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**IJMER**, Journal of Multidisciplinary Educational Research, concentrates on critical and creative research in multidisciplinary traditions. This journal seeks to promote original research and cultivate a fruitful dialogue between old and new thought.

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**Dr. K.VICTOR BABU**

Editor-in-Chief



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## **Editorial .....**

Provoking fresh thinking is certainly becoming the prime purpose of International Journal of Multidisciplinary Educational Research (IJMER). The new world era we have entered with enormous contradictions is demanding a unique understanding to face challenges. IJMER's contents are overwhelmingly contributor, distinctive and are creating the right balance for its readers with its varied knowledge.

We are happy to inform you that IJMER got the high **Impact Factor 2.735, Index Copernicus Value 5.16** and IJMER is **listed and indexed in 34 popular indexed organizations** in the world. This academic achievement of IJMER is only author's contribution in the past issues. I hope this journey of IJMER more benefit to future academic world.

The current special issue deals with SAARC: Organization, Aspects, Constituency and Working, India and The Emergence of SAARC: An Interrogation, India and SAARC: Challenges and Opportunities, A Socio-Economic Profile of Female Students and etc. These applied topics are a fund of knowledge for their utilization.

In the present special issue, we have taken up details of multidisciplinary issues discussed in academic circles. There are well written articles covering a wide range of issues that are thought provoking as well as significant in the contemporary research world.

My thanks to the Members of the Editorial Board, to the readers, and in particular I sincerely recognize the efforts of the subscribers of articles. The journal thus receives its recognition from the rich contribution of assorted research papers presented by the experienced scholars and the implied commitment is generating the vision envisaged and that is spreading knowledge. I am happy to note that the readers are benefited.

My personal thanks to one and all.

**(Dr.Victor Babu Koppula)**

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## **SAARC: ORGANIZATION, ASPECTS, CONSTITUENCY AND WORKING**

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### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **South Asia as a Region**

The traditional literature in international relations particularly the preponderant paradigm like realism envisaged the international system in terms of state centered and conflict oriented anarchical system. The rise of regionalism is analogous to the decline of big power strengths as well as to the eventual emergence of the multi-polarity in international system. Regional integration has been defined as —an association of states based upon location in a given geographical proximity, for the safeguarding or promotion of the participant's interests and an association whose terms are —fixed by a treaty or other arrangements . Regionalism is a preface to achieving order through which universalism can be realised. These regional tendencies have been claimed and supported by functionalism as an arrangement of states as well. Regions in international politics are described as a limited number of states linked by a geographical relationship and by a degree of mutual independence and could be differentiated according to the level and scope of exchange, formal organizations and political interdependence.

The existence of any region can be defined on the basis of presence of certain specific indicators in that area which give it a shape of a region. These interests could incorporate a whole gamut of social, economic, political, cultural, historical and other factors. These set of countries should

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be sufficiently enlightened so as to understand the significance of placing cooperation above conflict in the conduct of interstate relations. This should also be bolstered by a collective desire to come together on a common plank to create some lashing mechanism for regional cooperation. These sentiments are more or less lacking among the South Asian states, as is evident in years of lack luster performance by the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation. Following the conception of the SAARC in 1983, very little has been actually done to promote the mechanism for collective cooperation in the subcontinent. There is a lack of cooperation in South Asia in terms of its mutual understanding, political situation and economic cooperation. The main contention is that South Asia is still in the process of evolving as a region due to two basic factors: an adequate degree of complementarities of interests has not yet been achieved among the South Asian states and the almost perpetual preoccupation with intra state conflicts and crises leaves individual states with scarce time or resources to work towards regional solutions. Such lack of region-ness in South Asia can also be understood in terms of another related phenomenon, that is, the persistence of large number of social, economic and political problems in South Asian region. Such intra-state problems are often either the cause or consequence of interstate disputes and misperception as well. Thus, there emerges an inextricable connection between the internal and external relations of South Asian states.

Asia is home to more than 60% of the world population, one-third of the world's economy and largest amount of global foreign direct investment flows into Asia and over a quarter of external exports. Huge Size and diversity determines the strength of the Asian region in the world. Its distinct sub-regions – East Asia, Central Asia, South Asia and West Asia – are promising, vibrant and robust. They are critical to the world

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economy both because of their strategic locations and also the huge commands they have on vital natural resources. However, there is no uniformity between them in terms of their levels of development. Each region therefore faces diverse challenges.

### **Geography of South Asian Region**

South Asia is bounded in the North, North West and North East by the Himalaya's and its sub regions are marked off from the rest of world by the deep expanses of the Indian ocean and knit in between the great rivers and systems of the sub-continent's landmass. Throughout much of its history South Asia has also been a single entity in some other respects as well.

The South Asian region dominating the Northern half of the Indian Ocean and extending from the Persian Gulf to the straits of Malacca occupies an important strategic location in an area which has been a hotbed of international politics and conflicts for more than two decades. Geographically, besides the seven countries of the Indian subcontinent with common land frontiers—Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan and Burma (present-day Myanmar)—the region also includes Srilanka and the Maldives islands with common maritime borders with India.

South Asia as a concept is comparatively of recent origin. There is no general agreement with regard to defining the area that constitutes the South Asia. Some would limit it to India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Srilanka, Nepal, Bhutan and Maldives, while as others extend it to Afghanistan in the West and Myanmar in the East. The area possesses geographical contiguity, if Afghanistan and Myanmar is included and geographical compactness if they are left out. However both constitute the periphery of

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the region. In terms of this ethno cultural linkage, Afghanistan is generally accepted as a part of Central Asia and Myanmar as a part of South East Asia. The South Asian region is clearly delimited by Iran on the West, from Central Asia and Tibet on the North and from Myanmar and China on the East.

Thus South Asia's well defined external boundaries provide one of the prerequisites for regional cohesion. South Asia is a sub region of Asia and covers about 4, 48,000 Square Kilometers (1729, 238 sq. miles) or 10% of the continent, and is also known as the Indian sub-continent. Sub regions of the South Asia are; Himalayan States –Northern India, Nepal, Bhutan and Bangladesh Indian Ocean-Island Nations, Srilanka and Maldives, Southern –India and Pakistan.

South Asia also provides the context for a wide variety of important political, social and cultural issues. Politically, India and Srilanka have established the region's most viable and stable democracies, but even their experiences with democracy has been marked by the occasional lapse into the more authoritarian rule. The other countries of the region have either struggled to institutionalise democracy or even failed to make the effort towards establishing democracy. South Asia is also home to a number of pressing international economic dilemmas. Since independence, the region's states have pursued a wide variety of economic development paths. Some of the states have been relatively successful and others could not sustain the pace of development. Since the end of cold war all of South Asia's major states have embraced ambitious economic liberalization programmes so as to harness the growth and potential of rapid globalization. As elsewhere, the interaction of domestic economic and global markets has created both winners and losers, along with a backlash that seeks to protect traditional cultures against the potentially homogenizing effects

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of globalization. While pointing the geo-politics of South Asian countries, it is true that the legacy of state formation in South Asia has been produced almost by a permanent set of relations that pre-empt regional economic cooperation. The political reasons behind this apathy towards regionalization are well known and involve serious discord in which the countries of the region are entangled. The political tensions and conflicts surrounding the countries of South Asia pose a question of uncertainty and challenge the formation of South Asian Union at par with European Union that allows free movement of people, common currency and common foreign and economic policies which ultimately will sow the seeds of peace and development in the region.

Special geographic features of South Asia also put one state in a less favourable situation in relation with its neighbor or potential adversaries. A state's dependence on water resources that originates in another country is one example. The sharing of common water's in South Asia particularly that of Ganges and the Brahmaputra and Indus has been the subject of controversial discussion for many years.

### **History and Culture**

South Asia is a realm of one of the oldest civilizations in the world where people from all races and religions have coexisted over a long period of time. The territory of South Asia has been the home of many civilizations both ancient and modern. It is one of the oldest and longest civilizations in the world. This layering of different cultures has given it a unique identity that is unparalleled in the world. The people of South Asia speak at least twenty major languages, and if one includes the more important dialects, the count rises to over two hundred. Adherents to every major religion are to be found in the subcontinent. The region is a land of diverse, interactive civilizations rooted in their specific linguistic, religious and cultural forms.

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The prehistory of the region culminates in the Indus Valley Civilization, which was followed by the legends of ancient Vedic period and the sketchy references to the rise and fall of Mahajanapadas-the precursors of regional kingdoms and later ancient empires. Almost all South Asian countries were first under direct or indirect Muslim rule and later under European Colonial subjugation. Much of modern India including Pakistan, Bangladesh and Myanmar were gradually occupied by Great Britain - starting from 1757, reaching their zenith in 1857 and ruling till 1947. Nepal and Bhutan were to some extent protectorates of Great Britain until after World War II. In the long history of South Asia, this European occupation period is rather short, but its proximity to the present and its lasting impact on the region make it more pronounced. The network of means of transportation and communication, banking and training of requisite workforce and the existing rail, post, telegraph and education facilities have evolved out of the base established in the colonial era.

After World War II, most of the countries of the region gained independence from European colonialism. Since 1947, most of the South Asian countries have achieved tremendous progress in all spheres, particularly education, industry, healthcare, science and information technology defence related projects, international/global trade and business enterprises and outsourcing of human resources. However, there are still other areas which need immediate attention including religious extremism, high levels of corruption, disagreements on political boundaries and inequitable distribution of wealth. The countries of the region share common religions like Hinduism, Islam, Buddhism, Sikhism, Jainism and Christianity. South Asian countries share a common cultural heritage and more or less share same values of life. The whole region celebrates sowing and harvesting festivals almost at the same time. The predominantly

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agricultural population depends on the monsoon. They dance and joy over its early arrival and pray together when the rain gets late. The wedding season of all South Asian communities comes after the harvest season.

The festival Vasant is celebrated with equal gusto in the North India and Pakistani Punjab. Then there is linguistic interlinking in the region. Languages are crossing borders and above all the British rule covered the whole South Asia except Nepal and Bhutan, which were not under direct rule but had a tremendous impact of it. The English language connects the educated elite of South Asia. Hindi is another means of communication in most parts of the South Asia. The common linguistic populations of India, Bangladesh and Pakistan speak Punjabi and Bengali languages. Tamil connects the Indian state of Tamil Nadu and North of Srilanka. Nepali is spoken in the Indian hills of Garwal-Kuman and Darjeeling. It is therefore being realized that by highlighting the cultural forces of unity, increasing people to people contact could be created to ease the tension in the region.

### **South Asia: A Survey of Basic Data**

The basic problems of all the countries of South Asia are similar in nature although with small differences. In varying degrees, all of them are underdeveloped, having large masses of their population on the margins of subsistence and engaged with agriculture. These states have failed to keep pace with the increasing expectations of the people and are not in a position to run and progress according to the dynamic and regular fluctuations in the market. They have not been able to speed up according to the demand supply curve which is needed to sustain a development over a large period of time. The political systems of these countries are not functioning according to the demands of the times. Governance remains a huge challenge across the region. Public trust in the ability of politicians



and governments to deliver growth and justice is decreasing. This often raises the issue of legitimacy of the governments to govern. It is in this context that a commission in India was formed under the Chairmanship of M.N. Venkatachalia in 2000 by National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government to review provisions of the constitution so as to make constitution relevant to the present times. These countries still cling to their colonial legacy. Most of the political systems have hereditary and dynastic character. All of them are in need of radical, structural and institutional changes and have a long way to go before their administration and political institutions will fulfill the needs of their people.

Though the governments of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Srilanka and Nepal have been making efforts to improve their socio-economic conditions through democratic means there attempts have been frustrated by the background of colonial rule and society's behest by extra-ordinary religious, ethnic and linguistic complexity. Among the issues related to welfare, the most important concerns of South Asia include limiting population growth, raising literacy levels, reducing poverty and addressing environmental degradation. South Asia today contains 21% of the world's population. At present levels of growth, the most recent World Bank projections for the year 2025 put India's population at 1.3 billion, Pakistan at 244 million, Bangladesh at 180 million, Nepal at 38 million, and Srilanka at 24 million. These high rates of population growth threaten to undermine the benefits of economic development, as well as advances in agricultural productivity and place massive pressures on the land and its resources. With a substantial population living below poverty line in most of the South Asian countries (one-third, in case of India) and with extremely low physical quality of life indices (39 for a well – established democracy like India), none of these nations can really afford to add detriments to their overall



growth and progress. In fact, the South Asian region contains more people living in abject poverty than any other region of the world. In terms of providing basic facilities to these people, the nations of the region are required to run in order to stand still.

