imams and preachers. A survey of fifty mosques in the four panchayats of the revenue village safapora reveals that it is only in five mosques that the position is occupied by the sayyids.

However it is not only the process of Islamization which is at the root of this shift. The modernization among sayyids has also contributed to this process. Due to their socioeconomic position the latter generations of sayyids were at the forefront of acquiring liberal education. This opened others areas which were economically more attractive and the motivation for acquiring religious education gradually came down.

### **Observation: Shifting Beliefs And Attitudes Towards Sufis, Rishis And Religious Shrines**

The role of religious shrines (Asthans in local parlance places where the revered Sufi saints, Rishis are buried or their holy relics are housed) in Kashmiri social life is paramount. This reverence is across the whole social spectrum irrespective of religion, caste and creed. As brought out by various studies (Khan, 1997; Zutshi, 2008; Sikand, 2008) the reverence towards these shrines (Asthans) among common Kashmiri's is so immense that Islam in Kashmir is associated with shrine worship. The presence of Asthans almost in every locality of Kashmir has a lasting impact on the everyday life of a Kashmiri. There is a common belief among Kashmir's that the Sufis and Rishis are mediators between them and God (Allah) (Wasela, Wasalatdar). In their day to day life Kashmiri's frequently invoke these Sufis and Rishis particularly the local Sadats (Maini Saaid saiba, Maini Dastigir saiba, Maini Mukhdoom Saiba, Maini rishi mauol Saiba). As stated earlier due to various changes taking place in the society both orthogenetic and heterogenetic, there has been a gradual shift in the peoples beliefs and attitudes viz a viz Sufis, Rishis and their shrines. The influence of scriptural Islam has resulted in transforming the actual practices and rituals associated with these Asthans to a more Sharia oriented culture.

The practice of visiting shrines and associated rituals has attained the status of life cycle rituals among Kashmiri's. People visit these

shrines in huge numbers on occasions of joy, in difficult situations and for spiritual solace. In order to seek the blessings of the Sufis and Rishis the practice of prostrating and bowing before their grave yards is common particularly among women. In order to get their favors the practice of tying strings (*Daishh*) (Khan, 1997) at Asthans is common. After the payers are answered the *Desh* is untied and offerings are made as per the pledge at the shrine called *Niyaz*.

On a particular date usually on the 11<sup>th</sup> day of every month of the Islamic calendar, a ritual feast is organized in the name of these Sufi and Rishi saints. This ritual in common parlance is called *Khatmi Sharif* or *fatiha* (paying tributes) and are particularly associated with the names of the saints (*Dastigeri Khatham*, *Makhdumi Khatham*).

Another ritual associated with these Sufis or their shrines is the ceremonial head shaving of a new born for the first time known in Kashmiri parlance *Zari Kashaan*. The ritual is usually performed at a Sufi or rishi shrine, the venue is determined either by family elders according to the family tradition or by consulting the family *Peer* (Religious healer). The usual practice is that the *Peer* after name giving ceremony advices the parents about the venue of the ceremonial head shaving and the kind of sacrifice to be made. On the appointed date the new born is taken to the shrine accompanied by family members and relatives along with the sacrificial animal a sheep, goat, calf or at times a Cock. The custodian of the shrine draws lots and decides whether the animal is to be sacrificed or set free that is to be deposited in the treasury of the shrine.

The practice of distributing plain fried rice or on occasions with meat called *Taher* (*noni* or *naati*) at the local shrines has been a common practice among the Kashmir's. The rice is cooked at home, fried then mixed with salt, turmeric (*Haldi*) or meat and put in a large copper plate or in a wooden or steel tub then covered with a clean cloth. The elder women of the family takes the plate or tub on her head to the local shrine, she is usually accompanied by her daughter or daughter in law and some children. After seeking blessings and paying tributes, the cooked rice (*taher*) is distributed among bystanders. This practice is similar to the distribution of *Prasadam* in Hindu temples.

During the secondary Islamic impact due to various orthogenetic and heterogenetic changes we can observe a gradual shift or reorientation in these practices. The influence of scriptural Islam due to spread of religious education and impact of various reform

movements is particularly of significance in these processes. The Ulema under the influence of the reform movements became highly critical of these practices. Campaigns are organized to sensitize the masses about the so-called un-Islamic nature of these practices and about actual scriptural traditions. The emphasis of the processes of Islamization shifted to making clear the distinction between monotheism and polytheism. In preachings and sermons, one can observe an increasing criticism of the prevalent practices. These practices are considered un-Islamic amounting to shirk. The Sufis and Rishis are projected as strict followers of Sharia who never taught their followers to indulge in such un-Islamic practices.

*“---Today Muslims have deviated from the right path (sirati mustaqim). We are not following Islamic teachings, Islamic way of life, and the way shown to us by our beloved Prophet Mohammad (PUBH), his Suhaba (companions) and Aulia u Allah. The situation is so grim that people are not able to distinguish between Shirk (invoking partners to God) and Tawheed (unity of God). We have crossed the barriers and bow before graves of which Quran and Hadis is very clear. Oh! Muslim we do this and that in the name of these great saints but do not know their actual practices and teachings. I want to make it clear to all Muslims that these practices are totally Un-Islamic and amount to bidaat and shirk-----” ( from the Sermon of a preacher)*

As stated earlier due to the changes taking place in the society we witness new dimensions of Islamization. However the dominant cultural practices or traditions are not completely dislodged but reframed and reoriented by bringing certain changes in actual practices. If an old man or woman invokes the name of his most cherished saint the reformist son instantly rebukes. Thus a keen observer can observe a gradual shift in the terms people use while invoking the almighty in everyday life (Ya Allah; Ya khuda, Ya Rahmanu, Ya rahimu). The reverence for Sufis and Rishis among people still remains immense, people still visit their shrines but there is a shift in rituals performed. Instead of prostrating and tying the string (Daesh) people pay tributes (fatiha) and recite Quran. The reformers projected the Sufis and Rishis as strict followers of Sharia. The practice of animal sacrifice on the birth of a new baby continues but in a new form (Aqiqah) which is in conformity with Sunna. Women still take out their taheer, not on their heads but uncooked rice in a carry bag to deposit it in the local Baitul mals (local Islamic Banks) for distribution among the poor.

### **Haj and Islamization**

Haj as stated earlier is an important and basic pillar of Islam. The pilgrimage to Makkah and Madina is mandatory for those Muslims

who possess material and physical resources required for the pilgrimage. Being a Haji is the ultimate goal of every practicing Muslim. Such is the reverence and aspiration to visit Makkah and Madina among Kashmiri Muslims that, the poets in their poetic expressions and people in folklore dream and imagine the feelings of performing the pilgrimage.

*No words to describe my beloved, oh God                      Sacrifice life for his love, oh God  
Have deep longing to visit Madina                      Cherish to reveal the hidden emotions in  
abundance*

*If happened to pay obeisance at the sacred site (Jai pak)                      Convey thy affection of  
my denigrated self*

The preparations for the pilgrimage start almost a year in advance. The aspiring Haji gets oriented to basic Islamic practices such as offering payer (Nimaz) regularly in the local Mosque as is expected of him. The aspiring Haji undergoes an orientation program to learn various practices and rituals associated with Haj. These orientations are conducted by Ulema belonging to different organizations well versed in Islamic scriptures as the rituals to be performed during the pilgrimage are strictly laid down in Quran and Hadis. Before leaving for the pilgrimage the aspiring Haji visits every house of the locality and his relatives seeking pardon for any of his previous misdeeds. The relatives and other people in turn visit the aspiring Haji urging him to seek blessings for them. The age old rivalries are set aside and a mood of affection and reconciliation prevails within the Kin group particularly and within the locality at large. Collective feasts are organized both by the family of the aspiring Haji and in turn by the relatives and neighbors honouring the aspiring Haji.

*"...it is the blessing of almighty it is the call from that sacred land...may God provide all of us the opportunity to visit that sacred land..."*

On the appointed day the Haji is taken in a procession to the local Mosque shouting slogans and given a warm send off.

*Hajj dhrau baituallah la ilah ha illal lah                      Asti wetstan khuda la ilah ha illal lah*

During the Haj pilgrimage the Haji has an altogether new experience of seeing Islam in its pristine form and at its place of resurgence. During his stay at Makkah and Madina the Haji experiences Islam and Ummah in "flesh and blood". This particular experience reorients the beliefs, world view of the Haji and has long lasting impact on the society at large.

On the return the Haji is again brought home in a procession. People visit the Haji, receive gifts called Tabaruk particularly the sacred water, (Zam Zam water), dates and usually a cap, tasbi (Rosary), a musala (a piece of silk or woolen cloth used to offer Nimaz). The Haji narrates his experience to every visitor and this continues over

a period of time. The narration is essentially comparison and contrast between native practices and actual Islamic practices followed in Arabia. This social interaction is very significant in Islamization for a keen observer. Based on my personal experience of listening to these narratives, Haji generally narrates his experience in the following manner.

*“---there are Muslims from all over the world, no distinction is made between Arabi or Ajjami (reference to non Arab Muslims), everyone wants to spend most of his time in offering prayers. Though prayers are offered mostly as we do, but after the Nimaz is over there is silence no loud and collective chanting if you raise your voice you will be reprimanded. During Tawaf (the practice of going round the Qaba) when you reach near Hajra I Aswad (the sacred stone) if you raise your hands police immediately swings into action ‘don’t do this, don’t do this, this is shirk, shirk. At Madina inside the Roza –i- Pak (Grave of Prophet Mohammad (PUBH) there is a large presence of police, they do not allow you to touch the Roz –i- Pak, you have to offer your tributes silently, Nimaz is not allowed within the premises of the Roza, they are very strict about it. In Mazaar –i- Baqia (Grave yard of Prophet’s near friends and relatives) one can see plane graves, there are no concrete structures or shrines-----“. This provides a context for a generalized debate within the locality about the local practices and the actual Arabic practices. This debate is not restricted to the room were the Haji narrates his experience but during the Haj season this debate goes on at shops, at offices, at Mosques and other public places.*

The experience of Haj and its narration to borrow Clifford Geertz’s words establishes “powerful, pervasive, and long lasting moods and motivations” among the masses resulting in reformulation of the “conceptions of a general order of existence”. The debate initiated out of the narrative experiences results in comparison and contrast between the great traditions of Islam and local practices is also an important feature of Islamization. In the present times as a result of general economic prosperity, a large number of people both men and women perform the Haj pilgrimage. The comparison and contrast generates forces of change. The exposure to the actual creates a wave resulting in self appraisal and self criticism reformulating or reorienting the belief system and world view of the Muslim masses.

### **Conclusion**

The process of Islamization is essentially a dialogue between the great traditions of Islam and the local traditions. The passive



adherence to the basic principles of Islam gradually attains a more activist orientation. The dynamics of various socio-cultural processes particularly changing reference groups, emergence of religious elite well versed in the great traditions of Islam experience of pilgrimages helps generate a Sharia oriented culture. However this orientation still remains embedded in the socio cultural traditions. 'In such a process, therefore Sharia emerges as the norm or criteria while the development of Sharia oriented culture is dependent on how people respond to the norm in specific socio cultural/historical contexts. This distinction between the norm and actual practice is particularly explicable in terms of the difference between Islam and Islamization' (Khan, 2008). In the contemporary times the prevailing geopolitical situation, political downfall of Islam provide the context of Islamization. Thus it is common in Friday sermons to hear about the golden period of Islam and the present state of affairs. "...Oh! Muslims do you remember the period of history when our ancestors ruled the whole world. But today being the second largest community in the world our weight is just like a piece of paper in a deep sea. Our brothers are being killed all over the world. Have you ever reflected what led to our decline? This is the result of deviation from the righteous path (sirati – i- mustaquim). Today we are a divided house, we do not believe in the concept of Ummah. Our rights are being suppressed, our struggles against aggression are labeled terrorism, our brothers, sisters and mothers are being harassed on one pretext or another ---- Oh! My dear friends the only remedy to this all is to become a true Muslim (a Moomin) and come back to the right path and get united under the flag of Islam. I do swear by the Lord the almighty that those days are not far when we will witness another Islamic spring (Bahar)..." Islamization is an unending process and an objective to be realized but it is not the end product of the mission. Islamization is a continuously evolving process of meaningful interaction between religion and society.

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## Reinventing Marx in Manuel Castells' Idea of Global Capitalism

**Mohmad Saleem Jahangir**

Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Kashmir, J&K  
Email: saleemjehangir@gmail.com

*A wide and diverse range of social theorists are arguing that today's world is organized by accelerating globalization, which is strengthening the dominance of a world capitalist economic system, supplanting the primacy of the nation-state with trans-national corporations and organizations, and eroding local cultures and traditions through a global culture.' For some, it is a cover concept for global capitalism and imperialism and is accordingly condemned as another form of the imposition of the logic of capital and the market on ever more regions of the world and spheres of life. For others, it is the continuation of modernization and a force of progress, increased wealth, freedom, democracy, and happiness. Marx also wrote of the inevitability of these globalizing trends, the impossibility of resistance to or avoidance of the global expansion of capitalism, effected by means such as threats of competition and the inducements of cheap prices: 'It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilization into their midst, i.e., to become bourgeois themselves. In one word, it creates a world after its own image'. In light of this fact, the present paper seeks to understand the ideas of Manuel Castells idea of global capitalism reconsidering the Marxian (theoretical) perspective.*

**Key Words:** Capitalism; Globalization; Neo-Liberalism; Surplus

### **Introduction**

Karl Marx wrote, 'Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as these please; they do not make just as they please, they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past'. For *Engels* and *Marx*, the point in studying history was not just memorizing the deeds of individuals or their actions, but understanding the evolving structure of things. They saw history as a series of types of production, each type corresponding to ways of organizing and thinking. Economic relationships structured peoples' lives; what and how they produce things, relationships among workers, tools, and ownership of inputs can all explain peoples' daily actions, choices, feeling, and even beliefs. Moreover, *Marx* and *Engels* viewed conflict over these relationships as

omnipresent and a primary source of social change: the economy drives the system.

Whenever one talks of globalization in economic terms, there is frequent reference made to capitalism, neoliberalism, and socialism or social democracy. In particular, one vital ingredient in the emergence of the new global economy has been a set of deregulating policies pushed by neoliberals, which have come to replace the previous social democratic consensus in Western nations (Castells 1996). It is therefore necessary to unpack the term capitalism and examine this shift before proceeding to discuss other central considerations revolving around the other main objectives of the present study.