### **Economic Growth**

South Asia has the highest incidence of poverty not only in terms of absolute numbers but also as a percentage of the population, compared to any other regional group of countries in the world. All the countries of the South Asian region are facing common issues like poverty, income inequality, low productivity, mass unemployment and large population dependent on agriculture. Poverty has been the main handicap in the smooth progress and overall development of South Asia. About 29% of India's, 33% of Pakistan's, 42% of Nepal's and 50% of Bangladeshi's still living below poverty line.<sup>23</sup> South Asia has been the fastest growing region since 1990's. Investment as a percentage of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has also been consistently on the rise since 1960's. Productivity in some parts of the region (such as India and Pakistan is at par with China, Thailand and South Korea). However, poverty has not declined much. Most of the poor people of the region lack effective property rights. Poor people in general and women and children in particular suffer from unsafe working conditions because their employees operate outside the formal legal system. They are often denied economic opportunities as their property and business are not legally recognised. They cannot access credit or investment, neither can operate within global or local markets. Another important issue is income inequality which has handicapped the smooth growth in the region. The region is very poor in terms of natural resources although rich in respect of Himalayan and maritime potential. South Asia is among the least



developed regions in the world as far as its economic parameters are concerned.

The countries of the region have wide differences in the level of their economies. The Per Capita Gross National Product (GNP) in the region ranges from US \$180 in Nepal to US \$1000 in Maldives. Industrial production accounts for about one fourth of the gross domestic product and provides employment to less than 15 % of the total population of this region. The position of their balance of trade and terms of trade follows unfavorable trend.

### **Agriculture**

The major portion of the South Asian population is directly or indirectly related to agriculture. Besides, agriculture is contributing most to the country's GDP (Gross Domestic Product) along with the service sector. The growth rate of agriculture is less than the growth rate of population in some countries of the sub-continent. Only India and Srilanka and to some extent Pakistan are self-sufficient in food grain production. The unequal distribution of land often leads to the stagnation of agriculture and rural poverty in the concerned countries. This results in a relatively small number of landlords holding large and an overwhelmingly majority with small land holdings. This increases the gap between rich and poor in the region. The ever increasing population in case of South Asia has often led to the narrowing down of land holdings and thus reduced the productivity factor. Land reforms which could have reduced these inequalities have not been effectively carried out in the region.

### **Population and Manpower**

South Asia ranks among the world's most densely populated regions with 1.5 billion people. Among which about one-third of all Asia's population



and about one-fifth of the world's population are concentrated in South Asia. The population density of the region is 309 persons per sq. km which is more than seven times the world average. Although the region is rich in terms of human population but when it comes to productive population there is a lot of difference. The continent has become the engine for the revival of the global economy with its large reservoir of entrepreneurial, technical and technological skills and abundant natural resources including oil and gas. Asia is the largest market in the world with an increasing portion of the global workforce and a growing middle class. It had a labour force of 298 million in 1995, which was showing an annual growth rate exceeding 2%. In the present era of information technology this manpower, if given proper direction would be of immense help to the region as a whole. There is a need for providing job opportunities to the growing work force in the future developmental strategies of the states of the South Asian region.

### **Health and Education**

In South Asia millions of people are without elementary health facilities, safe drinking water and no access to basic sanitation facilities even after more than 60 years of its Independence. A lot of migration from rural to urban areas is experienced due to the lack of health and other facilities in rural areas in South Asia. However, from the last several decades the health conditions in the region show a remarkable improvement, yet the public expenditure on this sector is very small and needs more attention. There is no formal policy to mention how much and in what way the amount should be spent on health facilities. Moreover, the South Asian region is mostly rural in character however the growth rate of urban population is alarmingly high exceeding 4% in Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal and Bhutan. The high urbanization exacerbates environmental problems and creates



opportunities for socio-political unrest. Despite some improvements in the past decades, the literacy rates remained disappointingly low throughout the South Asia, particularly in rural areas. This high illiteracy rate weakens the family planning efforts, limit farmer's abilities to utilize technological improvements, and produce labour efficiency in the general manufacturing sector. The adult literacy rate (57.6%) of the region is lowest in the world. South Asia is still lagging in literacy chart and is figuring very low as compared to developed countries which are about to touch the three figure mark in literacy rate.

There are more children out of school in South Asia than in rest of the world and two third of this constitute female children. According to a recent United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) study, the worst affected region for malnourished children is South Asia and half of the children in South Asia are underweight, despite the much higher Gross National Product (GNP) growth rate and a more robust increase in food production in South Asia. Furthermore, South Asia's Gender Equality Measure (GEM) prepared by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) reports that economic and political opportunities open to women are lowest as it shows the lowest value (0.235) among all the regions in the world. South Asia is the region that defies the global biological norm with only 94 women for every 100 men (instead of 106 women to 100 men in the rest of the world), so that 74 million are simply missing. This shows the negative trend of sex ratio of South Asia. The extent of human deprivation in South Asia is also colossal. About 260 million people lack access to even rudimentary health facilities not to speak of proper health facilities, 337 million lack safe drinking water accesses, 830 million have no access to basic sanitation facilities and over 400 million



go hungry each day. This adds to the already ugly picture of South Asia in the world.

### **Environmental Degradation**

Environmental degradation in South Asia is analogous to the region's population problem apart from having several negative socio economic and politico-security implications. The dependence of the poor regions of South Asia on natural resource base, such as soil, water, forests and fisheries is self-evident but environmental abuse is rampant to an unbelievable degree. Deforestation (particularly in Srilanka and Nepal), soil erosion, droughts (in Bangladesh and certain parts of India), floods (frequently experienced in Bangladesh due to situation of rivers and channels) are some of the environmental problems confronting South Asia<sup>31</sup>. As per statistics, the region is also losing a considerable amount of productive land due to a water logging and salinity. In India alone, over three million hectares are believed to be affected by salinity and up to 8.5 million hectares by water logging. Nearly five million acres of forests are cut down each year in South Asia, with only feeble efforts at reforestation. Water, especially river water generated by the rain cycle is the largest resource of the region, especially when considered in conjunction with the population. But as believed by many experts, the highest constraint on the future growth of the world's economy is going to be shortage of water. Fresh water resources are getting depleted at rapid speed, due to the increasing environmental degradation. Moreover, such problems also have spill over ramifications for the region (like aggravating global warming and depletion of the ozone layer). Most of these environmental problems, finally, link up with the desperate poverty of people in South Asia; for want of any viable alternatives for sustaining their livelihoods, they have



no choice but to denude and destroy the very land, forests, and water resources.

### **Role of Religion**

There is no better laboratory in the world than South Asia for anthropologists to study religion. South Asia provides platform for almost all the major religions of the world. Many of these religions cut across the national boundaries, which affect the shaping of foreign policies of the respective states. Over the years the region has witnessed the phenomenon of religious revivalism. The political mobilization for electoral gains has also sharpened religious differences. In order to gain votes the political parties have exploited the religious sentiments. There have been religious based political parties working in South Asia for decades now. They have even been elected to power in some states of South Asia. In India we have a number of parties that owe their origin to religion. In Bangladesh and Maldives there are religious based political parties.

Even during campaigning of elections religion is used as a tool to exploit the people's sentiments. Since elections are fought on religious lines, South Asian societies are witnessing religious divisions. After the division of sub-continent along communal lines, religion has become a primary factor contributing to the growth of extremism and numerous other forms of political and sectarian violence in South Asia.<sup>33</sup> The destruction of the controversial Babri Mosque at Ayodhya in December 1992 symbolized the communal frenzy which gripped the region in the late twentieth century. The religion extremism nexus often shows itself in places of worship being utilized for terrorist activities. The Sikh insurgency in Punjab reached its climax in 1984 when Akali militants led by Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale took refuge in the sacred Golden Temple in Amritsar.



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## **Developmental Considerations**

Development has been an attractive and powerful idea. It has dominated the political landscape of countries in the South ever since their decolonization mostly after the Second World War. Notwithstanding criticisms and condemnations it continues to be an important component of state policy in most of these countries. The eight nations of South Asian region, commonly suffer from problems pertaining to agriculture, water, power, environment and health care. The region shares common agricultural problems concerning of availability of high yielding varieties of seed, manure and pesticides. Problem of water and power remains a common issue among farmers of the region. The region has been the victim of poverty, hunger, malnutrition, population explosion etc. Some parts suffer from the problem of plenty other areas faces starvation deaths. Water problems have been a serious issue between India and Nepal and India and Bangladesh. The Indus Water Treaty is similarly the question of serious issue between India and Pakistan signed in 1960 under the auspices of the World Bank.

## **Terrorism and Security Environment**

Terrorism is a problem which South Asia is facing for more than three decades. Today, terrorism is perceived as a major threat capable of destabilizing not only national but also international peace. The menace of terrorism has not only affected the developing countries but developed countries as well. South Asian nations, particularly India, Srilanka, Pakistan and Afghanistan are victims of menace of terrorism. In India, Jammu & Kashmir and North Eastern states are engulfed by anti-state elements. Conflicts result in death, misery, social trauma, destruction of infrastructure and have huge spillover effects.



Former American president Bill Clinton described South Asia as the —most dangerous place on the surface of the earth . South Asia is one of the most militarized regions in the world. The wide spread human deprivation contrasts sharply with large armies, modern weapons and expanding military budgets. Indeed two of the largest ten armies in the world are in South Asia and it is also the only region where military spending (as a proportion of GNP) has gone up by 12% since 1987, while it declined substantially in all other parts of the world after the end of the cold war. The insecurity scenario is conspicuously reflected in the defense expenditure of all the eight nations of the South Asian region. About 40 million US dollars are spent by Nepal on its security Bangladesh spends 400 million dollars, Srilanka 500 million \$s, Pakistan 4.5 billion \$s and India spends 7.5 billion US \$s. This type of arms race has cost a great threat to the regional security. This growing trend of enhanced defense spending by all South Asian nations has raised the security concern of the region. Srilanka, Nepal and Bangladesh are looking beyond South Asia to keep themselves militarily secure. India also had complains against Myanmar, Bhutan, Nepal and Bangladesh for allowing the terrorist organisations of North-Eastern India to utilise their territories to run terrorist camps. Srilanka, on the other hand, had problems with India which it blamed as helping Tamil terrorist organisations from Srilanka. In these circumstances China has become Islamabad, Dhaka and Colombo's main supplier of arms. However, there are some people who believe that the nuclear deterrence has been helpful in establishing long term peace.

### **Inter-State Conflicts**

South Asia is one of the critical regions with complex security in the world, primarily due to the fact that most of the South Asia is engulfed with varying degrees of conflicts and disputes. The main reason for the

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permanent nature of these conflicts is the demarcation of boundary by the colonial masters in a rugged manner. There are conflicts because of commonalities in certain aspects prevailing in South Asia. Interstate conflicts in South Asia probably are highest compared to any other regional block. Bilateral relations are defined by antagonism and mistrust. There are differences between India and Pakistan over Kashmir, between Srilanka and India over the nationalities of Tamils, between Nepal and India on open borders. The Indo-Nepal treaty of peace and friendship signed by a care taker Prime minister of Nepal in 1950 is also under scanner. India has dispute with almost all states of South Asia. There is a sort of mutual distrust among all the members of SAARC.

Besides the issues among SAARC countries, Kashmir is one single major factor of irritation between India and Pakistan. The origins of Indo-Pakistan conflict have been traced to many sources, the failure of the British to manage a peaceful and politically acceptable partition, the deeply rooted political rivalries between the subcontinent's major religious communities- Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims; the struggle for control over Kashmir; Kashmir's importance to the national identities of both states, and the greed or personal short sightedness of leaders on both sides of the border, in particular, Nehru's romance with Kashmir and his Brahmanical arrogance (Pakistani interpretation) or Mohammad Ali Jinnah's vanity, shortsightedness and religious zeal (Indian interpretation). The two countries (India and Pakistan) have fought almost three wars over Jammu and Kashmir. Relations between India and Srilanka have been soaring because of the Tamilian issue. The ethnic crises which prevailed for long deeply affected their bilateral relations wherein India's asymmetry factor loomed so large that Srilanka felt compelled to seek extra-regional linkages to offset Indian dominance. The peace accord of 1987 was resented by many

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on both sides of the divide as Srilanka was brought in to India's security fold under its terms.

With the withdrawal of Indian peace keeping force (IPKF) from Srilanka and assassination of Rajiv Gandhi by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) forces in 1991 compelled India to adopt a hands-off policy and term the ethnic crises as an international issue of Srilanka. Actually they were the plantation labourers who were taken by colonial rulers of Great Britain to this island country of Srilanka as an indenture labour during colonial regime. There have been disputes between India and Bangladesh over illegal migration of the people from the Chittagong hill tracks (CHT) and the demarcation of boundaries involving fertile islands and enclaves and also in sharing the water of river Ganga.