Capitalism is at the heart of the neo-liberal ideology. Being a system of economic and social organization based on private ownership of the means of production and the separation of economy and the state. Its founding principle is the pursuit of self-interest which is achieved economically through competition between producers and producers, consumers and consumers. This competition, under capitalist logic, creates a state in which the right amount of goods and services at the right price are made available to meet consumer demand. The principle, in the simplest terms, is that increasing demand will put pressure on supply; prices will go up in response to the pressure; and demand will drop back, in the face of the raised prices, to reach an equilibrium with supply (Schirato and Webb 2003).

The trends broadly summarized under the heading of globalization involve a real change in the structures and functioning of world capitalism and as a result of these changes national differences in institutions and practices are being eroded (Radice 2000). Capitalism has always functioned as a world economy (Hardt and Negri 2000). There is nothing intrinsically national about the institutional order of capitalism. Transnational economic action entails the construction of institutions and norms, just as surely as does national or local economic action. Indeed historically, from earliest days, an international (transnational, global) order has been constructed which has been central to capitalism's expansion, consolidation and development. The state's economic and political structures and practices - not to say the very existence of specific states and even important forms of the state - have developed as much in response to this 'external' order as they have to the development of an 'internal' order (Ibid). As *McMichael* puts it,

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making probably inadvertent use of a central term, 'a more comprehensive approach to the state would reveal the ways in which international relations are internalized, or embedded, in state structures and practices'(McMichael. 1987).

What we then see is that something akin to globalization has a long presence within the history of capitalism. Certainly from 1492 onwards and even before, the internalization of trade and commerce was well underway. Capitalism cannot do without its 'spatial' fixes. Time and time again it has turned to geographical reorganization (both expansion and intensification) as a partial solution to its crisis in impasses. Capitalism thereby builds and rebuilds a geography in its own image (Harvey 2000). It constructs a distinctive geographical landscape, a produced space of transport and communications of infrastructures and territorial organizations that facilitates capital accumulation during one phase of its history only to have to be torn down and reconfigured to make way for further accumulation at a later stage (Ibid.). If, therefore, globalization signifies anything about our recent historical geography, it is most likely to be a new phase of exactly this same underlying process of the capitalist production of space.

If for the world-system paradigm globalization is synonymous with the birth and spread of capitalism, then how capitalism is defined differs among distinct theories with major implications for our conception of globalization. Most world-system theorists follow Weber in this regard whereas other critical approaches to globalization apply Marx's definition. Weber saw capitalism as a market or exchange relation whereas Marx defined capitalism as a production relation. This distinction is important to the matter of globalization. In the *Weberian* definition, any production undertaken for exchange on the market for a profit is capitalist. By this definition, if serfs or slaves grow a crop which the lord or slaver markets, then this constitutes capitalism (Robinson 2011). Those that follow Marx's definition of capitalism as essentially a production relation between capital and labour would tend to argue that capitalism starting in the 16th century became the dominant mode of production worldwide and that this broader capitalist world economy became 'articulated' for much of the modern period to diverse other modes of production under the hegemony of the capitalist mode (Carter 1978).

Capitalism has gone from a stage in monopoly capitalism in which culture has at least to some degree autonomous to an a explosion of

culture in multinational capitalism; a prodigious expansion of culture throughout the social realm, to the point at which everything in our social life – from economic value and state power to practices and to the very structure of the psyche itself – can be said to have become ‘cultural’ in some original and yet theorized sense. This proposition is, however, substantively quite consistent with the previous diagnosis of a society of the image or the simulacrum and a transformation of the ‘real’ into so many pseudo-events (Jameson 1984).

However, capitalism, argues *Wallerstein*, was from the beginning an affair of the world-economy and not of nation-states. It is a misreading of a situation to claim that it is only in the twentieth century capitalism has become ‘world-wide’ (Wallerstein 2007). *Charles Bettelheim* even though that the tendency of the capitalist mode of production to become worldwide is manifested not only through the constitution of a group of national economies forming a complex and hierarchical structure, including an imperialist pole and a dominated one, and not only through the antagonistic relations that develop between the different ‘national economies’ and the different states, but also through the constant ‘transcending’ of ‘national limits’ by big capital (the formation of ‘international big-capital’, world firms, etc.) (ibid.).

Today nearly all of humanity is to some degree absorbed within or subordinated to the networks of capitalist exploitation. We now see an ever more extreme separation of a small minority that controls enormous wealth from multitudes that live in poverty at the limits of powerlessness (Hardt and Negri 2000).

### **Global Capitalism**

During the 1970s this system went into crisis mainly because of two reasons. Firstly the *Bretton Woods System* was undermined by a series of economic events and trends, including the United States increasing trade deficit with Europe and Japan, the abolition of the gold-dollar nexus rampant inflation and trade wars. Secondly, the cost of social gains made under the international version of the new deal (i.e. the implementation of a kind of new social contract, associated with the Roosevelt presidency in the United States which guaranteed workers’ rights, conditions and standard of living) undermined the extraction of super profits (Ibid.). Labour was steadily increasing its share of the product. Social movements outside the workplace were imposing growing constraints on the ability of capital and bureaucracies to organize production and

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society free from social control. The state entered a fiscal crisis brought on by the contradiction between growing expenditures determined by social demands and comparatively decreasing revenues limited by the need to preserve corporate profits (O'Connor. 1973). The international order was disrupted by the surge of the third world nationalisms and by the entry into the international economy of new competitive actors (Castells 2007). A new model of socio-economic organization had to be established which would be able to achieve the basic aims of a capitalist system, namely (Ibid.): to enhance the rate of profit for private capital, the engine of investment, and thus of growth; to find new markets, both through deepening the existing ones and by incorporating new regions of the world into an integrated capitalist economy; to control the circulation process, curbing structural inflation and to assure the social reproduction and the economic regulation of the system through mechanisms that would not contradict those established to achieve the preceding goals of higher profit rates, expanding demand, and inflation control.

Consequently, a new model of capitalism emerged which, with national variations and diverse fortunes, actually characterizes most of the international system in the late 1980s. *Manuel Castells* reduced the new model to its essentials and summarized in three major features (Ibid.):

- The appropriation by capital of a significantly higher share of surplus from the production process;
- A substantial change in the pattern of state intervention with emphasis shifted from political legitimation and social redistribution to political domination and capital accumulation (Castells and Godard 1974); and
- Accelerated internalization of all economic processes, to increase profitability and to open up markets through the expansion of the system.

These features have been further analyzed by *Castells* wherein the reflection of Marx and Marxism is elucidated. They are:

***a. Higher productivity derived from technological innovations, combined with the uneven distribution of the productivity gains in favour of capitals:*** The pre-eminence of knowledge, information and communication in the globalized world – usually referred to as informationalism – is manifested in the increased production what *Hardt* and *Negri* call '*immaterial goods*'. The most obvious way of understanding this is to think of the way in which so many jobs,

occupations and professions are tied in to, and effectively extend, networks – much as computers do. There are two main categories of this version of informationalism (Webb 2003). The first category involves turning conventional industrial production into a service, largely through the use of communication technology. Workers in a factory for instance would share the production process with technologies and they would not necessarily provide finished products but instead would supply parts or components of the end product. The second category what *Hardt* and *Negri* term ‘*symbolic analytical services*’ (Hardt and Negri 2000), like data analysis, financial planning, research and development jobs and occupations, has a much higher value and is likely to be better paid and more stable. *Hardt* and *Negri* claim that the communication and media industries occupy a hegemonic place in the contemporary economic paradigm. Affective labour is concerned with ‘the creation and manipulation of affect’ (ibid.). These industries have taken on an important role in producing social relations, subjectivities, dispositions and what *Bourdieu* would refer to as ‘*Habitus* (Bourdieu. 1990)’ that are compliant with, and help reproduce, the structures, power relations and imperatives of Empire and capitalism. It could also be said that in the terms of *Foucault* that affective labour has made an industry from, and works primarily to reproduce the effects and extend the pervasiveness of ‘*biopower*’ (Foucault 1976)’.

***b. wages, reduced social benefits and less protective working conditions:*** An ever increasing economic pattern and the expansionary character of globalization leads to lowering of labour costs and wages. In the struggle to be more competitive, labour costs and wages are being driven down. Companies go in for restructuring and downsizing, which creates redundancies permanent employment and skilled workforce, is being replaced by the casual and part-time employment creating immense insecurity among the workers. While wages are being lowered, but working hours have been increased. Yet it is almost impossible for a poor worker to rebel against the company that employees her/him.

Globally, the number of unemployed men stood at 118.4 million in 2010, an increase of 17 million since 2007, while the number of unemployed women stood at 86.5 million in 2010, up 10.6 million since 2007 (ILO 2010). The employment decline experienced during the December 2007–June 2009 has been greater than that of any recession of recent decades. Forty-seven months after the start



of the recession that began in November 1973, for example, employment was more than 7 percent higher than it had been when the recession started. In contrast, 47 months after the start of the most recent recession (November 2011), employment was still over 4 percent lower than when the recession began (The Recession of 2007–2009, 2012). Employment of young adults declined—as it did in all other groups—during the recent recession. Employment of young men generally increased during much of 2006. After a dip in late 2006, employment of young men trended upward and then remained fairly stable until late fall of 2008, well into the recent recession. After a peak of about 88 percent in fall 2007, young men's employment declined from late fall 2008 until June 2009, when it was just over 82 percent. As a share of population, employment of young women tended to be about 8 to 9 percentage points below that of young men. After reaching a peak of over 79 percent in late 2007, employment of young women remained fairly stable through about December 2008, and then, similar to that of men, it declined until it was about 73 percent in June 2009 (Ibid.).

Generally, goods-producing industries experience the largest declines in employment during recessions. The 2007–2009 recession was typical in this regard, with construction and construction and manufacturing both experiencing their largest percentage declines in employment of the post-World War-II era, 13.7 and 10.0 percent, respectively (percentages expressed in annual rates, as measured from the first month to the last month of the recession). Few industries attracted as much attention during the recent recession as financial activities, which experienced a 3.9 percent reduction in employment. Before 2007, the only recession since 1939 to see job losses in financial activities was that of 1990–1991. Employment increased in education and health services during the recent recession. In fact, employment has increased in education and health services for more than 30 years, regardless of the business cycle. Employment in education and health services has decreased in only 1 of the 12 recessions that have occurred since 1945 (Ibid.). Compared with the unemployment rates of other industrialized countries, the U.S. unemployment rate was higher than a few and lower than most other countries before the start of the most recent recession. By the end of the recent recession, the U.S. unemployment rate was higher than most other industrialized countries; the U.S. unemployment rate was higher than a few and lower than most other countries before the start of the most recent

recession (Ibid.). The United States lost about 8.1 million jobs after the recession began in late 2007. The economy has since recovered about 3.3 million of those jobs, starting in early 2010 (Ibid.). The number of people out of work in the United Kingdom rose by 137,000 to 1.86 million in the three months to October, 2008 - the highest level since 1997. This took the unemployment rate up to 6 percent from 5.8 percent previously. People claiming Jobseeker's Allowance in November rose 75,700 to 1.07 million - the largest rise since March 1991 (BBC News 1008). And in April 2009, UK unemployment rose to 2.261 million, the highest since November 1996. The jobless rate rose to 7.2 percent, the highest since July 1997. The number of people claiming unemployment benefit rose by 39,000 in May, less than the 60,000. Young people have been hard-hit by the recession, with the unemployment rate for 18-24 year olds now at 16.6 percent. The report further claimed that the number of people in work fell by 271,000 just in three months from January 2009 to March 2009 to 29.11 million, the biggest quarterly drop since comparable records began in 1971 (BBC News 2009).

In 2008 India recorded inflation at its 16 year high of 12.91 percent. This inflationary situation forced the regulatory bodies of the country to take certain anti-inflationary measures by tightening the monetary policy which in turn made it difficult for institutions and individuals to borrow money from banks. In some ways, this has also contributed to the slowdown in different sectors and can be considered to be the start of slowdown in different sectors in India. Before this economic crisis, there were more than 1500 software firms in the country. While the employee base of the sector had grown to 553,000 (from 415,000 in financial year, 2006). More than 1300 IT companies were operating in Bangalore alone. This sector has been adversely affected by the global crisis. As for the IT industry, NASSCOM had initially projected a 21-24 per cent growth rate for the year 2008, but the software association revised it downward in the wake of the global financial meltdown. In February 2008, Tata Consultancy Services had asked about 500 employees to leave due to non-performance. In Patni Computer Systems 400 employees lost their job, i.e. nearly 3 percent of its 14,800 workforce, on the same ground, while IBM Corporation followed suit in the case of 700 freshers. Wipro, the country's third largest IT exporter, is considering firing 3,000 employees over performance-related issues (Upadhyay. 2011). The massive loss of jobs worldwide has been accompanied by stagnation, decline or loss

of wages. In both developed and developing countries, shrinking tax revenues have resulted in significant declines in national and local government funding of public institutions (United Nations 2011).

***c. The weakening of trade unions – a fundamental, explicit goal of the restructuring process in most countries and in fact, probably the most important single factor in achieving the overall objective of restoring the rate of profit at a level acceptable for business.*** By and large this objective has been achieved. Whilst Marx may have been correct in his analysis of the economic problems of liberal capitalism, ‘organized capitalism’ was different, rendering class conflict more latent than manifest (Habermas 1976). The state not only could control economic fluctuations, but also could through income redistribution dampen down the class struggle through encouraging a system of class compromise.

Capitalism is also used as a way to resist government regulation of markets, independent labour union organizing, and the emergence of a welfare state. Capitalists went to great lengths to quash independent union organizing, strikes, and other expressions of labour collectivism—through a combination of violent suppression, worker sanctions, and benefits in exchange for loyalty (O'Connor. 2003). The least popular of the welfare capitalism programs were the company unions created to stave off labour activism. By offering employees a say in company policies and practices and a means for appealing disputes internally, employers hope to reduce the lure of unions. They dub these employee representation plans of ‘industrial democracy’ (Cohen 1990).

Organized labour in most capitalist countries is at the lowest point of its power and influence in the past thirty years, and its situation is still deteriorating rapidly. However, organized labour has also been weakened as a result of targeted policies by both governments and firms engaging in a deliberate effort at achieving what is perceived as a historical objective that would dramatically increase the freedom of capital to steer the economy and the society (Krieger 1986). The historical reversal of the capital-labour power relationship encapsulated in the gradual decline of the trade union movement is the cornerstone of the restructuring of capitalism in 1980s.