All these accusations are not unfounded. There exists a defined motive by the countries in the region to extend its shape of influences and weaken their neighbors. This phenomenon is leading to interstate conflict and proxy war.

### **Intra-State Conflicts**

South Asia's ethnic demography provides a fertile arena for several cross border conflicts. It might be more useful to imagine South Asia not as a sub-continent of separate sovereign states but as one of graded ethnic differences.

South Asia provides a disappointing picture in social, economic and political context due to the fact that it is almost perpetually plagued by various intra-state conflicts which are based on divisive considerations of caste, religion, ethnicity, language, community and the likes. This distorts the national identity and the overall order and situation of the affected areas. South Asia has also witnessed a number of deadly ethnic conflicts. In



addition to Kashmir, these include counterinsurgency in the far North East of the country, Afghanistan's internecine civil war, Pakistan's struggle to contain civil unrest in Karachi's ethnic cauldron, Bangladesh's Chittagong Hill Tracts violence and Srilanka Tamil insurgency.

Most of South Asia's ethnic conflicts have international causes and effects, owing to the post-colonial phenomenon of distinct ethnic groups being artificially divided by international borders. Similarly, the regions uneasy mix of religion and politics has important international dimension. For example, no account of Indo-Pakistan relations can afford to ignore the domestic political influence of Pakistan's radical Islamists and India's Hindu right extremists. The problem of civil violence in recent years has emerged as a more serious issue than the problem of interstate warfare in South Asia. After partition Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of independent India said that the greatest threat to India is not from outside, but this is within in the form of diverse caste, language, religion etc. Corruption is another menace that has surrounded every state in its own way. Lot of corruption has been witnessed almost from all South Asian countries' in one form or the other. The recent evidences of corruption in India highlight this point, where high officials and ministers are involved in corruption. The Indian state has been variously preoccupied with separatists and religious conflicts such as in the state of Jammu and Kashmir-for the separatists, Mizoram, Assam and Nagaland (North East India)-for autonomy and in Gujarat, Mumbai and other parts have certain religious, ethnic and psychological underpinnings.

Other South Asian countries are facing the same kind of problems such as, the Maoists movement in Nepal, Tamil-Sinhalese ethnic conflict in Srilanka which has now turned into a civil war in that country. Although the civil war in Srilanka has come to an end, but the case is that until and



unless Srilankan government will come to accept the genuine demands of Tamils barring claim for separate state hood, the prospect of Srilanka seems to be dark. In Pakistan, the society at large is gripped in violence derived from ethnic, sectarian and religious differences.

Similarly, Bhutan and Maldives-the two smallest members of the SAARC also have their own internal problems. The emerging internal problems in Bhutan and the fall out of attempted coup d'état in Maldives in 1987 have varying affects in uniting the country for the cause of development. All this can largely be attributed to the fact that politically governing institutions in most of the South Asian countries are weak. Taken individually each of the South Asian states suffer from some kind of instability and consequently projects varying intensities of human deprivation.

### **Indo-Centric Region**

South Asia is a region marked with serious imbalances in essential attributes of the states i.e. territory, population and natural resources. From this perspective India always predominates in South Asia. India contains nearly 76 % area of total region, its population is three times more than the combined population of other six countries of the region and its GNP is 71% of the total GNP in the region.<sup>45</sup> Geography has provided India a central position in the region. It shares borders (land or sea) with all the countries of the region. No other country of the region shares borders with other country except India. This Indo-Centric nature of the region has been the major source of dissonance. The Indo Centricity along with asymmetry in size, resources and capabilities has given a feeling of insecurity among all the smaller states of the region. They feel over shadowed by India, and this perception often gets strengthened by India's tendency of behaving like a Big Brother'.

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Viewed from either the global or regional perspective, South Asia provides a disappointed picture in social, economic and political context. South Asia accounts for 21% of the world population and 3.5% of the total land area, but the share of South Asia in world output is merely 1.3%. About half of the world's poor are found in South Asian countries. Their per capita GNP ranges from US 180 \$s in (Nepal) to US 1000 \$s in (Maldives). The average per capita GNP of these countries is barely US 350 \$s. The economic structure of these countries is basically agrarian. About three fourth of their population subsists on agriculture. The imports of the SAARC countries are mainly composed of manufactured goods from the developed countries.

The world development report 2000-2001 of the World Bank acknowledges that while social indicators such as fertility, mortality and life expectancy rate in developing countries have improved on an average basis in the past decades; poverty in the developing world has been shifting towards South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa. The hope emanates from tremendous human and natural resource potential and richness and variety of its civilization. The fear arises from the fact that South Asia is not only the poorest region in the world, but also one where the probability of an accidental nuclear war is perhaps greater than in any other part of the world.

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**Table.1 SAARC Countries: Human Development Index**

Countries	1990	1995	2000	2001	2010	2011
South Asia	NA	NA	NA	NA	0.518	0.548
Afghanistan	NA	NA	NA	NA	0.349	0.398
Bangladesh	0.414	0.443	0.473	0.502	.469	0.500
Bhutan	NA	NA	0.178	0.502	NA	0.522
India	0.519	0.553	0.577	0.590	0.519	0.547
Maldives	NA	NA	0.743	0.51	NA	NA
Nepal	0.413	0.451	0.490	0.499	0.428	0.458
Pakistan	0.440	0.472	0.499	0.499	0.490	0.504
Srilanka	NA	NA	NA	NA	0.658	0.691

Source: - Human Development Reports of UNDP NA (Not Available)

**Table.2 Afghanistan's HDI Indicators for 2012 relative to selected countries and groups**

Country	HDI Value	HDI Rank	Life Expectancy at Birth	Expected Years of Schooling	Mean Years of Schooling	GNI per Capita (PPP US\$)
Afghanistan	0.373	175	49.1	8.1	3.1	1000
Nepal	0.463	157	69.1	8.9	3.2	1137
Pakistan	0.515	146	65.7	7.3	4.9	2556
South Asia	0.588	NA	66.2	10.7	4.2	3343
Low HDI	0.466	NA	59.1	8.5	4.2	1633

Source: - Human Development Report, 2012

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## TOWARDS A POLITICAL UNDERSTANDING OF INDIAN COALITION GOVERNMENTS: WITH A CASE OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR

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### Introduction

The term coalition is derived from the Latin word coalition which is the verbal substantive of coalesce co-together and alescere to grow up which means to go or to grow together. According to the oxford English dictionary the word coalition means an alliance for combined action of distinct parties persons or state without permanent incorporation into one body. According to the new universal encyclopedia coalition refers to ministry composed of members of two or more political parties men of different views joining together for some common purpose. In the strict political sense the word coalition is used for an alliance or temporary union for joint action of various powers or states and also of the union into a single government of distinct parties or members of distinct parties. It is generally accepted that a coalition can take place only within the contexts of mixed motive in which both conflict and common interest and simultaneously present and must govern the course of action chosen.

So coalition refers to a group of people who come together to achieve some end usually on a temporary basis. In politics it signifies a parliamentary or political grouping of different parties interest groups of factions formed for making or influencing policy decisions or securing power William A. Gamson defines it as, the joint use of resources to determine the outcome of a decision. In a mixed motive situation involving more



than two units in the words of Ogg. Coalition as employed in political sense commonly denotes a cooperative arrangement under which distinct political parties or at all events members of such parties unite to form a government or ministry.

Every student of the Indian political system today accept that the era of coalition politics or coalition governments has dawned. In a way coalition political had its birth even before the coming of Indian independence and even after the fourth lok sabha election, there were established several coalition government in some of the Indian states. However in a real and effective ways the beginning of the politics of coalition government took place after 1989 when the era of hung of lok sabhas emerged in the Indian political system. In fact the presence of hung lok sabha naturally gave rise to the politics of coalition governments at the central level. The national front government 1989 was a coalition government which came into power with outside support from the CPI, CPM, and the BJP in 1990, a minority government of the congress took office, but was in a position to transform itself into a virtual majority government in 1994. Between 1996-98, the two united front government were coalition governments and similar was the nature of the BJP led government of 13 political parties which remained in power between March, 1998 to September 1999 including caretaker status between 25 April 1999. To 12 Oct. 1999. on 13<sup>th</sup> Oct. 1999, a BJP led 24 party coalition the national democratic alliance came to power and it still continues to rule the country thus coalition politics has been almost continuously present at the national level in since 1989.

### **The History**

Coalition started in England first when Pitt the elder in 1757, coalesced with the wig aristocracy represented by Duke of Newcastle. Similarly in 1782 a coalition ministry was formed in England when Fox the leader of



the reformers joined forces with lord north the leader of the opposition party and framed a great coalition. It was however the result of this coalition that fox ruined his political career. After the resignation of lord durby I December 1852 a coalition ministry came into being in England in which lasted until January 1855, this was formed by lord Jhon Russel the leader of the Whigs and lord Aberdeen, leader of the moderate wing of the conservative party.<sup>9</sup> there was a coalition in 1895 between the liberal unionists and conservatives in lord Salisbury's third ministry. Similarly a part of the liberal and labor parties formed a coalition with the conservative under Asquith 1951 and Lloyd gerge 1916. With the resignation and subsequent defeat in 1922 of lloyed Gerge this coalition came to an end a similar coalition was formed in 1931 when a part of the labour a part of the liberal party and the whole conservative party joined forces under Ramsay Macdonald. There were some defections later and from 1935. The government was predominantly conservative. In 1940 labour liberals and conservatives formed a coalition under Winston Churchill which lasted until 1945. In Australia the coalition of the liberal party and the country party is considered virtually indestructible. In France the president and the prime Minister even if they belong to different coalitions work on principles of cohabitation a term coined by the French.

In other European countries like Germany Coalition have been fairly stable and successful although it took years of rectifications and modifications to cleanse the electoral system and create a favourable climate for coalition governments to flourish. Most of the European countries including Switzerland Denmark and the Netherlands are experimenting with this form of governance coalition governments are also gaining popularity in south and south East Asian countries as Japan, Sri Lanka Bangladesh, Pakistan and India.



## The Indian Experience

Contemporary India has today undergone a complex and tortuous political transition. The demise of the one party dominance system has given birth to an era of coalition with the decline of the congress and in the absence of a national alternative having a countrywide spread it was logical for the people to repose faith in different parties and groups some confined to region. For the last couple of decades the indian political landscape has been dominated by coalition politics. Unlike general perception coalition in politics is not a new concept for Indian politics coalitionism as a form of government is common and widely practiced in Europe. Indian too has accumulated not inconsiderable amount of experience in the form of governing arrangement. Undivided India got its first experience of coalition government in 1937 when the government of India act, 1935 became operative. At the time Jinnah asked for a collation consisting of congress and Muslim league in UP but congress the party holding majority did not entertain this demand. Mohd Ali Jinnah at that time argued that in india coalition was the only respectable device to give to the muslim a fair ashare in governance in other states like NWFP and Punjab congress formed coalitions with other regional parties.

In 1947, the interim governme4nt under the prime minister ship of Nerhru was the first formal coalition consisting the congress, the Muslim league, the Hindue Mahasabh etc. the electoral history of india and the records of union government since in dependence can be divided into two phases first up to 1989 a period of eight elections resulting in electoral majority for one party and relatively stable union governments except for a period of 1967-72 and the second the decade since 1989 marked by fractured verdicts in 1989, 1991, 19896, 1998 and 1999 and 2004 resulting in the formation of minority or coalition government.



Coalition politics in India for is very volatile and one again pre poll alliance is buzzing every where with scrambling for seats and allies. Alliance are subjected to last minute changes any time. However amidst these the prime ministerial candidates have been announced by the existing coalition parties. In the 2009 General elections the prime minister candidates for NDA led coalition was the present leader of the opposition party Shri. L.k.Advanie and UPA coalition prime minister candidate was Dr. Monmohan Singh while the third front was seen scuttling for suitable person amongst them and this party formed by teaming some regional parties aim to led alliance and BJP led coalition .

UPA is formed with constituent parties such as Indian National Congress party. Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam , J&K National conference, LOK Janshakti party. Jharkhand Mukti Morcha, Trinamool Congress, Indian Union Muslim League, Republic party of India. Marumalarchi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam. Sikkims Democratic Front and All India Majlis- E-Ittehadul Muslimeen . The Rashtriya JanataDal, The Lok Jana-Shakti party and Samajwadi Party has formed and alliance in UPA and Bihar, but still claim to be party of UPA.