***d. A restructuring labour markets to take in growing proportions of women, ethnic minorities and immigrants namely those social groups which, because of institutionalized discrimination and social stigma are most vulnerable in society and thus in the market***

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*place* (Reich 1982). Under capitalism the main producing class, the working class (or proletariat), is deprived of ownership and control over the means of production. In order to live, workers are forced to sell their labour power to private owners of the means of production, to the capitalists (or bourgeoisie). The capitalists' control of the means of production enables them to dominate all other social classes, but within their own class the individual capitalists also operate in competition with each other. However, it is important to observe that vulnerability is socially determined.

There are contradictory tendencies within developed regions of the world, notably in what Sassen calls 'global cities'. The demand and growth of specialized service firms in global cities have enriched the professionals and technocrats responsible for their success, but the *informalization* of economic activities, in production and distribution, have resulted in poor remuneration for those associated with them (Sassen 2001). Thus under globalization, the demand for skilled labour by immigrant-receiving countries has risen while the demand for unskilled labour has shifted to offshore regions where such labour supply is plentiful and economic (Li 2008). However, a distinction should be made between structural demand and actual demand. According to dual economy theory, demand for unskilled labour is a permanent feature of capital (Piore 1979). This is because under capitalism, capital is fixed and labour is a variable. The cost of procuring skilled labour compels employers to protect it in terms of providing training and benefits. But the unskilled labour is a dispensable component. The shifting of production to periphery countries means that the demand for unskilled labour is partly shifted to offshore locations where its abundance, supply and low-cost makes it attractive, and the lack of labour protection makes laying off unskilled workers easy. Hence the structural demand for unskilled labour may not have changed, but its manifestation as an actual demand has shifted elsewhere as a result of outsourcing of manufacturing jobs. But some sectors, such personal services, still require regular supply of unskilled labour. But the structural shift in production makes low-skill immigrants less needed for manual labour in advanced capitalist countries and global cities (Lee 2008). Immigrants today are attracted to the highly developed regions of the world because of the material affluence and economic prosperity of these regions, and because of the resulting occupational opportunities and financial rewards for individuals. Regional disparities explain why economically developed regions such as

Europe, North America and Oceania, mainly Australia, have net gains in international migration, whereas Asia, Latin America and to a lesser degree Africa are migrant or immigrant sending regions and are experiencing net loss in international migration. Advanced capitalist countries such as the United States, Canada and Australia are benefiting from international migration, especially by attracting the highly-trained human capital from less developed regions of the world (Ibid.). As of 2006, the United Nations estimated that there were 13.5 million refugees globally, about 80 percent of them located in less developed regions of the world. In contrast, 61 percent of the migrant population was located in the more developed regions of the world (United Nations 2006). The magnitude of inflow of these two types of populations also illustrates the contradictory approaches adopted by advanced industrial countries towards the wanted and the unwanted migrant populations (Ibid.).

***e. Shrinkage of, and privatization of productive activities in, the public sector.*** Most factories, firms and money to invest is in the hands of a few, as distinct from being owned by society as a whole, i.e., collectively, as in a commune, monastery or in most families. Most people have some capital, i.e., savings in the bank, but very little compared to the few rich and super-rich. In addition the rich few are the ones most able to use the money little people save, e.g., by borrowing their savings from banks to invest.

The richest one percent of adults in the world own 40 percent of the planet's wealth, according to the largest study yet of wealth distribution. The report also finds that those in financial services and the internet sectors predominate among the super-rich. Europe, the US and some Asia Pacific nations account for most of the extremely wealthy. More than a third lives in the US Japan accounts for 27 percent of the total, the UK for 6 percent and France for 5 percent (Randerson 2006). The richest 10 percent of adults accounted for 85 percent of the world total of global assets. Half the world's adult population, however, owned barely 1 percent of global wealth. Near the bottom of the list were India, with per capita wealth of \$1,100, and Indonesia with assets per head of \$1,400 (Ibid.).

Recently there has also been a worrying polarization of wealth around the world. The top-earning 20 percent of Americans received 49.4 percent of all income generated in the USA, compared with just 3.4 percent made by the bottom 20 percent of earners. This ratio of 15:1 is approximately double that of 8:1 in 1968 (Cerunnadle. 2012). The free market encourages this wealth divide – there is

every incentive for people to earn more; charities only survive out of people's extreme kindness and dedication. *Marx* asserts that 'the bourgeoisie has, through its exploitation of the world market, given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country. To the great chagrin of reactionaries, it has drawn from under the feet of industry the national ground on which it stood. All old-established national industries have been destroyed or are daily being destroyed. They are dislodged by new industries, whose introduction becomes a life and death question for all civilized nations, by industries that no longer work up indigenous raw material, but raw material drawn from the remotest zones; industries whose products are consumed, not only at home, but in every quarter of the globe. In place of the old wants, satisfied by the production of the country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes. In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal inter-dependence of nations. And as in material, so also in intellectual production. The intellectual creations of individual nations become common property. National one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible, and from the numerous national and local literatures, there arises a world literature.'(Marx and Engels 1938).

*e. Capitalism is about accumulation, making more money than you had, to invest in order to make even more.* It is often stated by Marxist as well as bourgeois theorists that the motivation driving the individual capitalist is to maximize his rate of profit. But this, like the goal of extracting the maximum of surplus value, is only a means to the real end. As *Marx* put it, the 'aim (of the capitalist mode of production) is to preserve the value of the existing capital and promote its self-expansion to the highest limit (i.e., to promote an ever more rapid growth of this value) (Marx 1894).

Capital originated historically in pre-capitalist societies as money which merchants and bankers invested in trade or usury for profit. But just as the value of commodities did not fulfill its own laws until labour power became an available commodity, so too capital came into its own only as property in the means of production through which surplus value was extracted from wage labourers (Daum 1990). The wage relation allows for a far greater degree of exploitation than was ever possible in the past. Under previous modes of production, the surplus product appropriated by the

exploiters was determined by custom as a more or less fixed amount in advance (Ibid.). The bosses' appropriation of surplus value makes possible the expansion of capital, and it is made necessary by the class struggle of the producers against their exploiters. For Marx, the directing motive, the end and aim of capitalist production, is to extract the greatest possible amount of surplus value and consequently to exploit labour power to the greatest possible extent. The control exercised by the capitalist is not only a special function due to the nature of the social labour process and peculiar to that process, but it is at the same time a function of the exploitation of a social labour process, and is consequently rooted in the unavoidable antagonism between the exploiter and the living and labouring raw material he exploits (Marx 1867).

Accumulation occurs both through the concentration of capital – the growth of individual capitals through reinvestment of their own surplus value – and through the centralization of capital in the hands of fewer and fewer capitalists who take over the property of others. The weaker capitalists who are unable to expand or modernize rapidly enough are driven out of business and expropriated by the stronger. (The two terms here are defined in Marx's sense, which is not identical with common usage today.) (Daum 1990).

The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with and under it. Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labour at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated (Marx 1867).

The capital accumulated by the richest capitalists in the world increasing day-by-day. The table 1 clearly reveals the growing trend of the wealth of the capitalists which increased manifold over a period of time.

**Table 1**  
**Wealth Accumulation of Top Billionaires of World**

S. No	Name	Country	Company	2012	2011	2010	2009
1	Carlos Slim	Mexico	Telmex, America Movil	69.0	74.0	53.5	35.0
2	Bill Gates	USA	Microsoft	61.0	56.0	53.0	40.0
3	Amancio Ortega	Spain	Inditex Group	37.5	31.0	25.0	18.3
4	Warren Buffett	USA	Berkshire Hathaway	41.0	50.0	47.0	37.0
5	Larry Ellison	USA	Oracle Corporation	36.0	39.5	28.0	22.5

Source: *Forbes*

Table 2 reveals how the wealth of the billionaires has increased with the passage of time thereby divulging a capital-accumulation trend of the capitalists.

**Table 2**  
**Capital Accumulation of Billionaires**

Year	Number of billionaires	Group's combined net worth
2013	1,426	\$5.4 trillion
2012	1,226	\$4.6 trillion
2011	1,210	\$4.5 trillion
2010	1,011	\$3.6 trillion
2009	793	\$2.4 trillion
2006	793	\$2.6 trillion
2005	691	\$2.2 trillion
2004	587	\$1.9 trillion
2003	476	\$1.4 trillion
2002	497	\$1.5 trillion
2001	538	\$1.8 trillion
2000	470	\$898 billion

Source: *Forbes*

According to *The Fortune Magazine* 'Global 500' largest corporations in 2004 employed more people than the whole workforce of Germany. The after-tax profit volume of the Fortune Global 500 was said to be \$731 billion, the combined asset value was \$60.8 trillion, gross income (revenues) \$14.8 trillion, and stockholders' equity \$6.8 trillion. For comparison, world GDP in 2004 was valued at \$40.9 trillion. *Marx* (Marx 1867) argues that not only is concentration of wealth a direct product of capital accumulation, but centralization of capital (redistribution of capital - mergers, etc.) accelerates the tendency toward monopoly. As Marx pointed out, 'Centralization in a certain line of industry would have reached its extreme limit, if all the individual capitals invested in it would have been amalgamated into one single capital. This limit would not be reached in any particular society until the entire social capital would be united, either in the hands of one single capitalist, or in those of one single corporation.'

**f. The internationalization process also opens up new markets and connects segments of markets across borders, increasingly differentiating societies vertically while homogenizing markets horizontally.** This expansion of demand through new markets is absolutely crucial in a model that relies on the reduction of wages in the core countries. The process of internalization offers dynamic



expansion possibilities that could substantially benefit the capitalist system.

Marx prophesied this, writing that capitalism, driven as it is by the need for ever bigger markets and ever cheaper raw material, would necessarily spread across globe. *The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, draws all, even the most barbarian, nations into civilization. The cheap prices of commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all Chinese walls, with which it forces the barbarians' intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate. It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilization into their midst, i.e., to become bourgeois themselves. In one word, it creates a world after its own image* (Marx 1867).

The process of internalization of the capitalist mode of economy takes place with the dramatic breakthrough in information technology. Advances in telecommunications, flexible manufacturing that allows simultaneously for standardization and customization, and new transportation technologies emerging from the use of computers and new materials have created the material infrastructure for the world economy, as the construction of the railway system provided the basis for the formation of national markets in the nineteenth century. In addition, the economic effects of new technologies are also crucial in the formation of an international economy. There effects on process condition the international competitiveness of countries and firms. There effects on new products create new markets in which the harshest competitive battles are fought, with new economic actors trying to short-circuit the sequence of development by leap frogging into state-of-the-art. High-technology markets through dramatic efforts of national development (Castells 2007). The new technological division of labour is one of the fundamental lines of cleavage in the emerging international economic order. The emerging technologies are also a powerful instrument in weighting the accumulation and domination functions of state interventions. This occurs on two main levels (Ibid.): On the one hand rapid technological change makes obsolete the entire existing weapons system, creating the basis for the expansion of the 'war fare state' in a political environment characterized by states striving for military supremacy and therefore engaging in a technological arms race that can only be

supported by the resource of the state; On the other hand the strategic role played by high-technology in economic development draws the state to concentrate on providing the required infrastructure, downplaying its role in re-distributional policies.

### **Conclusion**

The above discussed facets of capitalism reveal the fundamental, essential character of capitalism in this period. Capitalism today has predominantly assumed the form of global neoliberalism. This form of capitalism differs in various ways from the regulated, welfare-state capitalism of the post-World War II decades. Since the end of the long post-war boom in the mid-1970s, the world economy has entered into a period of crisis and stagnation, as the level of economic growth has declined around the world. During the post-war period, the ever-growing economic 'pie' created the basis for capitalists to have high profits while allowing workers to receive higher wages and benefits. The crisis in the world economy since the 1970s means that the only way capitalists can maintain their rates of profit has been a redistribution of wealth, through an attack on workers. The fundamental program of neo-liberalism for the entire 1980s and 90s has been busting unions, lowering wages, and dismantling the welfare state.

In Marxist terms globalization can be seen as the situation to which capitalism inevitably leads, i.e., where the ceaseless drive to accumulate more and more capital obliges capitalists to try to break down all remaining impediments to investment, markets, resources, cheap labour and profitable business opportunities. Global capitalism is about them being able to get into and take over markets which they were previously kept out of by government regulation, especially protection of local industries against cheap imports. Hundreds of millions of poor people in the Third World have been further impoverished because transnational corporations are now able to come in and take over the markets and resources that used to be preserved for the benefit of locals.

Global capitalism makes clear the great conflict of interest between capitalists and the rest. Thus analysis in terms of class is crucial. It must be analyzed in terms of winners and losers. There are very few winners, mostly the corporate shareholders and people who shop in rich world supermarkets. Thus the recent history of the world is primarily explicable in terms of this class conflict. The capitalist class has enjoyed triumphant success; it is rapidly becoming richer and is dramatically restructuring the world in its interests. Workers,

unions and the Left are very weak and large numbers of people are being completely excluded and dumped, including the long term unemployed, and one billion people in the Fourth World. There is increasing polarization and immiseration. Extremes of wealth and poverty are now accelerating in even the richest countries. Within the broader context of globalization, global capitalism and the neo-liberal agenda are gutting society, destroying the conditions on which are crucial for cohesion, such as valuing the public good, concern for the underdog and for society, and concern for the environment. This suggests that neo-liberalism is no mere accident. It is the inevitable, inescapable logic of the world economy in this period.