The NDA party comprises of BJP, Janta Dal (united) Shiva Shena Shirominal Akali Dal, ASom Gana Parishad Rastriya LOK Dal Indian National Lok and Mizo National front. The third front alliance I, e also known as United Front was in power 1996-98. Presently third front is alliance between united national progressive alliance and left front. Constituent parties are communist party of india. Telugo Desam party, Biju Janatal Dal secular revolutionary party. However, in a political set up like the one we have today it very difficult to predict which party will ties up with other party. Recently after the dates for the 15<sup>th</sup> lok sabha election were announced, all the major parties stated setting up fronts to



project themselves as the leading contender for the top job, irrespective of their earlier rivalries.

This election was quite different from the earlier ones, this time it was a three way fight and not the tradition two way. The formation of the third front had led to sleepless nights for both the major parties also the unclear picture about the voters favorite party has increased the risk. Despite the shortcoming of the coalition governments there is a positive side about it. Greater participation of the regional parties has put the regional issues on the central table which otherwise would not have got the treatment they deserved. In his election the effort of the parent party is to focus on regional issues through the regional allies to maximize their gain. So it would be wrong to say that the coalition era has been an all wrong political err, , it has been a mixed bag with some compromises and some challenges the third front joining. The fray has made the fight more interesting and forces the other parties to have a reality check on their previous work. In order to have stable coalition it is necessary that political parties moderate their ideologies and programmes. They should be more open to take others points of view as well. They must accommodate each others interests and concerns. But this is not what happening in India. In Indian parties do not always agree on the correct path for governmental policy, different parties have different interests and beliefs and it is difficult to sustain a consensus on issues when disagreements arise, they often fail to see eye to eye with the government on many public policies. However this is not to say that we have never and successful coalitions. Governments in Kerala and West Bengal and NDA and the UPA at the centre have been successful coalitions. Other coalition should learn from these because it is a difficult to operate in an environment full of disagreements. The fact of the matter is that India has had coalition government in the post and it will continue to have in the future as well .



Therefore it is in best interest for all that parties develop a sense of understanding and do not play games of power politics and bad politics, its high time that the MPs realize how bad India fares on other economic variable in the world and it is time they put their energy in improving those than just catering to their elfish interests. If political parties feel that coalitions are too much of a compromise and always lead to unstable governments, then India can think of alternative forms of government the presidential system can be one but it has its own cons,. It is very important for the political parties to moderate their ideas as there are no ready made formulas or easy solutions to make coalition work in a smooth manner.

In some of the states of the Indian union also coalition government have been at work e.g BSP-BJP coalition in UP INLD-BJP and before that HVP-BJP coalition in Haryana BJP-HVC coalition in HP,BJD-BJP coalition in Orissa congress NCP coalition in Maharashtra the left front coalition in west Bengal and coalition in some other states like Kerala and few north eastern states. Before analyzing the history of coalition government in india it is imperative that we should understand the meaning of coalition politics.

Between 1952 to 1967, the congress alone remained in a position to form government as despite the presence of the national level parties, it remained the dominated party and it dominated the Indian political scene. In 1952,57 and 1962 elections. The congress was in a position to win majorities and to form the governments at the centre and the state levels. It was only in the fourth general elections 1967 that the congress suffered a decline in popularity and coalition politics came to operate in some states. In the centre the congress formed the government but in states like Bihar, RAJASTHAN Punjab and Haryana coalition governments came to be



established. However in 1969 a split occurred in the congress and the ruling congress faction led by Smt. Indira Gandhi was reduced to minority in the centre and it had to depend upon the support of CPI and DMK. This situation continued till 1971 when the congress (I) gained a big majority in the fifth general elections. Between 1971-77 including the emergency rule of June 1975 to March 1977, the congress governments ruled the centre and almost all the state.

### **Jammu and Kashmir**

So far as the coalition experiments of Jammu and Kashmir are concerned while as in many states in India like Kerala, west Bengal coalition governments emerged in the aftermath of 1967 general elections. The coalition experiment in Jammu and Kashmir emerged in 1986 when the confrontation between the national conference and the congress ended with an accord known as Rajiv- Farooq accord between Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and Dr. Farooq Abdullah. The accord was perceived to be in the category of the Rajiv-longwal accord the Assam accord and the Mizoram accord. The common feature of these accords was an agreement between the regional leaders and the Prime Minister of India over dispute regarding the states of problems of the respective regions. There was no such dispute in Jammu and Kashmir which Rajiv- Farooq accord resolved. But the way it was perceived interpreted and projected implied a new agreement over center state relations, national conference (F) and congress (I) were opposing each other, those dissatisfied with the National conference government expressed their satisfaction through congress while those against the policies of the centre ventilated their feeling through national conference such a division of the state politics between the two parties always marginalized extremist elements in the valley. It may be further pointed out that Rajiv-Farooq alliance closed down all the secular outlets



of ventilate discontent in the valley. One of the important conditions of the accord was to call fresh elections and to have a strong and stable government. But the entire electoral political radicalism and aggressive campaign against the existing set up and a threat of violence. However the victory of NC- Congress(I) alliance combine in 1987 neither strengthened stability and progress nor ushered in an era of prosperity. The election results in 1987 rightly made all opposition groups believe that the NC/Congress alliance struck a deal and thoroughly rigged the election. The congress(I)/NC led coalition government made some development in various sectors agriculture handicrafts sericulture irrigation forests etc. Besides it the coalition government set up a committee of economists to suggest measures for speedy industrialization and development . setting up of service selection recruitment board (SSRB) to make the recruitment system rationalized. The process of democratic decentralize and the gross root planning was revived for ensuring peoples participation in the plan formulation. The coalition government reconstituted District Development Boards (DDB'S) .

The exclusive focus of the propaganda blitz over the accord was on development. However the wider gap between the actual performance in the development field and the high expectations aroused by the accord were bound to cause deep frustration. Dr Farooq himself on a number of occasions publicly complained against the centre for not fulfilling the expectations of the people in terms of development allocations. Besides he also raised the issue of the extremely low share of Kashmir Muslims in central government departments in the state. He also said that the real integration of the state with the rest of India would be possible only if the centre adopted a more positive attitude towards the development of the state.



Though national conference and congress alliance in their joint manifesto assured the people of Jammu and Kashmir the restoration of art. 370 but national conference failed to restore art. 370 and the autonomy of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. However the NC/Congress coalition government could have gone well to a great extent if it would have adopted any defence mechanism or an instrument or any advisory or coordination committee to monitor the alliance. The Rajiv-Farooq alliance was a coalition of top leadership at national and state level however middle and lower leadership among the two parties did not accept and support it at the gross root level. So the differences that existed between the coalition partners hampered the smooth running of the government. The stress and strain in the alliance at different levels ultimately wrecked it.

The second experience with coalition government began again in Jammu and Kashmir after 2002 elections. The coalition partners congress PDP agreed to a first ever power sharing agreement and made its alliance with smaller parties like CPI(M) panthers party peoples Democratic front PDF. It was also agreed that the post of Chief Minister would be held by rotation. PDP leader Mufti Mohd Sayeed will serve as Chief Minister for three years, after which he is to be replaced by a congress party member as per the coalition agreement. Congree/PDP also agreed to a common minimum programme for the smooth governance of Jammu and Kashmir. Mufti Sayeed led coalition government proceeded with its healing touch policy, to restore much awaited peace in the valley, build trust among the people and win the minds and hearts of the people. The government described the healing touch opolicy in terms of putting a halt to custodial killings release of innocents from jail and interrogation centers in and around the valley stop atrocities committed by the security forces on the people absorption of SOG into police eradication of unemployment etc.



the coalition government led by Mufti Mohd Sayeed tried a lot to put the above policies of healing touch into practice and began a process of peace process in the state. The coalition government made tremendous development in various sectors agriculture industries and commence education tourism health employment power rural development etc. however the government failed to curb the unemployment which put the educated youth into a deep frustration. The tourism sector the main stay of state economy was revived to a great extent. There were other areas where government could build trust among the people these include the drive against corruption and protected the human rights of the people. Though the government under common minimum programme was committed to relief and rehabilitation of victims of violence yet very little was achieved in terms of return of migrants and their relatives. The special operation group SOG in the police is still a law unto itself.

After Mufti, Ghulam Nabi Azad took the reins of administration making the transfer of power from the people democratic party PDP to the congress in the state after three years. Gh. Nabi Azad led government framed policies and programmes in the framework of a prosperous Jammu and Kashmir- khushal Kashmir became the new buzz word. The broad contours of this policy framework were corruption free administration transparency accountability and all round development of the state. Further no human rights violation was stressed by Azad government corresponding to Prime Ministers assurance of zero tolerance in Jammu and Kashmir. The congress led coalition government also endeavoured to depoliticize the bureaucracy in Jammu and Kashmir state. The transfer policy was streamlined but later cracks in the coalition had an impact upon the health of administration also compared to his predecessor Azad government could not do much to remove the unemployment problem of the educated youth.



In fact not much was also done to streamline and institutionalize the process of recruitment in the state. It was only towards the end of his tenure that Azad government thought of making fast track appointments in government departments but it stopped there only. The state accountability commission the state Human rights commission and the state womens commission could not be resurrected even during Azad led government. Its impact on accountability and rule of law was quite grave and exposed the commitments of the coalition government to the common minimum programme. Corruption in all forms thrived and harsh acts like Disturbed areas act and armed forces special power act took a heavy toll of human life.

The five working groups constituted by the Prime Minister to integrate the people of the state with the peace process proved futile. Not much headway was made after submission of reports by some working groups. In fact the most crucial working group on centre- state relations is yet to submit its report to the government. The across loc trade has not picked up and good governance still remains a distant goal for the government. The victims of violence were not brought within the purview of government polices so as to mitigate their sufferings. In the end one can safely conclude that the state of Jammu and Kashmir with many regional sub regional and religious fault lines is a challenge to both coalition dharma and managers of coalition. The people as yet present do not have good memories of coalition governance in the state. The coalition is being equated with mal development regional discord and administrative ineptness. The major political parties with their social bases and support structure based in different regions and sub regions need to cultivate a coalition culture and institutional partnership so that coalition do not appear to be dishonest and disoriented.



The third coalition government 2009 to onwards , Omar Abdullah has started his inning with many advantages. Age his on his side, he has a legacy to be proud of and a partnership with the ruling party at the centre. Infiltration is reported to be at an all time low, as is the level of violence. The Hurriyat too has currently lapsed into a limbo. Such political assets may be a cause of envy for many a political aspirant. Yet one cannot be unmindful of the liability which the CM has inherited in the form of a regional divide and emotional alienation of the Jammu people. His blistering two minute speech over the land transfer in parliament on July 22,2008 has left a bitter after taste. He now labours under a moral and political obligation to remove the mistrust as the CM of the state. In the meantime India can wait and watch for Kashmir not just to celebrate democracy but learn to love it too.

With the coalition government in the J&K have been completed over three years in power, the alliance partners-NC/Congress –have been found to be waiting on the performance front. And this is not withstanding the tall promises on good governance that the two parties made to the people of J&K during the assembly election 2008. A cursory look at the , “2008 election manifesto” of the national conference reflects the performance which range from the bigger political issues like restoration of Autonomy, better condition between Srinagar and Muzafferabad, setting up of truth and the reconciliation commission to the governance issue like revival of the state accountability commission and giving more teeth to the state vigilance organization to end corruption. But as on date, almost nothing has translated into reality, indicating parties dismal performance on the ground.

Omar Abdullah launched around development in the state of J&K. he want win the heart and mind of the people, because the state is

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disturbed area. They have faced lot of difficulties in the past , people also have lot of trust of this government. Because this government is in the blood of people of J&K. the Omar led coalition government launched so many developments in the last three years. Mr. Omar made several policy interventions to effectively tried over unemployment problem in the state. His government came up with a land mark employment policy. " Sher-I-Kashmir employment and welfare programme for youth(SKEWPY) to comprehensively address unemployment issue in the J&K state. The historical policy has earned him appreciation at National level. The futurist policy aims and coalition of data for working out appropriate strategies and action plans for generating employment avenues both within and out side the state.

But during the Omar Abdullah period lot of disturbance also take place in the state of J&K. which started from Amarnath land roll agitation. After the agitation people fully participated in the election. The centre understand that it is a good sign for creation of the normalcy in the state of J&K. but things didn't happen according to its desire. Circumstances changes after Shopian incident took place, in which two women were raped by the security forces , the huge agitation took place in all over the state. After the shopian incident, the new year (2010) comes with the new hope for maintain peace and normalcy in the state of J&K. but not happened because of human rights violation, in 2010 near about 120 people were killed. Government imposed curfew in the state of J&K especially in Kashmir valley. The Omar Abdullah told the media persons, it was a mistake of centre to conduct the election because they understand every thing is normal. Omar Abdullah also said to the people "AZADI" is separate thing we are only resolve the internal issue, such as water, employment, food, roads etc. which also was accepted by the separatist

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leader Sayed Ali Shah Geelani, election is separate thing while as Kashmir issue is separate.

In short we can say that Omar led coalition government is a challengeable job, because since 2008 lot of disturbances took place in the state of J&K. we can not say any thing about the present coalition government. Because circumstance can change any time. Despite centre give full assurances to the Omar led coalition government for complete support to run the government in the state of J&K. Omar Abdullah have complete near about three years turn. The remaining three years is the tuff job for him to run the government.

### Conclusion

Lastly we can say that coalition politics can come into operation either through a pre poll coalition on alliance or through a port poll alliance. It can be either a negative alliance or a positive pre poll alliance based upon shared and agreed policies and programmes. Today coalition politics is in operation in india at the national level as well as in some of the states of the Indian union.

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## INDIA AND THE EMERGENCE OF SAARC: AN INTERROGATION

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### INTRODUCTION

#### Regional Organizations

The world today is at a turning point and the changes that we are undergoing are global in scope, revolutionary, fundamental and structural in content. As we have entered the 21st century a sense of optimism prevails for attaining peace and prosperity because of the role played by regional as well as global organizations. Due to the revolution in communication and transportation, the earth has shrunk and distances have virtually minimized. In such a state of affairs the meaning and contours of international relations and politics are changing. Presently the relevance of traditional barriers and traditional security is losing its focus; on the other hand its human security which is coming on the forefront is getting more and more attention. Hence a tendency of concentration and unity beyond borders is gaining ground.

Various nations are joining hands for creating a common forum or group in order to protect their secondary interests be it commercial, cultural and political. Regional cooperation is fast emerging as key link in man's thirst for peace, development and excellence. Number of countries with



different national loyalties and being heterogeneous in certain aspects and with different levels of growth and development are looking for ways of building up regional cooperation. The process of forming these supra national and extra territorial organizations got its practical shape in the form of United Nations Organization (UNO) in 1945 after the end of World War II. The UNO represents the common aspirations of mankind.

It was first and most important organization emerged with the following main objectives; I. To save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind? II. To reaffirm faith in the fundamental human rights in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations, large and small. III. To establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained; IV. To promote social progress and better standard of life among newly independent countries. South Asia is a macro geographical region wherein various countries in close geographical proximity share certain commonalities or interests. The region is diverse in all considerations of security and insecurity. Perhaps no other region in the world is as contentious in its relations with each other as the South Asian region. The departure of colonial rule from this region gave birth to twins' independence and disputes. To replace and to somehow manage the intensity of these disputes and to achieve cooperation in this part of the world, a sort of regional set up was created in South Asia, namely the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation.

### **Emergence of SAARC**

South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation is an association of South Asian countries to enhance their social progress, cultural



development and political stability of the region. Formerly, it has seven members but from 2007 with the addition of Afghanistan, the membership has gone up to eight. The original members of the Organization were Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Srilanka. It was formed in December, 1985 by the initiative of late Bangladeshi president, Zia Ur Rehman. SAARC is relatively recent and one of the later step in the chronology of regional groupings. SAARC may be seen as a new member of the family of regional organizations in the world. On the closer look, it appears to be distinct and different from many other such regional groupings like the European Economic Community (EEC), The Economic Community of West Asian States (ECOWAS), Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), etc. due to some distinctive features of the South Asian region. The creation of the South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation in 1985 represented the recognition of the geopolitical entity of South Asia. The methodologies used for identifying the regional area as consisting of geographically proximate and interacting states sharing some degree of common ethnic, linguistic, cultural, social and historical bonds become the basis of the formation of the association. Before the creation of SAARC, idea of regional cooperation in South Asia was discussed in at least three conferences. The Asian Relations Conferences in New Delhi in April 1947, the Bangui Conferences in the Philippines in May 1950 and the Colombo Conference in April 1954.

The concept of South Asian regional integration, when viewed in a broader concept of regional development in Asia represents a second wave of regionalism. The first wave of this process had commenced by the late 1940's with the convening of first Asian Relations Conference.<sup>73</sup> President Zia Ur Rehman after visited Nepal, India, Pakistan and Srilanka during the period of 1977-1978 proposed the possibilities of regional economic



cooperation among the South Asian countries. He proposed for the collective self-reliance in a common quest for peace and development of all the countries of the region. In May 1980 he issued a formal letter for all the South Asian countries (India, Pakistan, Srilanka, Nepal, Bhutan and Maldives). This call received a positive response from all these countries. Though India and Pakistan were initially hesitant to accept the proposal, India feared that Zia Ur Rehman's idea might provide an opportunity for the small neighboring countries of the region to regionalize all bilateral issues and join with each other to gang up against India, Pakistan seemed to be apprehensive of the Bangladesh initiative because it thought that it will result in the economic and political domination of India in the region. However after a series of quite diplomatic consultations between the foreign ministers of the region at the United Nations headquarters in New York from August to September 1980, it was agreed that Bangladesh would prepare the draft of a working paper for discussion among the foreign secretaries of the region (South Asia).

The new Bangladesh draft paper, aware of India and Pakistan concerns dropped all references to security matters and suggested only non-political and non-controversial areas for cooperation. Several factors seemed to have prompted Zia Ur Rehman to take this initiative for establishing a Regional Cooperation in South Asia. These were: I. Change in the political leadership in the South Asian countries and demonstrations of accommodative diplomacy by the new leaders. II. Zia Ur Rehman's need for Indian support to legitimize his coup d'état regime. III. An acute balance of payment crisis of almost all the South Asian countries, which was further aggravated by the second oil crisis in 1979. IV. Failure of the North-South dialogue and increasing protectionism by the developed countries. V. Publication of an extremely useful background report by the Committee



on Studies for Cooperation in Development in South Asia (CSCD) identifying many feasible areas of cooperation. VI. Assurance of economic assistance for multi-lateral cooperative projects on sharing water resources of Ganga and Brahmaputra by United States President Jimmy Carter and British Prime Minister James Callaghan during their visit to India, Pakistan and Bangladesh in January 1978. VII. The Soviet Union's military intervention in Afghanistan in December 1979 resulting in rapid deterioration of the South Asian security situation. For the proposed cooperation among the South Asian countries, consultations were carried out at the official level. The consultations brought out clearly that regional cooperation in the South Asian region should on the one hand, reflect the spirit of mutual trust, understanding and sympathetic appreciation of the political inspiration existing among the countries of the region and on the other hand, such cooperation should be based on the principle of sovereign equality, territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs of other nations and mutual benefits. Between 1980 and 1983, four meetings were held at the foreign secretary level, to establish the principle of organization and identify areas for cooperation. After three years of preparatory discussions at the official level, the first South Asian foreign ministers conferences were held in New Delhi from August 1-3, 1983 where the Integrated Programme of Action on mutually agreed areas of cooperation i.e., agriculture, rural development, telecommunication, meteorology, health and population, transport, sports, art and culture, postal services and science and technology was launched. The Charter of South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) consists of preamble and ten articles. The preamble defines the principles for which the SAARC is formed. These include promoting peace, stability and adherence to the principles of United Nations and principles of Non-aligned movement

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(NAM). It reaffirms the commitment for sovereign equality, territorial independence, non-use of force and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states and peaceful settlement of all disputes. Article I explains the main objectives of SAARC. The main objectives are to promote the welfare of the people of the region and to improve their quality of life to accelerate economic growth, to promote active collaboration and mutual assistance in the economic, social and cultural, technical and scientific fields to promote mutual trust and appreciation of one another's problems and to cooperate with international and regional organizations.

Under article VIII, SAARC charter also provides for a secretariat which is headed by a secretary general at the ambassador's level. The SAARC secretariat was formally inaugurated in Kathmandu (Nepal) in January 1987. The secretariat comprises the secretary general, seven directors and the general service staff. The secretariat serves as the channel of communication between SAARC and other regional and international organizations and coordinates day to day activities. In the SAARC charter, it has been left to the council of ministers to finalize its organization, functions and funding modalities. Article IX deals with financial arrangements the contribution of each country is voluntary. The technical committees shall make recommendations for the apportionment of costs of implementing the programmed proposed by it. The external financing may be mobilized by the standing committee. Article X lays down the decision making process which has to be made on the basis of unanimity. Further it states that bilateral and contentious issues are to be excluded by SAARC. One of the most important developments in world politics in the post-world war 2nd period has been the proliferation of regional organizations of varied nature and scope, and the experience has shown that this process has contributed a lot to the world in terms of economic,

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political and social progress. However the success of SAARC depends up on the mutual trust among all the member states. It is required that fear psychosis, suspicion and jealousy among the member countries should be removed. Thus SAARC has been an important step in the direction of regional cooperation in South Asia. Synergy in conflict management and optimizing cooperation in Asia is a skill to be mastered and an ideal never to be lost from sight of those committed to peace and Cooperation in Asia.

The formation of SAARC was responded differently from different quarters of the region. Jigme Singye Wangchuck, King of Bhutan described it as —a manifestation of collective wisdom and political will to bring about meaningful regional cooperation in spite of the differences on foreign policy and security perspectives. On the other hand the then president Zia-UI-Haq of Pakistan expressed apprehensions about the dominant position of India which could deter the fulfillment of the objectives and ideals of SAARC. Similar misgivings were entertained by other smaller countries. These misgivings arise due to the size and population of India. Prem Aurora writes —it is desirable that India should try to allay these feelings by demonstrating both by words and deeds that she will always be ready to enter into constructive and mutually beneficial cooperation with other countries as may seek it. South Asia being one of the most geographically integrated regions in the world is least integrated for regionalism as compared with Europe, Africa, South East Asia and North and South America. The geographical reality of the region is that India has common land and maritime borders with all the countries of the South Asian region. India constitutes the central hub of the region along with asymmetry in size, resources and capabilities. The Indo-Centrality approach to South Asia has given a feeling of insecurity among the states of the region. India believes in friendship and cooperation among neighbours and in this regard



smaller nations of South Asia have an opportunity for their development by cooperating with India.

### **India's Role in the Origin of Regional Cooperation**

During the India's struggle for freedom, close collaboration with other Asian countries became one of the basic objectives of the national movement. The anti-path to European imperialism often leads to an uncritical glorification of the role of other Asian countries in the world. For example, one of the anti-British movements in India—the Khilafat movement was built around the Indian Muslims dissatisfaction with the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire. In 1920 Gandhi wrote about the growing solidarity of the Asian countries. Again in 1922, C.R. Das, while presiding over the Indian National Congress, urged Indian participation in an Asian Federation as inevitable. The slogan for Eastern Federation was given by great Muslim leader, Muhammad Ali while presiding over the Congress in 1923. The need for an Asian federation was again emphasized in 1926 Congress session. Long before Nehru became Prime Minister in his first speech on foreign policy in December 1927 at the annual convention of the Congress party, he stated that —the people of India have no quarrel with their neighbors and desires to maintain peace with them''. To give practical shape to it a resolution was carried out in 1928. The statements regarding Asian Unity continued during those days. The two countries besides India which were involved in the movement of Asian unity were Japan and Soviet Union respectively. The general expressions of sympathy and moreover a degree of exchange of ideas and opinions among the nationalists of Asia and regular sessions of Indian National Congress received messages and expectations of support from other Asian countries like the Wafd Party of Egypt, the Kuomintang of China and the Burmese national leaders. The movement towards regionalism did not create any

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institutional arrangements in Asia. This remained as an effort in identifying the common concerns of post-colonial states focusing on the problems of development. Even before India became formally free, the leaders of the national movement took steps to convene the Asian Relations Conference in Delhi in 1947. The tone for the conference was set by Nehru in his inaugural speech or address to the conference.