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## Development of Education in Jammu and Kashmir: Areas of Concern and Future Needs

**Fayaz Ahmad Bhat**

Lecturer, Department of Sociology, University of Kashmir, J&K  
Email: fayazbht8@gmail.com

**Mehraj-ud-Din Sheikh**

Lecturer, Department of Education, University of Kashmir, Srinagar;  
Email: mehrajamu@gmail.com

*The problem of educational development stresses not only on developing the necessary structures and personal but also on the purpose of education which is the identification and preparation of qualified individuals. Education is a critical input in development in general and in human resource development in particular and is a catalyst for empowerment, poverty reduction and growth per se. The educational system of any society is related to the total social system of that society. Whether it prepares the new generations for status quo or for change depends upon the needs and goals of the society concerned. One of the expectations from the development of education is that it will bring about reduction in inequalities in society assuming that education leads to equalization of status between individuals coming from unequal socio-economic strata of society. The paper is based on secondary data collected from Census, Digest of Statistics and will be supplemented with government reports, published work wherever necessary. The paper attempts to: trace the history of development of education in Jammu and Kashmir in pre- and post Independent India; map out the growth and expansion of education system in Jammu and Kashmir in terms growth in infrastructure, teacher availability, share of expenditure on education sector, literacy rate, student enrolment and completion of courses at various levels of education; highlight the areas of concern and future needs to make the educational system more goal oriented and functional.*

**Keywords:** Education; Development; Growth; Education system; Jammu; Kashmir

### **Introduction**

Education is to realize the human resource potential to its fullest. Education means “*manifestation of perfection already existed in man*” - Swami Vivekanand. As a potential instrument of social change and national upliftment, education has been taken as a vital factor of the national progress and security (Mohanty, 2002). Education is a critical input in development in general and in human resource development in particular. In all countries of the world,

education is recognized as the cornerstone for socio-economic development. The progress and prosperity of a nation and of community is determined by the level of education (Ahmad, 1987). The educational system of any society is related to the total social system of that society. It plays an important role in eradicating poverty, reducing child mortality, curbing population growth, achieving gender equality and ensuring sustainable development, peace and democracy. The importance of education as a part of fundamental right has been emphasized in the Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). This right is also repeated in the UN Declaration of the Rights of the Child. The 86<sup>th</sup> Constitutional Amendment Act 2002 made education in India a “Fundamental Right” for children in the age group of 6-14 years by providing that

*“the state shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of six to fourteen years in such manner as the state may, by law, determine.”*

April, 01, 2010 becomes a historic day for India as Right to Education (RTE) Act was implemented except in Jammu & Kashmir (Bhat and Khurshid, 2010). Despite of the widespread agreement on that all people have the fundamental human right to education, millions of children, most of them girls, do not have access to primary education and are still unaware of the fact that this is the right they can demand. Such kind of a situation has repercussions because when the children are deprived from attaining the primary level of education, then how is it possible that they will be able to accomplish higher level of education? The situation is further complicated by lack of educational institutions which are easily accessible, shortage of manpower, limited fund allocation for proper functioning of educational system at the higher levels of education. What is then required is the timely intervention not only of the government but also of the non-governmental sector so as to improve the educational system by enlarging the institutional infrastructure well equipped with skilled human resource and this is possible through substantial fund allocation for the education sector if the goal of providing education to all is to be achieved. To achieve this goal, Government of India from time to time has endorsed new laws; brought amendments in the existing ones and implemented number of schemes/programmes for the development of education system in the country as well as across its states. This is not going to help unless the masses are not realized the

importance of education and the conditions in society are not made conducive for the growth, expansion and proper functioning of the educational system in the society.

Keeping this in view, the area chosen for the study is Jammu and Kashmir which according to 2011 Census ranks 30<sup>th</sup> in literacy among the states of India just above Bihar, Arunachal Pradesh, Rajasthan, Jharkhand and Andhra Pradesh. Even today, the state has the lowest literacy as compared to major states and Union Territories. Furthermore, the educational system of the state has been severely affected by the ongoing conflict. The so often strikes not only lead to student and staff absenteeism but also embezzlement of funds allocated for building of educational infrastructure by the concerned authorities. Because of the political intervention and lack of transparency in such kind of situations, there is delay in selection processes of teaching and non-teaching personnel thereby obstructing the proper functioning and smooth growth of education system in the state.

The state of Jammu and Kashmir is one of the largest states of the India. It lies between 32°-15' and 37°-05' North latitude and 72°-35' and 83°-20' East longitude. The total area of the state is about 222236 sq. km of which 78114 sq. km. are under the occupation of Pakistan and 37555 sq. km under China. In addition to this, 5180 sq. km of Jammu and Kashmir were handed over by Pakistan to China. This leaves the State with an area of 101387 sq. km. The Indian occupied state of Jammu and Kashmir comprises three natural regions: Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh. According to the 2011 Census, the total population of the state is 1, 25, 48,926 persons. Further break-up of population by gender shows that 66, 65,561 are male and 58, 83,365 are female. The distribution of population reveals striking variation at the district level. The accentuation of population is mostly found in the districts of Baramulla, Srinagar, Anantnag and Jammu. Out of the 22 districts of the state, Jammu has the highest population and Kargil has the lowest. The population density of Jammu and Kashmir is 124 in Census 2011, highest in Ganderbal district (1151) and lowest in Leh (3). The literacy rate of the state is 66. 92 percent in which male literacy is 77.14 percent and female literacy is 54.79 percent with a gender gap of 22.35 percent.

The study is based on secondary sources collected from the various reports of census of Jammu and Kashmir and is supplemented with State Digest of Statistics and other published work wherever

necessary. To map out the development in education in the state of Jammu and Kashmir, analysis of growth in both the input and output variables was done. Input variables are the efforts made in establishing and developing an education system whereas the output parameters are the outcome of these efforts explained in terms of what is produced by education (Psacharopoulos, 2006). In the present study, infrastructure, availability of teachers, and investments or expenditure on education – are taken as such input variables and literacy rate, enrolment and success rate at various levels of education are taken as output variables.

The study attempts to trace the history of development of education in pre- and post-independent Jammu and Kashmir; map out the growth and expansion of education system in Jammu and Kashmir in terms growth in infrastructure, teacher availability, share of expenditure on education sector, literacy rate, student enrolment and completion of courses at various levels of education. An attempt will also be made to highlight the areas of concern and some suggestive measures will be put forward so as to make the educational system of the state more goal-oriented and functional.

### **Development of Education in Pre and Post-Independent Jammu and Kashmir**

The people of the Jammu and Kashmir state have been living under oppressive feudal regimes for centuries. They had been badly exploited under Afghan, Sikh and Dogra rule. The population was largely illiterate (Khan, 2005). In Jammu and Kashmir, the system of formal education, in particular, had been conspicuously absent in the past. Like other parts of country, education in the state of Jammu and Kashmir was traditionally imparted through indigenous institutions and it was predominantly religious in its orientation. There were no regular schools and pathshalas (Biscoe, 1998). The miserable conditions of the people, the educational backwardness of the state and its people, and the absence of prominent centers of learning were attributed at this time much more directly to Dogra rulers rather than to religious beliefs and community practices. The demand for education in the state was inextricably tied up with the struggle against oppressive feudal policies by which the state was governed (Khan, 2005).

The beginning of social reform in the state emerged from within the communities at the turn of the nineteenth century. Both Hindu and Muslim subjects of the Dogra Maharajas started to organize themselves and voice their grievances. These developments



compelled Dogras to take some measures to improve the educational conditions of the people in the state. Maharaja Ranbir Singh (1857-1885) was the first Dogra ruler to take an interest in the regeneration of the social life of the people and education of the state. He established a few regular schools and pathshalas (Om, 1986). The first state school was opened in Jammu in the early 1860s and another such school was opened in Srinagar in 1874. The curriculum however followed the traditional pattern and education was imparted in Persian and Sanskrit (Khan, 2005). A change in the medieval educational system was brought in 1880 when the first school on modern lines founded by J. Hinton Knowles was established by the Christian Missionary Society of London on the outskirts of Srinagar. (Khan, 2005). It was in 1907, when Maharaja Pratap Singh (1885-1925) appointed a conference to formulate a scheme for imparting education to his subjects. In 1909, he again stressed upon the need to draw up a scheme for making primary education free and compulsory throughout the state. Many private institutions had now started receiving grant-in-aid from the government. It was Maharaja Hari Singh (1925-1950) who adopted 'Compulsory Primary Education Regulation' in 1930 and made it applicable in Srinagar, Jammu and many other towns with immediate effects later on (Rekhi, 1993). The education achieved much progress between 1889 and 1915 which is evident from the fact that in 1889, there were only two high schools, one at Jammu and the other in Srinagar, eight village schools (seven in Jammu and one in Kashmir) and a few Sanskrit schools. While in 1915, there were two colleges one each at Srinagar and Jammu, one technical institute, nine high schools, thirty-two middle schools, one normal school, 304 primary schools, two special schools and 309 private indigenous schools. During this period there was not only quantitative expansion of education but also qualitative (Om, 1986). The first high school in Jammu and Srinagar came into existence in 1890 and 1892 respectively. According to the census report of 1901, there was one high school in Srinagar, 16 primary schools and 19 indigenous branch schools in the valley. Colleges were established in Srinagar and Jammu in 1905 and 1907 respectively. Sri Pratap College was the first college in Srinagar established in the year 1905 was the only institute of higher education in Kashmir till the 1940s. Another college, Amar Singh College was established as a technical school in the 1930s, in the memory of the late Raja Amar Singh and given the status of a degree college as late as 1942 (Khan, 2005).

Despite many suggestions, lack of educational facilities especially at the higher levels hindering the progress of local population. This prevented them for qualifying government services or in any position of importance. Thus there was an opposition to the Maharaja's rule and a political movement began to emerge in which education subsequently acquired major importance. All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference was formed in 1934 as a major political opposition to Dogra rule which however, in 1939 was formally dissolved. After this, the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference emerged as a secular organization to fight for social and economic justice for the people of the state and education in the State of Jammu and Kashmir formed a major and important part of their demand. This party spearheaded the battle for freedom against the Dogra regime. The Jammu and Kashmir National Conference prepared a draft of the future constitution of state which was given the name of 'Naya Kashmir' document. The document promised to all citizens the right to education and mentioned education up to university level (Khan, 2005). Sections dealing with education are reproduced below:

*"National education is the pivot round which the progress of people revolves. The Jammu and Kashmir National Conference stands for an active and progressive policy of education which may carry the light of knowledge to the farthest and most backward areas of the state. Education should not be merely liberal, but also technical, and allied to the National Economic Plan. An effort should be made in all teachings to link the child up with the actual life and work of the state"* (Khan, 1973).

With the partition of the country in 1947, the state leaders realized the significance of education and its importance for democracy. In 1947-1948 Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah of the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference was asked to form interim government in the state. Soon after taking over as first Prime Minister of the state, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah retained the portfolio of Ministry of Education under his control. Taking over of education portfolio personally, by the Prime Minister was recognition of the importance attached to education in the state. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah started bringing reforms and revolutions in the 'old fashioned' system of education with great enthusiasm. Impetus was given to raise the general level of literacy as well as to provide adequate opportunities for Primary, Higher and Technical education. This resulted in the gradual expansion of

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institutions at all levels and their number started increasing but these efforts could not match up with the requirements (Rekhi, 1993).

It was only during the post-independence period that the government launched a campaign of building up a network of educational institutions. The very low percentage of literacy in the State is a legacy of the past and the cumulative effect of several factors i.e., the dearth of educational institutions, the economic backwardness of the people to finance the cost of educating their children and, above all, the rule of various feudal regimes. At the time of independence only 7% of the population was literate. This became the matter of grave concern for the State government and on 17<sup>th</sup> November, 1956, when the State adopted and enacted its Constitution, it made provisions relevant to the development of education through the Directive Principles of state Policy such as right to free and compulsory education; equal opportunities in education and employment for all children and youth etc. These provisions mentioned under Clause 20-23 of Part IV of the Constitution provided guidelines for the development of education in the state (Khan, 1973). It was in this background that the educational policies and programmes were formulated which provided guidelines for the development of education in the state. Until, 1976 the education was exclusively, in the State list but by a constitutional amendment, in 1976, it has been shifted to the Concurrent List. The introduction of planning in the State started to recognize the importance of the system of education and enrich its content so as to meet the needs of people particularly in the context of developing economy (Rekhi, 1993). The outcome of all the efforts taken by the state government in collaboration with central government can be comprehended by looking at the development of education in Jammu and Kashmir in terms of growth in education system in the state particularly of infrastructure, teacher recruitment, budget allocation, literacy rate, student enrolment and successful completion of courses.

### **Infrastructure**

Since independence, the state government has been expanding the provision of education to realize the goal of universal education for all. This resulted in the gradual expansion of governmental institutions at all levels and their number started increasing. As a result there was a phenomenal progress in terms of the expansion of number of institutions, manifold increase of spatial spread, infrastructure facilities and increased coverage of various social

groups; but the goal of providing basic education to all continues to be elusive.

**Table 1**  
**Growth in Governmental Educational Institutions in Jammu & Kashmir (1975-2011)**

Year	No. of Institution						Growth					
	P	M	HS/HSS	College			P	M	HS/HSS	Collage		
				G	Pr	S				G	Pr	S.
1974-75	5777	1842	714	22	12	8	-	-	-	-	-	-
1980-81	7406	2046	813	22	12	8	28.20	11.07	13.87	0.00	0.00	0.00
1985-86	7860	2193	976	23	12	8	6.13	7.18	20.05	4.55	0.00	0.00
1990-91	9242	2438	1220	32	15	8	17.58	11.17	25.00	39.13	25.00	0.00
1995-96	10461	3082	1359	33	N/A	8	13.19	26.42	11.39	3.13	0.00	0.00
2000-01	10926	3728	1504	33	11	N/A	4.45	20.96	10.67	0.00	26.67	N/A
2004-05	12049	4239	1347	38	N/A	N/A	10.28	13.78	-10.44	15.15	NA	N/A
2010-11	15203	9320	3169	39	92	01	26.2	119.9	135.3	2.6	NA	N/A

Note: P. - Primary; M.-Middle; HS/HSS- High School/Higher Secondary School; G.- General; Pr.-Professional; S.-Special.

Source: Digest of Statistic 2011-12, pp.360-65, 373.

Table 1 gives a comprehensive picture of the growth in governmental educational institutions in the State. The analysis of figures in the table reveals that there has been increase in number of government institutions at school level during the period of assessment i.e., 1974-75 to 2010-11. However the exception to this upward trend is noticed at high school and higher secondary school level (-10.44 percent) during the time period of 2000-01 to 2004-05. The situation is somewhat different in case of institution of higher learning i.e., college education. Though there is increase in the number of general colleges from 22 in 1974-75 to 39 in 2010-11 but that of the special educational colleges is declining reaching to the lowest total of 1 in 2010-11.

A glance at Table 2 reveals the information about the opening out of private educational institutions in Jammu and Kashmir. The establishment of private schools is predominantly the outcome of the effort of voluntarism. The voluntary action in education is obviously a non-governmental, community and people based social initiative aimed to improve the condition of education of a group of people and thus reduce the inequality in education that is faced by them in the society (Siddiqui, 2004). There is steady increase in the

number of high and higher secondary schools whereas in case of primary and middle schools, a sharp decline of -1.55 and -0.80 percent is noticed in their number during 2005-06 to 2010-11 and 2001-01 to 2005-06 respectively.