The four major agendas covering the theme of the conference were the proclamation of Asia's arrival on the world scene, the stress on the need for Asian unity, the need to avoid the expression of anti-western sentiments and the need for greater regional cooperation. India emerged as the leader of the non-aligned movement in the post-colonial era. The Indian policy of non-alignment in respect of South Asia was intended to limit the penetration of cold war politics into the region. India's political position in the world in general and Asia in particular suffered serious setback in 1960's on account of deterioration in relations with China resulting in the humiliating war of 1962. Further the drought and agricultural failure during third five year plan (1961-66), brought India on the brink of an economic collapse. India had to import food to prevent starvation and the World Bank in 1966 enforced devaluation of Indian currency. There was a widespread impression in the west that India would not survive long as a united country, and would not be able to feed itself and develop as a viable state. But later events particularly India's decisive victory against Pakistan in 1971 war resulting in creation of Bangladesh, achievement of self-sufficiency in food production and nuclear test explosion at Pokhron (1974) restored India's credibility and image in international power politics. In the context of prevailing political and security environment in South Asia and the mindset of its neighbours, India apprehended that the initiative for South Asian regional cooperation might

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be an attempt to build a disguised anti-Soviet and pro-US strategic front. India wanted withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, but at the same time was against any U.S. moves which could have brought fierce superpower rivalry in the region. Moreover there was apprehensions in India, given the history of political disputes in the region, that the proposed regional forum might be used by her neighbours to gang up against her and try to settle disputes to her disadvantage. The proposal to counter such apprehensions put forth that the experience of regional cooperation in other parts of the world indicated the possibility of such cooperation despite bilateral problems among the countries of the region. Rather, it was maintained that as regional cooperation would grow, it would generate a climate of mutual understanding reducing the scope for such disputes. The proposal by Bangladesh listed several possible areas of cooperation in the fields of agriculture, science and technology, transport market promotion, education and culture. A draft declaration proposed to be adopted by the countries to launch the regional forum appended with this proposal mentioned promotion of peace and stability in the region through adherence to principles of United Nations charter and non-alignment as the objectives of regional cooperation in South Asia. It also expressed determination to uphold respect for the principles of sovereignty, national independence, territorial integrity, non-interference in one another's internal affairs, non-use of force and peaceful settlement of disputes. India's role in promoting regionalism in South Asia can be viewed in the light of the hindrances, the roots of conflict and the recent developments. It is a well-known fact that the Indian leaders always visualized a major role for India not just in the subcontinent but in Asia and in the third world as a whole. India has always been committed to regional cooperation in the economic, political, social, technological and cultural spheres. The concept



of regionalism is rather a new phenomenon in international politics. It was not thought by the founding fathers of the United Nations. They favoured a universal approach towards restructuring the war-torn international community. This mindset was shared by Jawaharlal Nehru who elaborated this vision in one of his speeches in September 1946: —The world in spite of its rivalries and hatreds and inner conflicts, moves inevitably towards closer cooperation and the building up of a world commonwealth. It is for this one world that free India will work, a world in which there is the free cooperation of free people, and no class or group exploits another. India in particular was perceived as being qualified to promote this idea. Its rich civilization heritage enabled the country to contribute basic guidelines for peaceful cooperation, the famous formula of Panchsheel. The principles as such were not new, but the idea to make them the basis of practical state policy and conduct in international relations was unique. Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru in his foreign policy statements during the first decade of independence repeatedly stressed that nurturing peace is not merely an abstention from war but that it involved encouragement of continuously expanding cooperation between nations, particularly of the Asian region. This commitment of India at the macro level has psychological and political constraint. Regardless of India's professions and advocacies of cooperation, all of India's neighbours had apprehensive perceptions about India. Therefore while advocating regional cooperation India did not make any proposal for institutional arrangements for this purpose because it anticipated suspicion, even resistance from its neighbours, if India were to take the initiative in the matter. This was dictated by India's geographical placement, historical experiment and power potential. The disparity in size, demography, resources and levels of development between India on the one hand and all its neighbours on the



other led to this approach. The additional factor of a number of political issues on which there were and are controversies between India and its neighbours underpinned India's reticence in this matter. Hence, it was with caution that India viewed the proposal for South Asian regional cooperation put forth by the late Bangladeshi president, Zia Ur Rehman in January 1980. There was the perception that in view of the perennial tensions between India and Pakistan and the distance which characterised India's relations with Bangladesh and Srilanka, his proposal would be a purely cosmetic experience. There was also the apprehension that the forum, if created would be a regional platform for India bashing-for putting collective pressure on India on matters of individual concerns to each of the other participant countries.

Nonparticipation would have laid India open to the accusation of scuttling an innovative proposal for regional cooperation, despite being the most socio-economically endowed country in the region. SAARC has had a chequered history ever since due to political controversies, impinging negatively on areas where there could have been meaningful cooperation. SAARC countries have to evolve a practical framework and realistic terms of reference for cooperation in substantive matters of mutual benefit, based on mutual complementarity. Future prospects depend on whether South Asian countries can make this beginning and then move on to concrete interaction. Nehru once said, 'India is very curiously placed in Asia, and her history has been influenced in a great deal by the geographical factor plus other factors. Whichever problem in Asia you may take up somehow or other India comes in to the picture. She cannot be ignored also because of her actual or potential power and resources. In the very first meeting of foreign secretaries, Indian foreign secretary R. D. Sathe while reacting cautiously to the Bangladeshi proposal said, —We fully subscribe to the



view expressed therein that in the foreseeable future, regional cooperation in South Asia has to be confined to economic, technical, scientific, social and cultural fields. It is inevitable that there will be some differences of emphasis if not perception in regard to a preliminary document of this nature. We feel that till detailed examination has taken place it would be premature to consider the institutionalization of regional cooperation through the establishment of a secretariat, etc.” Further in a very forth right and pragmatic manner Indian foreign secretary, R.D. Sathe put forth two important preconditions for regional cooperation in South Asia when he said: At this stage it would also be useful to stress that we reach unequivocal agreement on what I would call the ground rules, which should govern regional cooperation exercise and which in fact appear in the Bangladesh paper itself. Here I would submit that the principle of avoiding discussion in regional framework of all bilateral and contentious issues and of unanimity as the principle on the basis of which decisions in regard to regional cooperation are taken should be followed scrupulously. This meeting in Colombo agreed for the need of regional cooperation as a complement of already existing bilateral and multi-lateral cooperation among the countries of South Asia. It decided to proceed gradually on the basis of careful and adequate preparation for early realization of such cooperation. Indian foreign secretary, R.D. Sathe, gave a firm and clear indication of India’s policy of gradual movement towards regionalism in South Asia while concluding his speech in the first meeting he said’ —we have an obligation to lay a solid and secure foundation on which regional cooperation can be built. If there are delays one should not become pessimistic, Rome was not built in a day. Neither was other regional groupings established without several meetings and through discussions. In fact, I would submit that while we should no doubt profit from the



experience of other regions in the world. A pattern of regional cooperation in South Asia should evolve itself, we do not have to jump steps ahead and create an organizational superstructure without first agreeing upon arrangements, modalities and programmes of regional cooperation. The second meeting of foreign secretaries was held at Kathmandu, Nepal during November 2-4, 1981. In this meeting Indian foreign secretary R.D. Sathe went to say, when we have worked out a substantial programme of cooperation, we should move in the direction of recommending to our foreign ministers to convene a meeting at their level in order to launch such a programme and to provide guidance for further progress.

The Indian foreign secretary, M. Rasgotra, in accordance with his country's cautious and step by step approach and about the meetings to be convened at the level of foreign ministers cautioned that, —At our level we have some important progress. A lot more remains to be done, we have yet to complete our task of presenting to the ministers a concrete and comprehensive action oriented programme including specific measures for its coordination and implementation. For this a few more meetings at our level would seem necessary, though this need not mean an unduly, extended time frame for the meeting at the level of foreign ministers. However, Indian suggestion was not acceptable to Pakistan, Bangladesh and Nepal. In addition to the argument against venturing into too many fields, too soon, an underlying streak of apprehension of India's domination in these fields, particularly in the field of trade and industry, might also possibly be the factor behind this stance.

### **Political Push for South Asian Regionalism (1983-85)**

The process for regional cooperation in South Asia moved a significant step further when the foreign secretaries decided to raise the level of interaction to the political plane.<sup>100</sup> The two important conditions



reflecting Indian position were incorporated as General provisions under the institutional arrangements, vis, decisions at all levels would be taken on the basis of unanimity, and bilateral and contentious issues would be excluded from the deliberations. Further the Indian position towards regional cooperation was appropriately articulated by the then Prime Minister of India Indira Gandhi in her inaugural address to the meeting of the foreign ministers. Indian Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi while underlining the commonalities of geography, experiences, aspirations, challenges and civilization also talked of each countries individual personality, distinctive perception and a different political system. She further affirmed; Our policy is not to interfere in the affairs of others. But ours is a troubled region, most of our countries are multi-racial and multi religious. It would be idle to pretend that we are not affected by what happens elsewhere. Even as we meet, there are disturbing and tragic developments in our neighbourhood'.

On the crucial issue of summit meeting of SAARC countries, Indian foreign minister Bali Ram Bhagat observed: —Obviously such a meeting will require thorough preparation so that we are in a position to put something concrete before our leaders. Before we initiate the preparatory process, we would need to have a clear perception of what we should aim to achieve at the summit'.<sup>102</sup> India obviously was not in a hurry to hold the summit meeting. It was agreed to recommend the respective head of state or government that the first summit of South Asian countries be held in Dhaka in the last quarter of 1985 to be preceded by a meeting of the foreign ministers in Bhutan in May 1985 to serve as the preparatory meeting of the summit. It was held against the backdrop of heightened tension between India and Srilanka over Tamil problem. On the most important issue of summit meeting, Indian minister of state for external affairs, Indira Gandhi



who was also the prime minister at the point of time, for external affairs clarified his government's position as, the scope of SARC activities grows, we must ensure that we have an adequate framework to provide the necessary institutional support. This will be an important issue before the first SAARC summit to be held in this year. It is a matter of satisfaction that a consensus has been reached at the standing committee that a South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation will be created. My delegation is in favour of a council of ministers and the establishment of a secretariat at the appropriate time. While extending full support to the evolving process of South Asian regionalism Indian minister sounded a note of caution and said, I would like to conclude by affirming once again our full support for the further evolution of SAARC- both conceptually and institutionally. We extend our hand in solidarity, knowing fully that what we are seeking to achieve cannot be done with ease. The present international scene continues to be dictated by noble platitudes and harsh realities. History has shown that even when benefits' of working together are positive and self-evident, vested and narrow interests tend to entangle the gains that could accrue from such cooperation we must increase our self-reliance and reduce our susceptibilities' to pressures both within and outside our control. Divided we are vulnerable, united we will move forward to a bright future in pursuit of freedom and peace so essential for it. An important characteristic of this region is it is indo-centric nature. India is central to the whole region and this is not only so in terms of India's geographical location and contagious boundaries with neighbours but also with respect to socio-cultural identities and experiences of historical and political evolution. Commonalities in South Asia are mostly bilateral between India and each of the neighbouring countries separately and individually. India in the third meeting was keen to incorporate tourism and trade as the areas of cooperation in the agenda.



Indian foreign secretary, M. Rasgotra mentioned trade as a field of great importance for regional cooperation. He said in fact in many other regions of the world, cooperation in trade was established at a relatively early stage starting with certain specific sections, as developing countries we all have understandable difficulties in liberalizing trade flows which might necessitate drastic changes in our trade regimes. But it should be possible to consider limited cooperation based on a regional system of trade preferences, cooperation among state trading agencies and trade related institutions and cooperation in the marketing of commodities of interest to countries of the region.

### **India s Role in the Development of SAARC**

Indian leaders have been taking keen interest in SAARC summits on cooperative efforts. The theoretical efforts of India have always been encouraging irrespective of the practical result. It is important to discuss Indian head of states initiative during SAARC summits. Since the formation of SAARC India has taken keen interest to develop the idea of cooperation through an association. First meeting of foreign ministers SARC (South Asian Regional cooperation) countries took place at New Delhi in August 1983, Mrs. Indira Gandhi in her inaugural address to the SAARC countries foreign ministers urged that the seven member countries must conduct their affairs so as to eliminate tension and promote greater peace and stability in the region and she also stressed against the attempts of external powers to influence our functioning. After assuming the office as Prime Minister of India immediately after the assassination of Indira Gandhi, Rajiv Gandhi stressed that self-reliance and mutual cooperation in the affairs of SAARC should be encouraged. At the first summit of SAARC, held in Dhaka in December 1985 in his speech on the opening day Indian Prime Minister described the summit as a new dawn of people's movement



for regional cooperation which poured the way for collective self-reliance in the fight against poverty, illiteracy, malnutrition and disease in the area.

India's Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi admitted at the Bangaluru summit that —the SAARC summit has become an important fixture in our calendar for bilateral discussions and an exchange of views outside the conference premises. Rajiv Gandhi suggested that SAARC should meet once a year and not once in two years as planned. It was mentioned under article III of the SAARC charter which mentioned that there will be one summit meeting in a year. In this direction Indian government was anxious to create a congenial atmosphere in a sub-continent prior to launching of SAARC. In the second summit at Bangaluru, prime minister of India came out with a note on how to expand people to people contact. India wanted to open a frequent exchange of scholars, public figures, media and cultural programmes of artists etc. and it was in this direction that prime minister of India placed special emphasis on SAVE (SAARC Audio Visual Exchange) programme. India has also tried to think about South Asian Common Market. In the fourth summit of SAARC held in Islamabad in 1988, India expressed its frustration at the slow pace of cooperation in general and lack of cooperation in economic arena in particular. As neo-functionalism became successful in Europe, during the fifth summit, the then prime minister of India Chandra Shaker advocated functional approach and proposed for institutional cooperation within the South Asian region. This summit is also important for India in the sense that it afforded an opportunity for a direct dialogue between Indian and Pakistani prime ministers on Pakistani soil. This summit also suggested the preparation of a regional plan called SAARC 2000'to provide for basic needs for shelter, education and literacy. The summit took up environmental issues of the greenhouse effect for its study, and it also called for a war against narcotics.



Chandra Shakher proposed that the tourist industry could be attracted from outside the region. Chandra Shakher urged SAARC to become a more vibrant organization and virtually called for a new SAARC order free from the politics of confrontation.

The period 1989-90 saw some uncertainty in the process of Cooperation in SAARC. The all-round interest and enthusiasm that SAARC had been able to generate in the early years was marred by the uncertainty of Srilanka by not holding the SAARC summit at its prime time. Srilankan reluctance to hold the summit on account of Indo Srilanka bilateral issues put serious obstacles in the progress of SAARC. Srilanka raised the issue of the presence of Indian peace keeping force (IPKF) as a reason for its inability to hold the summit. The IPKF despite having been sent on the invitation of the Srilankan government became a bone of contention. Eventually, the 1989 summit never took place and the fifth summit was then convened at Male in 1990. The Srilankan episode appears to have set a kind of precedent. The subsequent years have seen the cancellation or postponement of annual summits for relatively minor reasons. In 1991, Indian government introduced the policy of economic reforms. Accordingly P.V. Narsimha Rao proposed "Collective Economic Security" system as the only alternative to fulfill the need for an effective safeguard for furthering development and strengthening economies of developing countries. He also remarked that the SAARC must adapt itself with vision and understanding to developments outside our region and emphasize on confidence among the people and governments to set in motion a benevolent cycle wherein cooperation strengthens confidence which in turn makes for closer cooperation. He also proposed the member states to have a commercial exchanger among them at a faster pace with sustained commitment towards the free flow of trade besides policies encouraging cross investment within



the economic region. He described SAPTA (South Asian preferential trading arrangement) proposed by Srilanka as development of historic importance for South Asia and exhorted the member states to take up the challenge of poverty and work for the upliftment of the people from the very base of pyramid.

In the following two summits, India consistently recalled for the integration of SAARC economies and creation of a free market in order to enhance the range of dynamism and collective strength of the member states in a globally trading community. India wanted the South Asian states to adapt the successful approach of similar regional bodies in opening their doors to the free flow of goods, services, capital and manpower. India decided to closely examine the Srilanka's proposal to establish a SAARC Preferential Trading Arrangement (SAPTA) by 1997. The agreement on SAPTA was the first step in this direction. A preferential trading arrangement is the first, and perhaps the mildest form of regional economic integration. The agreement aimed at promoting and sustaining mutual trade and economic cooperation among the member countries of SAARC through the exchange of various concessions. The operationalization of SAPTA in December 1995 and the subsequent three rounds of negotiations entailing tariff liberalization have been the major developments in the regional trade liberalization.

### **Conclusion**

India was also willing to consider bilateral free trade agreements with those countries which were interested in moving further. In the wake of military coup in Pakistan in October in 1999, India refused to attend the next summit. This was appreciated as an indication of India's commitment to encourage a greater flow of Indian investment in its immediate neighborhood. At the twelfth summit of SAARC, India's main



concern was combating terrorism and to remove the poverty. The then prime minister of India Atal Bihari Vajpayee mooted a proposal to give \$ 100 million to SAARC for combating poverty. He suggested that India, Pakistan and Bangladesh should jointly celebrate the 150th anniversary of 1857 uprising against colonial rule because our forefathers fought against a common colonial oppressor.

In the next summit in Dhaka Prime Minister of India, Dr. Manmohan Singh laid stress on a larger role for India in South Asian region in a year. He particularly advocated energy cooperation. India proposed in the ministerial meeting that it was ready to open South Asian skies improving connectivity among SAARC countries as a means to create better platform for regional cooperation. India also welcomed to induct Afghanistan as member of the SAARC. Indian proposal for establishment of a South Asian University for the whole region was encouraging. India also proposed to establish a South Asia Food Security Store to meet the emergency needs in case of any food shortage in any part of the region. Along with it Indian Prime Minister offered South Asian car rally which would symbolize regional identity and draw attention to the urgent need to improve transport infrastructure in member nations. South Asian car rally which began successfully from Cox's Bazaar (Bangladesh) on March 15, 2007 to bring the SAARC nations to more close ties would symbolize regional identification and draw attention to the urgent need to improve transport infrastructure in member

Economic Community as constituting an arc of advantage' in terms of prosperity, stability and closer economic integration where there would be large-scale movement of people, capital, labour, ideas and creativity. In the fourteenth SAARC summit India allowed duty free access to goods to its vast market for the least developed members of SAARC. India also



announced unilateral liberalization of visas for students, teachers, professors, journalists and patients from SAARC countries. In this meeting establishment of South Asian University in New Delhi is also approved. India was the chair of the SAARC from 2007-2008. In the fifteenth summit held in Colombo in 2008 trade and investment linkages were further consolidated. In this summit India expressed its deep concern over the serious threat posed by terrorism to peace, stability and security of the nation. In the sixteenth summit of SAARC held in Thimpu, 2010 Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh described the accomplishment of SAARC as —half empty glass.

The deadlock over the composite dialogue after the Mumbai terrorist attack in 2008 between India and Pakistan also came to an end. India also announced setting up of a fund that would help South Asia effectively meet urgent adaptation and capacity building needs posed by climate change. India called to double the intra SAARC flow of tourists in the next five years, India recalled for energy cooperation and South Asian development fund. India proposed setting up of climate innovation centres in South Asia to develop sustainable energy technologies. India offered services of India's mission on sustaining the Himalayan ecosystem to the SAARC member states saying that the initiative could serve as a nucleus for regional cooperation in this vital area. India announced "India endowment for climate change" in South Asia to help member states meet their urgent adaption and capacity building needs posed by the climate change. The 17th SAARC summit was held at Maldives capital of Male on November 10-11, 2011. In this summit Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh laid emphasis on trade which should flourish among SAARC countries with very low tariffs among themselves so as to ensure smooth trade between the member countries without any hurdle imposed through high custom



duties in this era of liberalization. At the Summit, Indian Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh formally declared that —complete normalization of trade relations will create huge opportunities for mutually beneficial trade within South Asia conceding that —India has a special responsibility that flows from the geography of our region and the size of (India's) economy and market. He announced that India had issued a Notification reducing the number of items on its own Sensitive List for the Least Developed Countries under SAFTA from 480 tariff lines to 25, with zero basic customs duty access for items taken off the Sensitive List.

The eight nations decide to finalise a regional railways agreement and complete the preparatory work on an Indian Ocean cargo and passenger ferry services by the end of the year. He also decided for the implementation of his six year old proposal for unrestricted access to airlines form SAARC states. During the 17th SAARC summit adequate time and opportunities were provided for private quite consultations on sensitive bilateral issue between countries concerned, ensuring a calmer and conducive atmosphere at other summit meetings for consensual, region centric agreements on the deceleration. The declaration directs the SAFTA ministerial council to intensify efforts to fully and effectively implement SAFTA and the work on reduction in sensitive lists as well as early resolving non tariff barriers.

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## UNDERSTANDING THE ACADEMIC, PROFESSIONAL AND PERSONALITY RELATED IMPORTANCE OF B.ED COURSE IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION

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### INTRODUCTION

#### **B. Ed. A Personality Development Course & an Important Course for a Teacher**

The proposed article is about a professional course opted by those who aspire or work in the relevant field, i.e. the field of education. The B. Ed. Course is a small concept but it has a lot of Philosophy behind. It is a course that provides education and education all of us know is a difference between good & bad, optimist and pessimist, superstitious and logic, reality and myth, secularism and communalism, democracy and autocracy, limit and liberty, civilization and barbarism and mostly a difference between Right and Wrong. This education word is better shaped in the said Professional Course i.e. B. Ed.

### OBJECTIVES OF STUDY

- Understanding the basic complexities in the way of teaching.
- Highlighting the importance of Bed Course.
- To understand various aspects of a child's behavior.
- Bed as importance course for a teacher.
- A firsthand experience for teacher training



B. Ed. It is a course that has become so important even we see relevant people offering this course irrespective of different level of teaching positions. The course is a Teacher-Trainee Course. It means training for a teacher. 'Teacher' a word full of meaning and lot of Philosophy but we have not stress over the word. A teacher is one who teaches something to the students. The job of a teacher is very difficult. Why so, because he/ she has to put something in the mind of a student who are unwilling, unready and immature but still it can be made understand by a teacher provide he/ she is full of skill and these skills a teacher got over mastery in only are and are course i.e. the B. Ed. Course.

The importance of this B. Ed. Course can be realized when we see that it is a compulsion and obligatory for everyone who aspire to become a teacher. Teacher of any level, whether working at elementary, primary, secondary, senior secondary, higher or highest level but, this professional course should be in the hands of a teacher.

### **SCENARIO IN KASHMIR**

In our state especially in Kashmir division we have a lot of B. Ed. Colleges. It shows our education personals also feel the importance of this course. But, unfortunately, we have taken this course as the easiest of all and neglected its importance. As, the reality is that it is such important that whole-personality of an individual (particularly those who aspire to work in the field of education, in the shape of a teacher) gets shaped by this Course.

Have we ever thought about this concept that this course is a training course for a teacher and why teachers need this course despite they have lot of degrees, diploma, knowledge and experience? The reality is that a teacher has to deal with a student belong to different dimensions of a society



and a student with related to the innate, whom, individual and different socio-culture, economic and psychological makeup. A teacher for that very purpose need take a training course just we see a doctor need to take a training programme. He/ she needs to go through practical, field work, internship before facing a real patient. If a doctor directly face s a patient without taking proper training and without an skill though he/ she is a specialist but still a doctor faces lot of problems in dealing his/ her patient.

Similarly, the job of a teacher is like that of a doctor. A teacher teaches the students. The treatment can be better if he/ she better knows a student. A teacher can better knows a student on B. Ed. Course when he/ she got a probationary training, an opportunity to have an internship work, an opportunity to teach students of real classroom complexities and also to know how to solve these complexities. This practical work during B. Ed. Course enables a teacher-trainee to come through all the things and experiences about that he/ she need to be aware of. A teacher need to be wake of all the jobs related with academic side and co-curricular side of a student. These traits can be infused among him/ her when B. Ed. is taken seriously by everyone who undergoes this professional course.

### **RELATION WITH PERSONALITY**

It is not only technique but also about the personality of a teacher. This course shapes the personality of a teacher trainee. We might for a while though that what personality has to do with teaching, for that we should first understand the concept of Personality.

The word 'Personality' does not mean looking handsome, beautiful, royal, intelligent, good-appearance but it is a much bigger concept. The 'Personality' is the mask of an individual. It is intrinsic as well extrinsic, overt as well covert. It includes everything that is related with an individual.



Personality is totally one's behavior with oneself and others as well. It includes everything about a person his/ her physical, emotional, social, mental, ethical, moral and spiritual makeup. It is all that a person has about him/ her.

It is not the general definition of personality but actually it is visible definition of Personality. Personality is shaped by the behavior of an individual. When our behavior, either individual or social remains good, we can be a good personality. If our thinking is good, our attitude is polite, our contribution is positive, our thought is liberal, our ideas are progressive, our values are immortal, our thought is good, we can be a best personality and it is a best opportunity for a teacher-trainees that their personality can be perfect and they can shape their personality by virtue of this B. Ed. Course and if we are unable to shape our personality then we can become good teachers and then automatically build the personality of our future generation, of our young one, of our students. Being a teacher in one of the B. Ed. College I have observed one thing that the B. Ed. Course is definitely going to build the personality of everyone who opts this course. But, students are mostly unaware that how important this course will be for the professional and personal life as well.

The Teacher-Trainees who have opted 'Teaching' as their profession need to show seriousness with related this B. Ed. Course. It has been proved that 'Teaching' job is not, "every body's cup of tea". Why so, the reason is that, it is a complex job where a teacher should be skillful and should have knowledge with related to physical, social, emotional, economic, intellectual aspect of a student and mostly should have a psychology of students, it become easy to handle the job of teaching.