**Table 2**  
**Growth in Private Educational Institutions in Jammu & Kashmir during 1975-2011**

Year and Stage	Number of Schools			Growth		
	Primary	Middle	HS & HSS	Primary	Middle	HS & HSS
1974-75	138	41	89	-	-	-
1980-81	121	72	94	-12.32	75.61	5.62
1985-86	281	133	122	132.23	84.72	29.79
1990-91	519	263	143	84.70	97.74	17.21
1995-96	1113	729	226	114.45	177.19	58.04
2000-01	1396	1246	331	25.43	70.92	46.46
2005-06	1677	1236	721	20.13	-0.80	117.82
2010-11	1651	1971	1350	-1.55	59.47	87.24

*Note:* HS/HSS- High School/Higher Secondary School.

*Source:* Digest of Statistic 2011-12, p. 393.

From the analysis of the data given in Table 1 and 2, it is clear that the growth in the number of institutions especially at school level run by government and private parties is complementary to each other. The decline in number of government high school and higher secondary schools (HS/HSS) is balanced by increase in number of private HS/HSS and vice-versa. The possible reason for this could be the expansion of primary and middle school by government under its Sarva Shiksha Abiyan (SSA) Scheme thereby providing easy access to children of young age group. The other reason is commercialization of education whereby government teachers appointed in high school and higher secondary schools are least interested in teaching in government institutions and more in private tuition centres. The declining quality of teaching in government educational institutions at high and higher secondary school level also helps in expanding the scope of opening up of more private high school and higher secondary schools as parents believe that private institutions in comparison to government institutions provide quality education. This is a serious issue as such kind of education will generate disparity rather than equality in society as it will be accessible to children of elite and well off families rather to the children of poor families and the latter have to rely wholly on government institutions for their education. However, what is commendable is the expansion of general and professional colleges of education by the state government as it opens up the

opportunities for the aspirants to attain higher levels of education. Other than these colleges of education, there are nine universities functioning right now in the state in which six are government and three are semi-government.

### Availability of Teachers

Growth and expansion of educational infrastructure is important but not enough for realization of goal of universalizing education. Another important input variable is the availability of teachers in these institutions of learning. Table 4 provides the information about the availability of teachers at various levels of education. Analysis of the data regarding the change in this variable during the period of reference reveals that there has been a substantial increase in their number at the school level. The exceptional decline in the percentage growth of teachers is noticed in middle (-8.75 percent) and high school and higher secondary schools (-10.69 percent) during 2000-01 to 2004-05. As far as the availability of teachers in the institutions of higher learning i.e. colleges and universities is concerned, the increase in percentage growth of teachers is not uniform and this is same in case of school education also. What is more worrying is the sharp decline in number of teachers available at graduate level (-26.26 percent) and post-graduate level (-51.59 percent) in time period 2004-05 to 2010-11.

**Table 3**  
**Growth in Availability of Teachers in Educational Institutions in Jammu & Kashmir (1975-2011)**

Year	No. of Teacher					Change				
	Pry.	Mid.	HS	G	PG	Pry.	Mid.	HS	G	PG
1974-75	8183	10262	12312	1108	181	-	-	-	-	-
1980-81	10659	13228	14868	1139	278	30.26	28.90	20.76	2.80	53.59
1985-86	11970	16286	16929	1211	312	12.30	23.12	13.86	6.32	12.23
1990-91	16440	17999	21550	1254	673	37.34	10.52	27.30	3.55	115.71
1995-96	22755	23872	24124	1097	376	38.41	32.63	11.94	-12.52	-44.13
2000-01	27532	30989	27206	1116	443	20.99	29.81	12.78	1.73	17.82
2004-05	31000	28279	24297	1226	533	12.60	-8.75	-10.69	9.86	20.32
2010-11	63123	45600	46078	904	258	103.62	61.25	89.64	-26.26	-51.59

Note: Pry.-Primary, Mid-Middle, HS- High School and Higher Secondary, G.- Graduation, PG- Post Graduation; The figures of graduation and PG are includes only general education, NA-Not Available.

Source: Digest of Statistic 2011-12, pp. 360-365, 373.

Though there has been gradual expansion of institutions of higher learning especially in the case of general and professional colleges especially during the last decade, but what is surprising is that these colleges of education are deficient in permanent faculties and instead of fulfilling the vacancies, the state is making use of contractual system appointing qualified faculties on very low remuneration wasting their potential and instill in them a sense of insecurity. These contractual appointees are forced to change their career choices from teaching to administration and other jobs. It produces no good results at all. This is an area of concern and need immediate state intervention otherwise it is going to be disastrous because the higher education will otherwise has to face shortage of qualified and proficient faculty in the very near future.

### Expenditure

The development of education depends on large number of factors including the availability of financial resources because the availability of financial resources, in turn, manifests itself into availability of teaching and non-teaching resources including the infrastructural facilities. State government realized this and soon after the introduction of planning in the State, it recognized how much important is the system of education and its development and the need to enrich its content so as to meet the needs of people particularly in the context of developing economy.

**Table 4**  
**Growth in Distribution of Outlay to Education in Various Plans**

Plans	Total plan outlay (in Lacs)	Allocation to Education (in Lacs)	Actual Expenditure on Education	Total Outlay (%)	Actual Expenditure (%)
1 <sup>st</sup> Plan	1274.15	66.06	48.86 Lacs	5.18	3.83
2 <sup>nd</sup> Plan	5127	281.68	235.51 Lacs	5.49	4.49
3 <sup>rd</sup> Plan	7514.84	612.75	557.64 Lacs	8.15	7.42
4 <sup>th</sup> Plan	15740	794	827.11 Lacs	5.04	5.25
5 <sup>th</sup> Plan	36340	2318	1694 Lacs	6.37	4.66
6 <sup>th</sup> Plan	900*	4030	5052.55 Lacs	4.47	5.61
7 <sup>th</sup> Plan	1400*	8262	141.57 Lacs	5.90	10.11
8 <sup>th</sup> Plan	5200*	483.43*	-	9.29	-
9 <sup>th</sup> Plan	1000000	100066.5	87781.57 Lacs	10.006	8.79
10 <sup>th</sup> Plan	1450000	136612.8	36669.46 Lacs	9.42	2.53
11 <sup>th</sup> Plan	2583400	216037	NA	8.36	NA

Note: \* Figures in Crores; NA-Not Available.

Source: Government of J & K, Digest of Statistics, 2011-12, pp. 500-584.

What is important to note is that with each successive plan, the plan outlay and expenditure on education increased (Rekhi, 1993). The

table 4 shows the total outlay and expenditure on education allocated in different plans in the state. Having a glance at table 4 shows that the total outlay incurred on education increased from Rs. 1274.15 lac to Rs. 216037 lacs in the first plan to Eleventh Plan respectively. Similarly the total expenditure on education increased from 48.86 Lacs to 36669.46 lacs in the first plan to Tenth Plan respectively. The expenditure incurred on education increased from Rs. 1274.15 lakh in the first plan to Rs. 2583400 lakh during Eleventh Plan. With the result the literacy level raised from 12.95 per cent in 1961 to 66.92 per cent in 2011. However, the matter of concern is that a very low percentage of funds allocated for development of education sector are spend during the plan and consequently a large amount of the funds either get lapsed or are mismanaged.

### **Literacy in Jammu and Kashmir (1961-2011)**

Literacy is an output variable to study the level of development of education in an area. A glance at the table 5 depicts that literacy rate in Jammu and Kashmir is showing a positive upward trend, though it is varying across the census decades. An analysis of census figures reveals that there is an increase in the literacy levels in general and male-female literacy in particular from 1961 to 2011. According to census 2011, the literacy level climbed up from 12.95 per cent in 1961 to 66.92 per cent in 2011. The male literacy rate reached to 77.10 per cent in 2011 which was only 19.75 per cent in 1961, whereas the female literacy rate increased from 5.05 per cent in 1961 to 54.79 per cent in 2011. Further account of the male-female literacy rates shows that the male literacy rate is higher than female literacy rate in all the census years.

**Table 5**  
**Growth in Literacy Rate in Jammu and Kashmir 1961-2011**

Year/Literacy Rate/Gender	Literacy Rate			Growth		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1961	19.75	5.05	12.95	-	-	-
1971	31.01	10.94	21.71	57.01	116.63	67.64
1981	41.46	18.37	30.64	33.70	67.92	41.13
2001*	65.75	41.82	54.46	58.59	127.65	77.74
2011	77.10	54.79	66.92	17.26	31.01	22.88

*Note: \* The preceding year for calculating growth rate is 1981 instead of 1991 for Jammu and Kashmir because the census operations were not carried out in the state in 1991.*

*Source: Census Report of Jammu and Kashmir (1961-1981, 2001 and 2011).*

In the delineation of above figures, it can be argued that there is a continuous rise in the literacy rate of the population of the state but it never exceed over the national literacy rate. What is important to



note is that during the last census decade i.e., 2001-2011, the growth rate in literacy rate had come down when it is compared with the preceding census decades. This is not in line with the objectives of the national policies and programmes aimed at total literacy. Why is it so need to be investigated? Furthermore, what is distressing is that the gender gap in literacy rate is still there and this issue needs to be addressed seriously.

## Enrolment

Enrolment is another output variable used to assess the level of development in education. Enrolment rate is defined as the percentage of students who register or enroll at the same time whereas dropout rate is defined as the percentage of students who drop out of a class in a year. Table 6 gives a comprehensive picture of the growth in enrolment of students at various in educational institutions of the State. Analysis of the data as given in the table reveals that the growth in enrolment of students at various levels of education has not been uniform. Though it has been positive at the maximum of the times but there are instances where it has shown a declining trend. As far as the trend in growth in enrolment of students at primary and middle level of education is concerned it has always been positive except in the time period of 2000-01 to 2004-05 where it has come down by -4.11 and -0.65 percentage points respectively. However in case of high school and higher secondary schools, the growth in enrolment has always been positive thereby signaling that the efforts of the government in providing elementary education are going in the right direction. Moving away from the analysis of growth in enrolment at school level of education to college level of education, the description is somewhat admirable as the student enrolment in these colleges is showing an upward trend. The exception to this trend is student enrolment in colleges of special education.

**Table 6**  
**Growth in Enrollment of Students in Jammu & Kashmir during 1975-2011 (in Lakhs)**

Year /Stage	Primary	Middle	HS & HSS	Collage*		
				General	Professional	Special
1974-75	4.07	1.38	0.67	27761	3834	615
1980-81	5.49	1.67	0.83	15828	5189	1380
1985-86	6.77	2.33	1.33	20089	5122	705
1990-91	7.79	3.07	1.64	23924	3645	750
1995-96	9.04	3.72	2.45	49715	NA	458
2000-01	11.19	4.60	3.51	42239	1134@	NA
2004-05	10.73	4.57	3.55	72672	36874	NA
2010-11	13.58	6.85	5.98	135787	63180	112

Growth in Enrolment							
Stage/ Year	1980-81	1985-86	1990-91	1995-96	2000-01	2004-05	2010-11
Primary	34.89	23.32	15.07	16.05	23.78	-4.11	26.56
Middle	21.39	39.52	31.76	21.17	23.66	-0.65	49.89
HS & HSS	23.88	60.24	23.31	49.39	43.27	1.14	68.45
General	-42.98	26.92	19.09	107.80	-15.04	72.05	86.85
Professional	35.34	-1.29	-28.84	NA	NA	NA	71.34
Special	124.39	-48.91	6.38	-38.93	NA	NA	NA

Note: \* values are in actual number, @-excludes Medical, Agriculture and physical Education Colleges

Source: Digest of Statistic 2011-12, pp.366-70.

## Course Completion

Growth in literacy and enrolment is not ample evidence in support of the claim that the education and education system in the state has developed as it was dreamed to do so. What is important is how many of them who were enrolled have successfully completed the courses in the year of appearance. The information about this output variable is given in table 7 and table 8. Having a glance at table 7 shows that growth in success rate at high school or in matriculation though being positive shows variation especially from 1990-91 to 2001-01. This is time period during which the movement for freedom was at its peak and the state was in turmoil. The education and education system of the state suffered heavily because the educational institutions remain largely closed and a number of educational institutions were either damaged or totally destroyed. However as far as the growth in course completion at intermediate (10+2) level is concerned, it has always been positive but it showed a sharp decline by 5.50 percentage points from 2001-01 to 2005-06.

**Table 7**

### Examination Result by Different Level of Education in Jammu & Kashmir

Year and Stage	Matriculation			10+2 (Intermediate)		
	Appeared	Passed	% Passed	Appeared	Passed	% Passed
1974-75	44103	9157	20.76	NA		
1980-81	44873	16938	37.75			
1985-86	69310	26726	38.56			
1990-91	73572@	22328	30.35			
1995-96	163534	50785	31.05			
2000-01	258295	59829	23.16	123597	38909	31.48
2005-06	400472	134125	33.49	122796	33135	26.98
2011-12	115963	58799	50.70	94942	46798	49.3

Note: @ indicates position in respect of Jammu division only, App-Appeared, 10+2- Higher Secondary.

Source: Digest of Statistic 2011-12, p.374-377.

Further analysis of the data regarding the success at the higher level of education i.e., graduate and post-graduate level, depicts that the

growth is not uniform but it has always been positive thereby signaling that state is doing well in producing well educated human resource.

**Table 8**  
**Examination Result by Different Level of Education in Jammu & Kashmir**

Year and Stage	Graduation			PG		
	Appeared	Passed	% Passed	Appeared	Passed	% Passed
1974-75	9598	5720	59.60	1596	926	58.02
1980-81	8070	4094	50.73	1858	1069	57.53
1985-86	12344	7468	60.50	3259	2023	62.07
1990-91	9627	5332	55.39	3469	1361	39.23
1995-96	14883	6975	46.87	2321	1105	47.61
2000-01	33529	16084	47.97	5132	3033	59.10
2005-06	20453	13875*	67.84	3212	1683	52.40
2011-12	36561	27324	74.74	7401	4574	61.80

*Note:*\* indicates position of Kashmir university only, App-Appeared, PG-Post-graduation.

*Source:* Digest of Statistic 2011-12, p. 374-377.

However, what is perturbing is the fact that despite the availability of vacancies in various government departments, state has failed to provide enough job opportunities to these educated youth. Further, the government is not making any effort to provide space for establishment and growth of private sector and therefore there is risk of losing this potential human resource, which if channelized in right direction can contribute in development of the state.

## Conclusion

There is a widespread agreement that education is a fundamental right and therefore everyone is entitled to it. But for many it has remained as a dream. In the state of Jammu and Kashmir, the system of education was conspicuously absent in the past and education was traditionally imparted through indigenous institutions. Emergence of modern educational system was the outcome of the social reforms initiated by the communities themselves and the intervention of Christian missionaries. Despite the many suggestions and prolonged hard work, the growth in education and education system of the state remained stunted and there was still the lack of educational facilities especially at the higher level thereby hindering the progress in education of the local population. It was only after the partition of the country that the state leadership realized the significance of education and its importance for democracy and included "education" as a separate chapter in the state constitution. The state government in collaboration with the private sector is toiling hard to make investments in expanding the educational infrastructure accessible to all by building new educational institutions equipped with

modern facilities and technology and is employing more personal by expanding the share of funds for education sector in budget so that the outcome of all this should come in positive direction. Though the state has achieved some success in attaining its goal of bringing development in education system but there is lot which is yet to be done especially in harvesting the potential of young educated youth by providing them ample job opportunities and this largely depends not only on the strong political will but also on the cooperation of NGOs, civil society and the responsible citizens for whom it is meant.

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## **Role of Panchayat Raj Institutions in Child Caring: A Case Study of Village Ringzabal in Kashmir**

**Naseer Ahmad Wani**

Junior Research Fellow, Department of Sociology, University of Kashmir

Email: naturalchild10@gmail.com

*In simple words, child care refers to 'caring of children in such a way that will ensure their proper mental, physical and social development'. In other way child care involves the assurance of the basic rights of children. These are Right to Survival, Right to Development, Right to Protection and Right to Participation. Family, school, community and state are the main agencies that play vital role in caring and proper development of the children. It is the responsibility of the state to provide adequate services to children, to ensure their proper physical, mental, and social development. Among the state functionaries, PRIs at gross root level have a vital role to play for the welfare of children in particular and community in general. In state of J & K after a long gap of almost thirty years, elections of one of the tiers of Panchayat Raj were held. Since then Gram Sabhas are performing their duties in their respective panchayat halqas. We find a great role of Gram Sabha in sensitizing the community about the issues and problems of the children through village level meetings. It can also accelerate the proper functioning of the ICDS centers and schools in the village. This paper is based on an empirical study conducted in one of the tribal villages of district Budgam in Kashmir division of J & K state to analyze the role of PRI in child caring. It is one of the remotest villages of the district and is still lacking the facilities of road connectivity and electricity. In spite of housing two ICDS centers and two government schools, there are various children related issues in the village like high rate of never admitted and drop out children, malnutrition etc. The present paper sheds light on various issues and problems of children in the village. The study has been carried out in line with the case study research strategy and the village has been taken as a case for conducting this study.*

### **Introduction**

Child care refers to 'caring of children in such a way that will ensure their proper mental, physical and social development'. In other words, child care involves the assurance of the basic rights of children. These are *Right to Survival, Right to Development, Right to Protection and Right to Participation*. Caring of children from conception to delivery and then deliver to maturity involves the various stakeholders, who share a responsibility for caring and development of the children. Among these the role of father and

mother i.e. family has a first and primary importance in caring the child. The families cannot up bring their children in isolation; they have to rely on the other agencies for their care and development. The father of the child has to take the mother of the child during pregnancy to the health institutions for regular health check - ups and medical consultations and the process continues till to post delivery period. The child after few years of care at the home has to be admitted in the school for the education. The school acts an important bridge between the family and the community. School on one side, makes the child a learner, knowledge seeker, skilled person and on the other prepares him for the various roles to be performed in the community. However, the various institutions concerned with the child care like health institutions, educational institutions are working under the supervision of certain political institutions. These political institutions govern the whole mechanism of working and functioning of the planning, policy and implementation of the different departments, agencies concerned with the welfare and development of the nation and its people. It is the responsibility of the state to provide adequate services to children, to ensure their proper physical, mental, and social development. Among the state functionaries, PRIs at gross root level have a vital role to play for the welfare of children in particular and community in general. Panchayat Raj on one side is intended to decentralize the power at the gross root level among masses and also involves their participation in the governance and decision making. This not only strengthens the democratic institutions of the country but also involves the participation of people in national building. PRIs are directly related to the rural development in terms of socio economic and political dimensions. Through these institutions people in the rural areas can demand for better rural infrastructure, which in turn can change their socio-economic conditions and politically people participate in the process of decision making regarding their needs and demands.

### **Village Setting**

The present paper is based on an empirical study conducted within one of the tribal villages of the Budgam namely Ringzabal. Ringzabal is among one of the remotest tribal villages of Budgam. The total population of the village is 905, comprising of 460 males and 445 of females, based on 205 families. It comes under the Zone Hard Panzoo, Block and also Tehsil Khansahab, district Budgam. It is situated on the bank of Nallah Sukhnag, in hilly areas and

adjacent to the forests. Socio-economically village is very backward. Majority of the people of the village are illiterate and just three persons in the village are matriculate till now. One of the major problems in terms of schooling in the village is the problem of retention of the students in the schools. This in turn gives birth to huge number of children engaged in labor. The main source of livelihood of people of the village is farming and laboring. The land available in the village is dry and mostly maize and pulses are grown on it. The area of land available to the households of the village ranges from two to five kanals. The women of the village also add to their family income by bringing firewood from the forests and then they make charcoal of it, latter it is sold in the market. Besides every household in the village is rearing the livestock and livestock rearing is mostly performed by the women and the children.

### **Methodology**

The criterion for selecting this particular village is to make a representative sort of analysis of the role of *Panchayat Raj Institutions* in child caring in the tribal villages of the district Budgam. The village is also the area of intervention of a Kashmir based nongovernmental organization namely Koshish. That is working there on child rights. The present study has been carried out in line with the case study research strategy and the village has been taken as a case for conducting this study. While following the case study research design; the researcher has used interviews and non participant observation, as the research methods. In addition to this, the base line data (BLD) as collected by the Koshish (NGO) from the field on various issues of the children was also consulted. In non participant observation, researcher observed various aspects related directly or indirectly with the research problem like school infrastructure of the two schools in the village, living conditions of these children, also their nature of working. Besides, the surpanch, other punch members, the teachers, community members, children of the village were interviewed regarding various aspects of child caring and the role of panchayat institution in village. Interviews mostly include informal interactions with the panchayat members, villagers, teachers, children etc. The main objective of this study is to highlight the various issues and problems as faced by the children of the village and to analyze the role of Gram Sabha in addressing these issues and problems related to children.

### **Findings of the Study**

At a micro level, the environments in which the children of the village grow comprise the family of orientation for a child, neighborhood, school surroundings and whole village community. The caring environment of such agencies can lead to the safeguard of the rights of the children. While analyzing the environment of village in which the children of the village are brought up, mostly focusing the state sponsored agencies like schools and anganwadi centers, it was found that there are various child related issues and problems in the village. These issues and problems have many ill consequences on the proper physical, mental and social development of the children of the village. So before assessing the role of Panchayat in child caring and development, we will first discuss various problems and issues related to children in village. Then we will analyze the role of Panchayat (if any) to play in order to address these problems and issues related to children.

**Issues and Problems of Children below the age of 6 years:** The children below the age of 6 years in the village are enrolled in two ICDS centers of the village. These centers are obliged to facilitate the proper physical, mental and social development of the children by availing the various services to the children like supplementary nutrition, immunization, pre – school education, recreational services, referral services and health check - ups. These centers are also concerned with the caring of pregnant and lactating mothers in order to facilitate the proper care and development of children from conception to delivery and post delivery period. While analyzing the role of these centers in the care and development of children, it is very poor and unsatisfactory. The villagers knew these centers only as *Dal centers*, where few food items are distributed among the children. They did not even know about the other services as part of the ICDS scheme. The delivery of supplementary nutrition service too is not satisfactory. These centers face mostly the problems of absence of Anganwadi workers, monitoring supervisions of the concerned officials, shortage of infrastructural requirements, lack of coordination between the ICDS workers and the staff of health departments, lack of training to the ICDS workers and helpers, inadequacy in service delivering requirements etc. So the only hope and agency in the village meant for the children below the age of 6 years in terms of their proper care and development has failed in delivering its services. The poor functioning of these ICDS centers have direct impact on the development of the children in terms of



their health, hygiene and growth. The families of the children are socio-economically very poor and are not in a position to feed their children sufficiently. So the scheme of ICDS intended to help the children of poor is far away from its goals. The various issues and problems related to children in the village can be pointed as:

- **School drop outs:** There is a provision of pre-school education in anganwadi centers in order to make the children prepared for the school education and to develop an interest among them towards the education. The problem of student retention and child laboring in the village can also be credited as the offshoot of these centers as they have failed to inculcate an interest among children in early childhood towards education.
- **Health and Hygiene of the children:** The anganwadi workers are obliged to conduct regularly meetings with the pregnant mothers, nursing mothers, lactating mothers and adolescent girls regarding various issues related to health and hygiene of themselves, their children and of overall community. But the poor functioning of these centers directly affected the health and hygiene of the children. Most of the children in the village are malnourished, in a state of un-hygiene conditions. The women of the village did not know about the importance of gap of time period between the births of two children. We found during our study that there is very little age difference among the children in various families in the village. This illogical child bearing practice in village has direct impact on the health and growth of the mother and the children.

**Issues related to the children of age 6 to 18 years:** The children of this age group include the school going children. In all aspects of the school and its surrounding education community, the rights of the whole child, and all children, to survival, protection, development and participation are at the centre. This means that the focus is on learning which strengthens the capacities of children to act progressively on their own behalf through the acquisition of relevant knowledge, useful skills and appropriate attitudes; and which creates for children, and helps them create for themselves and others, places of safety, security and healthy interaction. (Bernard, 1999) But the situation in the village is different regarding this aspect. In spite of having government Middle and a Primary school in the village, the rate of dropouts and never admitted children is much high. Various reasons are responsible for this situation in the village in terms of education including poverty, lack of proper

school infrastructure, monitoring and supervision to these schools, parental ignorance towards the education of their children. The total number of children in the village in age group of 6 to 18 years is 382. These children of age group 6 to 18 years comprise the school going children, as below the children of age 6 years are enrolled in ICDS centers. In the village, the total number of child labourers is 66. This counts 17. 77% of the children involved in the laboring out of 382 children. Among these, 47 are below the age of 14 years, while the rest 19 are above 14 years. Among these 66 child labourers, 38 are male and 28 are female. The breakup of the child labourers in terms of age and sex in the village is given below in Table 1.

**Table 1: Age and Sex Structure**

7-14 years				15 – 18 years			
Male		Female		Male		Female	
27		20		11		8	
Total				66			

Source: Base Line Data of Koshish (NGO)

There are 34 children, who have been never admitted in the school, including 10 male children and 24 female children. While, 30 children are drop outs, among these drop outs 29 are male children and 01 female child. Just, two children are both studying and working and both are male children. While analyzing these figures, it indicates that ‘girl children’ in the village are being neglected in the education process. The problem of retention in the schools is a major concern to be addressed as rate of drop outs is high in the village. The breakup of the children involved in laboring in terms of their educational status is given below in Table 2.

**Table 2: Educational status of the Child Laborers**

Never Admitted		Dropouts						Children involved both in study and work.		Children only working	
		Pr.		Middle		High					
Male	Female	M	F	M	F	M	F	Male	Female	Male	Female
10	24	11	3	8	Nil	7	1	2	Nil	36	28

Source: Base Line Data of Koshish (NGO)

**Issues Related to Students Enrolled in Schools:** In village both the schools are government based and have a great role in providing proper care and development of the children. But these schools are facing various issues and problems that are indirectly the hindrances

in the care and development of the children of the village. So the schools in the village have failed to create a child centric school environment and have added to the problem of child laboring. The main issues that these schools face include

Both the schools are situated at the opposite fringes of the village at its boundaries, outside from the village community. Students had to travel large distances to attend the school. Due to lack of roads students suffer a lot of problems in attending the school especially in rainy season.

- **School Infrastructure:** While analyzing the availability of infrastructure in the schools of the village, it was found that these schools are characterized by inadequate infrastructure in terms of spacing, education material, sports material, play ground. The schools lack the facilities of toilets, drinking water, electricity, playground, library etc. the inadequate school infrastructure is also adding to the problem of child laboring in village.
- **Mid Day Meal:** MDM is being given in both the schools. MDM on one side is tool for motivating both the children and their parents towards the education and on the other side it adds to the nutritional value of the children. In fact it is welcome step in the direction of proper development of the children and in attracting the children from poor families towards the education. But as per the teachers of the schools in village, the scheme has increased the work load on us, as the teachers themselves have to monitor overall process of MDM including the record keeping, bringing food etc. And the food stock provided to the schools is not on annual basis, but the responsible teachers have to bring it by themselves on monthly basis. In addition to this, the children in the schools have complaints about the quality of food prepared in the schools under MDM scheme.
- **Migration of Community:** This is the problem of schools in the village. These schools are having the issue of migration of the students. The students' migrate with their families from ending week of the May for period of 3- 4 months. Due to this the roll of students gets halved. Which affects the overall education system in the schools including the set pattern of syllabus, curriculum etc. While migrating to the places, which are in local language called *Baheki* there they are being taught by the Mobile School teachers. While analyzing the situation of education in their migrated places, is also a matter of concern.

As the Mobile teachers very often go these places and there is no provision of monitoring within these migrated places from the Department of Education.

- **Issue of Language:** The languages schools use for instruction can have an impact on learning and academic achievement in general. Research suggests that many benefits can be gained by beginning primary education in the student's home language. In Middle School of Ringzabal, most of the teachers are Kashmiri, unable to teach the students in Gojri language. While in Primary School, one teacher is from the community and knowing their mother tongue and other knows Kashmiri

It is clear from the above discussion that there are various issues and problems related to the children in the village. All these above mentioned issues and problems directly affect the proper care and development of the children. The village is among the remotest villages of the district and socio economically very poor and backward. The villagers are less concerned about the education of their children, less sensitized about various government schemes for the welfare of the people especially of their women and children. The importance of democratic institutions in such type of villages is much high and needed. There should be public representatives of the village who will represent and demand the needs and rights on the behalf of these villagers from the concerned authorities. Ideally, the elected punch members can act as pressure group for the government departments in order to meet the needs of the village. Within the scope of child care, the Gram Sabha can activate the staff of schools and ICDS centers and make them work properly. However, the elected members of the village Gram Sabha with a limited powers and budget have acted as a catalyst for the welfare and development in the village. In subsequent section we will discuss the role of Grab Sabha in addressing the issues and problems of the children as discussed above.

**Panchayat Raj Institution in village Ringzabal:** After a very long gap, panchayat elections were held in state of Jammu and Kashmir because of prevailing armed conflict in the state from 1989. Among the three tier system of panchayat raj, only the elections of first tier (Gram Sabha) were held in the state. In spite of passing almost three years from the panchayat elections, nothing has been done for holding the elections for other two tiers in the state. Such a negligent attitude of state government has its ramifications on the functioning of the PRI's in the state. So in this study, when we talk

about PRI and its role, we meant only the Gram Sabha and its role. As in rest of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, village under study also participated in election process of panchayat and people of the village participated passionately in the election process to elect their members of their panchayat halqa Ringzabal. The panchayat halqa of village is based on a surpanch, 10 panches including three women panches. The constituted panchayat halqa in the village started to work in the village after a period of few months as in rest of the state. In spite of various limitations, loopholes, and challenges the panchayat halqa had continuously worked for the welfare of the people of village. Some of the important works performed by the panchayat halqa of Ringzabal, which have significance in terms of child caring and welfare, are as follows:

- Expansion of school building of Government Middle school: The panchayat halqa has facilitated the construction of school building in the village. This can to some extent solve the problem of spacing in the government middle school.
- Supervision to check the working of school, functioning of MDM in both schools of the village: The panchayat members started to supervise the working and functioning of the schools and became aware about the various infrastructure needs in these schools. These visits of the panchayat members to schools have improved the attendance of teachers, quality of MDM etc.
- Protection bund to the Government Schools: The panchayat halqa have constructed the number of protection bunds in the village. The schools in the village are located on the sloppy lands and children were facing the protection issue due to this. So the panchayat halqa had constructed protection bunds around these schools.
- Constructed cemented paths in the village connected with the school: The households in the village were connected with each other and with the schools through muddy paths and in rainy season it was difficult for the children to go to the schools. These paths too were not safe for the children as by walking on them raised a lot of dust that causes various skin and health problems to the children. Now the panchayat halqa had constructed number of cemented paths in the village. These paths had not only helped the villagers in general but children in particular.
- Organization of Gram Sabha meetings.

- Meetings with the child rights organization Koshish on various issues of children of the village like importance of the education, birth registration, immunization, JSSK, ICDS etc.
- Protection of village from the threat of wild animals by erecting walls from forest side of the village.
- Supervision to check the attendance of anganwadi workers, quality of nutrition prepared in ICDS centre.

To conclude, it can be said that inspite of these works as performed by panchayat halqa, there is long distance ahead of panchayat for creating child centered environment in the village. There is large gap between the ideal child centered environment and the existing one. One of the most important duties regarding the welfare of the children in the village is to eradicate the problem of child laboring. For this panchayat members have to strive for assuring proper school infrastructure, creating child centered environment in the schools. The ICDS centers, schools in the village are directly associated with the child caring and development. The proper functioning of these institutions can facilitate the process of child care and their development properly. Their proper functioning can be possible only when they will be provided all the infrastructural and superstructure requirements. It is the duty of the Gram Sabha to demand these requirements for the children of the village. These institutions in the village are rarely supervised by the concerned officials because of its remoteness. Panchayat members have to make the concerned officials pressurize to supervise these institutions regularly and they should also supervise these institutions themselves. The panchayat halqa has to mobilize the concerned departments regarding the infrastructural development of the village. They have to assure an integrative approach among the various departments of the state government in facilitating the child centered school environment in the village. There is need to meet the recreational needs of the children, for that the panchayat halqa had to construct playgrounds in the village; the schools have to be provided with adequate sports material. The issues and problems associated with the children in the village like child laboring, discriminating attitude of community towards girl child, inadequate school infrastructure, need to be prioritize in planning and implementation in the panchayat plans. The panchayat had to strive for assuring all the needs necessary for the safeguard of the rights of the children. There is need to bring the attitudinal changes in the community towards the proper care and development of the

children. The state government has to empower the panchayat raj institutions completely and must hold the elections of other two tiers of the panchayat raj in order to make the PRI politically strong and help them to function properly.

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## Skewed Sex-ratio and Socio-legal measures in State of Jammu and Kashmir

**Nusrat Pandit**

Department of Law, University of Kashmir, J&K

E-mail: panditnusrat@gmail.com

*Right to life and health is the fundamental human right and necessary for individual well-being at micro-level, and indispensable prerequisite for economic growth and development in a country/state at the macro level. Better health improves the efficiency and productivity of the labour force, which ultimately contributes to the economic growth and leads to human welfare. The vision for the XII Five Year Plan is to ensure improving health and education indicators for women like maternal mortality, infant mortality, nutrition levels, enrolment and retention in primary, secondary and higher education. With a view to face the challenge of skewed sex-ratio and the growing healthcare needs of the people especially those living in rural areas, the State Government is according priority to health sector. In its endeavours the state has instituted the National Rural Health Mission in the year 2010-11 to address the issue. The present paper would focus on sex-ratio & neo-natal mortality in the State and the Initiatives taken by the government in this regard and its impact on female empowerment.*

**Key Words:** Sex Ratio; Neo-natal Mortality; NHRM; PNDT; AAEGR

### **Introduction**

Man possesses an indomitable sense of reasoning and rationality which makes him not only a dominating factor in human-development but has an impeccable inference on his environment in which he lives (has essentially the blessing of being the rational being) the population by and large was considered a curse and different schemes were devised to contain population growth by hook or by crook. In many cases state resorted to corrosive methods like compulsory sterilization, one child norm, restrictions on employment for those having more than two children ,compulsory implementation of family planning schemes, etc to arrest population on behest of state. In India different schemes were launched to contain population growth which ultimately led to decrease in population with impending impact on sex-ratio. The state of J&K is no exception to this norm and has been following this with intended objective of reducing population. This trend to contain population Explosion has given rise to skewed sex-ratio detrimental to female population at the national as well as state level.



### Skewed Population in the state of J&K - Facts and Figures

Population is one of the As per Census 2011, the State's population stood at 1.25 crore comprising of 66 lakh (53%) males and 59 lakh (47%) females. Of the 1.25 crore population, 91.35 lakh (72.79%) live in rural areas while 34.14 lakh (27.21%) live in urban areas. Decadal growth during 2001-2011 declined to 23.71% from 29.43% during 1991-2001. One of the important features of the present decade is that 2001-2011 is the first decade since 1961 which has actually added lesser population in the State compared to the previous decades. In absolute terms, the population of State has increased by about 24 lakh during the decade 2001-2011. The Average Annual Exponential Growth Rate (AAEGR) declined to 2.15% per annum during 2001-2011 from 2.61% per annum during 1991-2001. Female population of J&K State slashed down from 47.15% of the total population in 2001 to 46.88% in 2011. As per details from Census 2011, Jammu and Kashmir has population of slightly over 1.25 Crore souls increased from the figure of 1.01 Crore recorded in 2001 census. Total population of Jammu and Kashmir as per 2011 census is 12,548,926 of which male and female are 6,665,561 and 5,883,365 respectively indicating a reduced sex ratio of 1000:883. The corresponding figures of female and male as per Census 2001 were 4,782,774 and 5,360,926 respectively indicating sex ratio of 892/1000. The population growth in this decade was 23.71 percent, while in, previous decade it was 29.04 percent. The population of Jammu and Kashmir formed 1.04 per cent of India in 2011<sup>1</sup>. In 2001, the figure was 0.99 percent. This difference indicates a much higher rate of growth in comparison to average All India growth rate<sup>2</sup>. Demographic imbalance between men and women, however, continues to exist and has further deteriorated indicated in following table:

**Comparative position of sex wise population of All India and J&K during 2001 and 2011 Census**

Year	India		J&K	
	2001	2011(Provisional)	2001	2011(Provisional)
Population	1,02,87,37,436	1,21,01,93,422	1,01,43,700	1,25,48,926
Males	53,22,23,090	62,37,24,248	53,60,926	66,65,561
Females	49,65,14,346	58,64,69,174	47,82,774	58,83,365
<b>Children (0 to 6 years)</b>				
Population	16,38,37,395	15,87,89,287	14,85,803	20,08,642
Male	8,50,08,267	8,29,52,135	7,65,394	10,80,662
Female	7,88,29,128	7,58,37,152	7,20,409	9,27,980
Child Sex Ratio	927	914	941	859

Source - J&K Social Welfare Department

The child sex ratio [0 to 6 years] has shown a sharp decline from 941 in 2001 to 859 as per census 2011. The overall sex ratio has also declined from 892 in 2001 to 883 as per census 2011. This shows a continuing preference for male children over females in the last decade and is a matter of serious concern.

### Areas of Concern

**i) Neo-natal mortality:** The neonatal mortality in the State is an area of concern. In order to address the issue, focused attention is being given on facility / home based newborn care is being given. Facility based Newborn care units are being setup and made functional at different levels. The achievements in this regards as follows<sup>3</sup>:

S. No.	Type of Newborn care Unit	Target Achievement	Remarks
1	Sick Neonatal Care Units at District Hospital (SNCUs)	1509	Work in progress in remaining SNCUs
2	Stabilization Unit at the level of CHC	836914	under progress
3	Newborn Care Centre (NBCCs)	275273	---

The doctors/paramedics/ Nurses posted in SNCUs are being trained in collaboration with the National Neonatology Collaboration Centre Delhi. The trainings centres in GMC Jammu/ Srinagar are also being strengthened. The programme in Home Based Newborn Care (Module 6&7) has also been rolled out and the State trainers, District Resource persons and ASHA facilitators have been trained and ASHAs are also being trained at Block Level shortly. United Nation Operations Project Services (UNOPS) is helping GoI to achieve the target of reducing child mortality in collaboration with Norway India Partnership Initiative (NIPI) which is being managed by Indian Operations Centre of UNOPS in India to support an existing Indian health programme - the National Rural Health Mission. The initiative was taken by UNOPS in many States like Bihar, MP, Orissa, Rajasthan etc which include imparting trainings and building Sick Newborn Care Units. The State has also recently approached the UNOPS for providing support to strengthen the neonatal care services in the State; who have submitted a proposal which will be incorporated in the next year's State PIP.

**ii) Decreasing sex ratio:** Similarly declining Child Sex Ratio in the State is another area of serious concern for the State. As per figures of Census 2011, the child sex ratio of the State is 859 as compared to 914 at the national level. In order to improve the declining Sex Ratio, various measures have been taken. State Supervisory Board, Division / District Advisory Committees have been reconstituted and are regularly meeting.

**Sex Ratio of J&K State 1901-2011<sup>4</sup>**

Census Year	Sex Ratio
1901	882
1911	876
1921	870
1931	865
1941	869
1961	878
1971	878
1981	892
2001	892
2011	883

**Legal Protection to Female Population in J&K**

The Jammu And Kashmir Preconception and Prenatal Sex Selection / Determination (Prohibition and Regulation) ACT, 2002<sup>5</sup>: Misuse of modern diagnostic facilities like ultrasonography, *amniocentesis*, *chorionic villi* examination etc. for the purpose of female feticide which is against the female sex and affects the dignity and status of women, dowry, Men Dominated Society, Son preference, etc. related matters were raised by the organizations working for the welfare of women therefore it was necessary to bring a legislation to regulate use of diagnostic techniques and to provide punishment to stop the misuse of diagnostic techniques. It also prohibits advertisement of PNDT for detection & determination of sex.

**District wise number of clinics sealed in Kashmir Division<sup>6</sup>**

S. No	Name of District	No. of Ultrasound Clinics Sealed
1	Srinagar	11
2	Ganderbal	4
3	Badgam	16
4	Pulwama	8
5	Shopian	-
6	Ananatnag	-
7	Kulgam	4
8	Baramulla	14
9	Bandipora	-
10	Kupwara	7

### **Initiatives taken up under National Rural Health Mission in the Year 2010-11**

**Awareness Generation:** IEC/BCC activities are being taken up for educating the people about the importance of “Saving the Girl Child” and also maintaining a healthy gender balance in the society through the medium of daily visual spots on local cable networks and All India Radio Jammu/Kashmir<sup>7</sup>.

In addition to this, medical personnel and general public are being educated through electronic and print media about the provision of the Act and the penalties for various offences.

**Sensitization through Workshop / Samelans:** Nine Workshops were organized at Divisional level in order to sensitize the members of Divisional Advisory Committees, Radiologists both from Govt as well private sector, medical officers, Lab Tech, media persons about the PC &PNDT Act and gender equity. Fifteen workshops were organized at the District level for sensitizing the medical officers and other health care service providers about PC -PNDT Act and gender equity.

**Public Sammelans:** Public Sammelans organized in the districts of Jammu, Kathua, Udhampur and Samba with the involvement of NGOs, representatives of civil society, public, legal fraternity, officers from all the related departments (Social Welfare/Education/Rural Development etc) service providers (Doctors/ paramedics/ ASHAs etc).

Rallies and Debates on promotion of the issues related to girl child are being held in the schools on regular basis to educate the prospective parents.

**Award to fully Immunized Girl Child:** Every child should complete the recommended series of immunization. Immunization protects them against several dangerous diseases. A child who is not immunized is more likely to fall victim to six major killer diseases, become permanently disabled or could possibly die.

The State has introduced a new initiative under NRHM in which a healthy fully immunized female child is given a cash award of Rs.500 with a view to ensure that the female babies are fully immunized.

#### **Other Initiatives**

- Two interactive meetings were held to discuss the declining Sex ratio of the State. Two workshops were organized in order to

sensitize the Chief Medical officers , Service providers and Media persons about PC & PNDDT Act. one at Jammu and other at Srinagar.

- The words from mouth of Religious preachers are taken as teachings of God. About 366 Religious preachers/ leaders have been approached in the matter by the Health Minister through D.O. letter.
- Messages given in local newspapers to generate the awareness among the service providers and people.
- Hon'ble Health Minister along with team of officers from Health department conducted surprise visit of Private Nursing Homes / Ultra sound Clinics in Jammu city on 3rd May and sealed 2 Clinics and show cause notice was issued to one Nursing home for deficiencies in fulfilment of the formalities.
- Surprise visits being conducted by the Director Health Services J/K and Chief Medical Officers in their respective districts. 24 ultrasound clinics have been sealed in Jammu Division and 64 in Kashmir Division during last fortnight.

### **Conclusion and suggestions**

Population of J&K as per Census 2011, stood at 1.25 Crore comprising of 66 lakh (53%) males and 59 lakh (47%) females. Of the 1.25 crore population, 91.35 lakh (72.79%) live in rural areas while 34.14 lakh (27.21%) live in urban areas. Decadal growth during 2001-2011 declined to 23.71% from 29.43% during 1991-2001. One of the important features of the present decade is that 2001-2011 is the first decade since 1961 which has actually added lesser population in the State compared to the previous decades. In absolute terms, the population of State has increased by about 24 lakh during the decade 2001-2011.while as Demographic imbalance between men and women, however, continues to exist and has further deteriorated, the Initiatives have been taken up under National Rural Health Mission for educating the people about the importance of "Saving the Girl Child" and also maintaining a healthy gender balance in the society through the medium of daily visual spots on local cable networks and All India Radio Jammu/Kashmir. However, for smooth functioning of this Act following measures are proposed;

- The words from the mouth of Religious preachers are taken as teachings of God. Religious preachers/ leaders can prove vital in reducing sex-determination cases.

- Sensitization workshops / rallies / debates in the school organized under Jammu & Kashmir Pre-Conception and Prenatal Sex Selection/Determination (PC&PNDT) Act, 2002 can curb the menace of declining sex ratio in the State.
- Higher reward for the person who informs about Sex determination / Selection by any of the ultra sound clinics and for the whistle blower who informs about unregistered ultrasound machine.

### References and Notes

1. Jammu and Kashmir stands 19th state of the country as far as population is concerned with an overall population of 1,25,48,926. "As per the last census conducted in 2001, the population of J&K was 1,01,43,700 and there was an increase of about 24,05,226 in population and now in the year 2011 it stands at 1,25,48,926," <[www.worldsnap.com/.../jammu-and-kashmir/jammu-and-kashmir-census](http://www.worldsnap.com/.../jammu-and-kashmir/jammu-and-kashmir-census)>
2. Trevor Andrew Manuel, Minister in the presidency: National Planning Commission, acting in terms of section 7(2) (a) of the Statistics Act, 1999 (Act No. 6 of 1999), proclaim 10 October 2011 as the date on which 2011 will be conducted.
3. Planning Commission of India <[planningcommission.nic.in/plans/stateplan/sdr\\_jandk/sdr\\_jkabbre.pdf](http://planningcommission.nic.in/plans/stateplan/sdr_jandk/sdr_jkabbre.pdf)>
4. Census of India 2011 <[censusindia.gov.in/2011-prov-results/prov\\_data\\_products\\_J&K.html](http://censusindia.gov.in/2011-prov-results/prov_data_products_J&K.html)>
5. An act to provide for the prohibition of sex selection, before or after conception and for regulation of prenatal diagnostic techniques for the purpose of detecting genetic abnormalities or metabolic disorders or chromosomal abnormalities or certain congenital malformations or sex-linked disorders and for the prevention of their misuse for sex determination leading to female feticide and for matters connected therewith or incidental.
6. Source <[www.pcpndtjk.in/Statistics.php?link=division](http://www.pcpndtjk.in/Statistics.php?link=division)>
7. Annual Report to the People on Health Government of India Ministry of Health and Family Welfare December 2011. Government of India, Ministry of Health and Family Welfare

### Books Review

**Terry Eagleton: *Why Marx was Right*. London: Yale University, 2011. pp. xii + 258. Price £ 19.95.**

*There is a life after Marxism is the whole point of Marxism [Terry Eagleton].*

The decades of 1960's and 70's posed difficult challenges to socialists across the world. It was for the relative failure of the socialist attempts to make desirable changes in the international system, there grew a gloom about the change itself. By the late-1980's, the political left was robustly rolled back. The celebrated 'End of History', however, lived short and the 'triumph' showed visible cracks. The alternatives were nowhere in sight and the 'future seemed to have vanished without trace'. But with the fall of 2008, the worst ever crisis of capitalism, comes a "big-bang"—*He's Back!* "Told you so", says a teasingly smiling, long-grey bearded, eyes shut cartoon of Marx with his weak hands on stomach in Reuters (15<sup>th</sup> October, 2008).

The book, under review, is an engaging attempt of one of the most influential Marxist intellectuals of today's world, Terry Eagleton, who was formerly Professor of English at Oxford University and is presently at the University of Lancaster, UK, to present Marx's ideas "not as perfect but as plausible" which originates for him in a single striking thought that 'what if all the most familiar objections to Marx's work are mistaken? Or at least, if not totally wrongheaded, mostly so?' The book, on the one hand, is a profound refutation of ten of the most standard criticisms of Marx and introduces Karl Marx's thought in a very lucid terms backed by highly engaging and (mostly) convincing arguments, on the other. The critical response to ten standard criticisms of Marx's thought make up the ten chapters of the book apart from (unusually) brief introduction and conclusion.

The book is not only a simple, lucid and comprehensive introduction of Karl Marx's thought, but also takes us through different currents of Marxism and mechanisms suggested by Marxists. While giving us a Marxian critique of Stalinism, Eagleton highlights the controversies within the socialist bloc and its opposition to 'command economy'. The book, quite expectedly,

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underlines the crisis in contemporary capitalism, but it also strongly argues how Stalinism and Maoism were *un-Marxian*. Eagleton seriously takes on capitalists, so-called Marxists, feminists, ecologist, contemporary anti-capitalists and postmodernists and situates Karl Marx in his own philosophy. Almost each argument of the book highlights the misreading of Marx by his foes and followers alike. He constantly remarks how certain ideas that are tied to Marxism are fundamentally core to the functioning of capitalism.

Capitalism saw a most searching, comprehensive and devastating critique 'of its kind ever to be launched' in Marxism. Like Newton's discovery of *invisible* forces and Freud's exposition of *invisible* phenomenon, Karl Marx unmasked the whole everyday 'imperceptible' business of capitalism. Not only was he conscious of its functioning, Marx was 'perfectly aware of the ever-changing nature of the system he challenged' (p-2). The critics of Marx even today do admit the validity of Marxian critique of capitalism, but at the same time they would argue that much has changed since Marx's own time and, thus, question the relevance of, what they call, "archaic" thought. Marx had, Eagleton forcefully argues, predicted a decline of the working class and steep increase in white-collar work and more significantly he did foresee globalization. Though capitalism does do public good some time, but it is at a huge staggering human cost. It brings itself, as history is witness to, genocide, famine, imperialism and the slave trade and creates a *dependency syndrome* and huge deprivation alongside of breeding affluence. This whole system is in essence incapable of fair distribution. Interestingly, Eagleton argues in his usually sharp ways, Capitalism has developed a unique way of handling the extravagant levels of unemployment it breeds—the modern prisons. Citing the example of US, he observes that 'over a million more people would be seeking work if they were not in prison' (p-29).

Eagleton, unlike most Marxists, does not spare the Stalinism and Maoism of the coercion and atrocious rule both perpetuated on the people. Despite the fact that the gains of both the systems 'overweigh the losses', author maintains that 'Maoism and Stalinism were botched, bloody experiments which made the very idea of socialism stink in the nostrils of those elsewhere in the world *who had most to benefit from it*' (p-15, emphasis added). Apart from their anti-Marxian nature, these models were bound to fail for Marx aimed at international socialism. He believed that socialism has to



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start somewhere, but for its success and sustenance, it *must* be international. Embracing socialism warrants one to be 'well-heeled'.

Eagleton says:

*'Ideally, socialism requires a skilled, educated, politically sophisticated populace, thriving civic institutions, a well evolved technology, enlightened liberal traditions and the habit of democracy.'*

For a critical understanding of the emergence and tyrannical functioning of Stalinism, in fact, Marxist analysis of its birth in material conditions, dynamic functioning and possibilities of failure is all but of great help. To Marx, democratic functioning and public debates for economic policies and plans were quite essential.

What does Marxism have that no other political theory does propagate? , asks Eagleton. What is *not* Marx's own thought: idea of revolution, notion of communism, socialism, working class movement, idea of revolutionary party, class, class-struggle and mode of production? None of these for Marx found himself situated in these ideas which are not surely of his own. What is so unique and original to his thought is that he welds the ideas of class struggle and mode of production together 'to provide a historical scenario which is indeed genuinely new'. The chief difficulty in getting the essence of Marx lies in the fact that what is most peculiar to him is also what is most problematic. And it is here that Marx is misunderstood by most of his foes and friends alike.

Eagleton does not have a blind faith in Marxism. He has doubts about some of Marx's ideas and makes an eloquent expression of them. To him, there are "real" problems in Marx's theory of history like why does the mechanism of the 'conflict between the forces and relations of production operate in a shift from one class-society to another?'. It is not also possible to explain a change of social relations as an expansion of the productive forces. Marxian model of *historical* determinism is problematic too. Quite possibly, the capitalists may buy off a proletariat revolution through surplus capital and maintain the status quo or, if revolution occurs, it may slip into fascism or barbarism not *inevitably* translates into 'socialism' (p-48). Nowhere does Marx categorically suggest that Socialism is *inevitably* thereafter capitalism rather it has to be built and carved out of the capitalism as "men make their own history". Such a position would wipe off the human will and freedom which are so dear to Marx. Eagleton, contradictorily to his own doubt, also accepts this Marxian line:

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*'History for Marx is not moving in any direction. Capitalism can be used to build socialism, but there is no sense in which the whole historical process is secretly laboring towards that goal'* (p-60).

He profusely remarks that there may be no future at all. Very strangely, the author takes on Marx for he could not 'foresee the nuclear holocaust or ecological disaster...or ruling class hit by an asteroid' (p-48). I think Eagleton has gone too far in raising his doubts on Marx. How does one expect a thinker like Marx to predict about 'nuclear holocaust' or collapse of 'ecology' in a situation like his because the *material conditions* that he did observe *did not* suggest or hint for a possibility (or actual happening) of such disasters. It is antithetical of Marx's line of thinking. Interestingly in the concluding pages of Chapter 10 (pp. 226-237), he explains Marx's sensitiveness to nature and belief that '*earth is the first condition of our existence*' (p-228, emphasis added) and his own stand that Marx 'is not a fortune-teller' becomes, then, a too rhetoric defense rather convincing logic. This precisely sets a limitation to the book.

Theodor Adorno in his yes-no answer to whether Marx was a utopian said that he was an enemy of utopia for the sake of its realization. Socialism is a collective action to shape up the destinies of the people by the people themselves and, hence, *it is a democracy taken with full seriousness*. Marx dreams of emancipation without *both* adhering to 'smooth continuities' or resorting to 'total ruptures'. Very uniquely, the sober realism and great vision go hand in hand. Seeing the present as it truly is, is so indispensable!

Eagleton tries to rescue Marx of the many burdens of Marxists. Take, for example, human nature. Many Marxists treat human nature as 'historical'. They would believe in the 'historicity' of human beings and argue that with the change in historical conditions human nature also changes. Yes, partly true. Marx does not subscribe to this 'historicist' case entirely. For Marx, change and human nature consistently shape one another for human is a 'species-creative-being'. Challenging even the postmodernists, Eagleton affirms that there *is* indeed a human nature because 'one fairly consistent feature of that nature has been resistance to injustice' (pp-99-100). Human beings are self-realizing and self-expressive beings. The processes of self-realization and self-expression come into a contingent conflict in a society. Liberalism has failed to reconcile the two. Marx has a way out to this intractable problem by evolving a kind of life where *individuals*

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*realize themselves in and through self-realization of others.* He says in *Communist Manifesto*, “the free development of each becomes the condition for the development of all”. Marx, therefore, builds on and completes human freedom. Individuality assertion is the vital manifestation of one’s being, says Marx in *The Holy Family*. But that does not mean communism would ‘alchemize’ humans into angels or make them too ‘saintly’ to vomit at blood rather *materialize* such material conditions which might allow a truly human future to emerge. Human is a diverse entity within and without. Capitalism ‘standardized’ and ‘leveled’ diverse individual in its *bourgeois* value. Marx seriously wanted to see the back of it.

Politics, culture, science, ideas and social existence are not reducible to only economics. They have their own reality and inner logic. ‘The traffic between economic “base” and social “superstructure” is not just one way’. The claim, author argues, that everything is determined by “economics” is an absurd oversimplification of Marx’s position. Economic is the vital link between the world biological and world social. Labour is more than economic to Marx: it is anthropology—a ‘theory of Nature and human agency, the body and its needs, the nature of the senses, ideas of social cooperation and individual self-fulfillment’ (pp-120-121). Marx broke away ideas of the people being ‘passive subjects’ dictated by economic structures and looked on them as ‘active *agents*’ capable of shaping their own history. Humans are not pawns of History or Matter or Spirit. While capitalism reduces everything including mind to matter-dead, socialism does the opposite. And also for the fact that it is not Marxism that splits the “matter” and “spirit” would amount to sheer misunderstanding of the human body. Spiritualism is the *practical* human activity to Marx rather a state of mind. A slight deep reading of this phenomenon will, consequently, make the “subjective” “objective” dichotomy disappear.

Where is today’s working class and why was Marx obsessed with Working Class? Why not students, unemployed et. all? Precisely, working class is a “wrong” of capitalism—a necessary contradiction which is vital to see the back of the latter. Quoting Chris Harman and Perry Anderson, the estimated size of global working class is at two and three million respectively. A 2006 study *Planet of the Slums* by Mike Davis suggest that the urban poor constitute at least one-half of the world’s population. Situation is graver than before and it provokes Eagleton to predict a change, like his Master, as he sees capitalism perfectly weak to collapse:

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*In Latin America, this informal economy (of slum dwellers) now employs over a half the workforce. They form an informal proletariat which has shown itself well capable of political organisation; and if they were to revolt their dire conditions, there is no doubt the world capitalist system would be shaken to its roots (p-177).*

The celebrated death of ‘class’ has resulted in a hurried shift to culture, identity, ethnicity and sexuality which ‘are as interwoven with social class’ today as they ever were. There is a necessary relationship between the different forms of domination and exploitation like class, gender and colonialism is so original and genuine in Marxism. There have been drawbacks, but it was the first and only programme to recognize the issues.

A very few and feeble limitations, as mentioned earlier of Eagleton’s too far stretched doubts, do not certainly take the charm of reading this book away. Written within a structure to respond to common questions and criticisms against Marx which crop up from clear misunderstandings of the theoretical niceties of Marx’s thought, this is a sharp and precise introduction to a complex thought system. The placement of Marx in his own works aided with fair analysis and co-relating the same to the present discourses and practices is a rare intellectual exercise and Terry’s success in doing it makes the book a pleasing journey for a reader. As ever, Eagleton is quite sharp and pointed in building his arguments and unmasking the fractures of intellectual edifices across different currents of thought. This book deserves a wide reading across the disciplines, professions and ideological affiliations. It would go a long way in clearing the complexities of Marx’s thought and is one of the most profound introductory books available on one of the greatest thinkers of human history.

**Javid Ahmad Dar**

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science,  
University of Kashmir, J&K  
Email: javid1931@gmail.com