Teaching profession is a very difficult profession. It can't be handled by a person who is unaware about the different dimensions of his/ her



students. This job needs a lot of mastery over skills and lot of patience and sincerity on the part of a teacher. This job needs a firsthand experience before facing a second hand situation i.e. the real classroom situation. To me, the best way for a teacher-trainee is this B. Ed. course where he/ she found an opportunity to develop one's personality and to know the basic complexities and problems in the way of teaching.

It has been observed that those teacher-trainees who offer a regular B. Ed. course got much opportunity to shape their personality in the form of a competent and successful teacher. The reasons is that the regular teacher- trainee finds opportunity to express his/ her emotions, ideas, to communicate, to prevent themselves, to take participation in academic and co-curricular activities, to shape their ideas, to change their behavior, to acquire skills, to modify their personality and most importantly got an opportunity to have a direct contact with the profession, with the real life events and with the real job with which they are related.

It has been observed that most important element of our society, who can shape our society, is a teacher. A teacher is one who inculcates good qualities among his/ her students. A teacher develops potential among the students. A teacher draws out best out of a student. A teacher brings light among the level of students of burning themselves. A teacher germinates a seed to a tender plant and then to a mature tree. A teacher guides and channelizes the talent of a student. A teacher encourages and inspires a student at e very stage.

A teacher can build the character of a student and can build the base of our society, as our society rests upon the ideas and role of new generation. If our younger generation is a good personality, a civilized one, a talented one, a progressive one, an intellectual one and mostly with a democratic out lack and our society could be a better one and we can prove



that, "A teacher is the builder of a nation".

It is simple to write down but it is as difficult as easy it is. A teacher can build the character, personality, thinking, attitude of his students but only once he/ she himself has been able to develop these traits among themselves first. A teacher can mold the character/ behavior of his/ her student only when he/ she have built their own behavior first. Teacher can clear the Philosophy, issues, beliefs of his/ her student but only when he/ she has a clear philosophy first. A teacher can better understand the psychological problems of students only when he/ she understand psychology first.

Have we ever thought that why this B. Ed. course contains core-papers like that of Philosophy, Psychology and Technology. Why it is a mixture of different subjects the reason is that actually these different subjects are different domains/ aspects of an individual. You need to study an individual completely then you can be able to teach him/ her. But this job is only provided through this B. Ed. course. The job of a teacher is to bring all round development. All round means all the subjects of study-all-round means all the aspects of one's personality either it is physical, emotional, social, individual, mental, moral, ethical, spiritual etc.

#### **WHAT IS FOR THE REACHER**

As a teacher you have to be aware about the philosophy of student, the psychological makeup of a student, the techniques of enhancing, learning, and the techniques to teach in a complex situation. The job of a teacher is a skilled one. It is handles successfully by those who possess good, experiments in their hand, by these who understand how to control over situation, by those who understand different situations of students, by those consider the emotional and psychological appeal of competent enough in their profession.



To become a teacher is very easy but to become a good teacher depends how you have handles the B. Ed. course. It is this particular course that enabled us to get acquainted with all such problems that we are going to face in our professional life.

We have not thought on the concept that why this B. Ed. course is often taken by those who first get selected as teacher but still they need to get through this course at any stage of their profession. This course is a technique and training. Training is same what different from degree and knowledge. This course is a technique and training where we understand how to build our personality and then shape the personality of our students.

In the very beginning of my article 'Personality' has been related with this course. It is a personality development course not only it develops personality but shapes our personality. The job of a teacher is to develop character and personality, to inculcate good values among students. The job of a teacher is to bring all-round development in a child. This a done by those teachers who take this course seriously. A person who understand this course fully, understand child fully. One who studies core-subjects, studies core-problems of students? A teacher has to understand all the three dimensions of student's behavior:

1. Cognitive-Mental Aspect
2. Affective- Feeding Aspect
3. Psychomotor- Activity/ Physical Aspect.

When we say all-round development, it means that a teacher should bring development with respect to child's mentality, thinking power, knowledge, feelings, aspirants, emotions, beliefs, physical aspect etc.

This job is perfectly done by those who understand a child's psychology and understand feelings and emotions of a child.



The B. Ed. course is really a personality development course but only for those students who took this course seriously. When we have take the responsibility to change the behavior of our students, to inculcate good values, to furnish good ideas, to clean beliefs, to replace superstitious by logic, to build our society or in other words to work as a 'Teacher' the, we have to be very serious with regard to this B. Ed. Course.

B. Ed. course provides an opportunity for everyone who wants to become a teacher to shape our personality, to give our best to our society. Once, we build our personality then and then only we can build the personality of our students, who in turn build the future of our nation/ society.

### **The Key**

The key to become a successful/ competent teacher lies in basic understanding of this course showing seriousness related the course of B. Ed. once we will become serious learners, serious followers, serious students then only we will be serious teachers and a serious and competent teacher is always praised and respected by our society for all times to come.

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## INDIA AS A REGIONAL HEGEMON AND ITS IMPACT ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF SAARC

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### Introduction

#### India as Core of the Region

India is on the world's stage as the first large, economically powerful, culturally vibrant, multi-ethnic, multi-religious democracy. India has the potential to become leading member of the Political West and to play a key role politically in the coming decades. Whether it will and how soon depends on the readiness of the western powers to engage India on its own terms. However India does not enjoy a benign security environment and is increasingly challenged by states that have adversarial ties with New Delhi reflected through the baggage of history as well an unsettled boundary and territorial issues. Further the issue of states with weak state institutions along its borders compounds the problems for India.

In practical terms, securing India's great power goals impose two strategic requirements. The first is a sustained economic growth rate<sup>124</sup> which largely depends on uninterrupted access to foreign sources of energy. Given the small contribution that nuclear power currently makes and the long lead time involved in its significant expansion, the oil and natural gas



components of energy security occupy a silent position in India's strategic thinking. India's geographic position along the sea lanes connecting the Persian Gulf with Asia's other growing economies reinforces India's potential to be a security provider along this crucial route. The second strategic need is to secure access to energy resources and unhindered foreign trade, which will have an impact on the direction of development. This brings out the importance of the extended South Asia region which includes the littoral states of the Indian Ocean. India today belongs to a club of nations that has developed nuclear powered submarines, launched remote sensing satellites (with the ability to map the earth's resources from outer space) and launched intermediate range ballistic missiles. Its launching of the polar satellite launch vehicle in October 1994 was impressive.

The enabling and constraining capabilities of India with regard to promoting regional cooperation in South Asia had been discussed even before the conceptual journey of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) began in 1983. India occupies a unique position in the South Asian region. By virtue of its size, location and economic potential India assumes a natural leadership role in the region. But the over-bearing presence of a neighbour with aspirations for global leadership has also been a source of apprehensions for the other South Asian countries. Consequently, cooperative efforts of the South Asian countries are hijacked by the dilemma of comprehending India's perceived and actual role as a stepping stone or a stumbling block for the regional efforts. India claims a leadership position for herself, while her South Asian neighbours accuse her of exercising hegemony. India's neighbours feel themselves threatened by the bigger center of power and accuse it of hegemonistic designs.

India represents a menacing and aggressive monster that sends nervous tremors through the region every time it shrugs even in statistical



terms. Its military strength in comparison to rest is awesome. Indian preponderance is clearly recognised by the superpowers and it's widely believed proximity to the Soviet Union in geographical terms gives India an added air of invisible menace. India shares borders with all South Asian countries, making it the vital physical link in the region. These contrasting approaches to the issue of strategic consensus in South Asia to the building of a regional security structure in the subcontinent lie at the root of most of the political problems that bedevil India's relations with its smaller South Asian neighbors. They also complicate and are complicated by, India's uneasy relations with its largest neighbour China. Thus even if the current relaxed state of relations between Moscow and Washington becomes a long-term trend, this will not necessarily lead to a lessening of tensions in South Asia for India.

Lakshman Kadirgamar a leading writer of Sri Lanka on South Asian affairs has used the analogy of a wheel to depict centrality of India in South Asian affairs.

According to him at the hub of the wheel lies regionally preponderant India. Radiating as spokes are India's neighbours with each of whom India shares land or maritime boundaries, but no two others are thus joined without at the same time touching India also. Binding those spokes to that hub are the physical barriers. The South Asian nations in particular and global powers in general regard India to assume additional responsibility for ensuing regional development and cohesion. In the words of Jayewardene —India was expected to create the confidence among the countries so necessary to make a beginning, and was referred to as the —key to the development and progress of SAARC. India's responsibility in shaping and directing the cooperation drive was recognized by extra-regional powers. The size and position of India give it a special role of



leadership in South Asia and world affairs. The overall changes in international politics after the end of the Cold War further reinforced the primacy of the India factor in the region. According to Mohammed Ayoub the changing nature of Superpower relations has opened up prospects for regionally preeminent powers to adopt more overt managerial roles in their respective regions.

### **India's Response to the New International Order**

India like many other developing countries responded to the post cold war developments in the arena of international politics. It tried to adjust to the situation and accordingly attempted to rearrange its foreign policy priorities both at the global and regional levels. India's adherence to the policy of nonalignment, peace, friendship and stability continued. Yet it was necessary to bring about certain changes in India's foreign policy in response to the new emerging world order. In fact it was not possible for any country to remain isolated from the growing emphasis on globalisation and privatization on the one hand and the reshaping and realigning of global political and strategic forces from the other.

In fact, these changes posed new challenges for India's foreign policy and the disintegration of the Soviet Union particularly necessitated the recasting of its foreign policy priorities. India realised that in the changed circumstances regional issues had become more important and it was necessary to build strong ties at the regional level. In response to the changing world scenario and the need for a fresh look at India's foreign policy India's Prime Minister Narsimha Roa said in parliament on December 20, 1991 that his government was prepared to adopt itself to the changing international environment. India was conscious of the need to structure a regional and international order based on harmony, consensus



and willingness to strive for peace, stability and development. It became essential for Indian foreign policy to take into account,

- i) India's security and territorial integrity;
- ii) The economic well being of the people which required keeping pace with the external economic environment; iii) Stability and peace in the region.

In the context of India's foreign policy towards its neighbouring countries certain aspects acquired significance. Firstly there was a pressing need to recast India's approach and envisaging its role with regard to the politico-strategic issues in the context of two major developments, the disintegration of its dependable ally the Soviet Union and the lessening of possibilities of big power involvement in regional affairs. Secondly in the context of the globalisation and privatization of economies, regional cohesion and the activation of regional economic cooperation became necessary in order to cope with the changes. Thirdly there was an increasing need for greater and more sustained efforts to promote better bilateral relations with the neighbouring countries, which could help develop a congenial atmosphere for financial investment, joint ventures, expansion of market facilities, transfer of technology, liberalization of trade regimes, etc. at the regional level. Fourthly, India began to realise that the growth of democratic institutions in the neighbouring countries could be an asset for the development of healthy bilateral relations and regional solidarity. Fifthly India's response to end initiatives in the emerging world order has an inevitable impact on and significance for its South Asian neighbors. And lastly, India's concern in reshaping its foreign policy, in accordance with changing priorities in regional affairs, was induced not only by the changes at the global level but also by the changes in the neighbouring countries themselves.



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## Shift in Regional Scenario

The changes taking place at the global level influenced the countries of South Asia too. It appeared that competitive polity was gradually taking the place of controlled regimes. In Pakistan with the death of President Zia Ul Haq in 1988 the army realized that it could no longer prevent the advent of democracy and for a few following years, the country moved back to the path of democracy. In Srilanka presidential elections took place in 1989. In Bangladesh democracy came into operation with the 1988 general elections. In Nepal the 1990 democratic movement succeeded in establishing democracy. Along with the democratization of polity in the neighbouring countries India also witnessed political changes at home. The formation of non-congress governments not only marked a change of ruling party but also indicated the beginning of weak governments and weak political leadership in India. These changes impacted on India's relations with its South Asian neighbours. India had strained relations with Pakistan over the issue of Siachen, nuclear tests, Kashmir and cross-border terrorist activities, with Nepal over the issues of arms purchase from China and the renewal of trade and transit treatises; with Srilanka over the issue of withdrawal of the Indian peace keeping force (IPKF) and with Bangladesh over the issue of sharing the Ganga waters, illegal migrants and arms supply from China. With the change in party and leadership in India a change in the attitudes of the government was obvious. It can be concluded that the post cold war period was marked by significant changes which had a bearing on the pattern of international relations. Individual countries had to reshape their foreign policies in accordance with the changing international scenario. It called for an emphasis on building strong regional ties by improving relations with immediate neighbors. India's preparedness to accept these developments and recast its foreign policy



priorities helped the foreign policy orientation of its neighbouring countries. However, it may be pointed out here that the new emerging world order could not lead to the disappearance of conflicts, it could only create certain opportunities which could help minimize conflicts and develop good neighborly relationships.

### **Initiatives and Constraints**

After 1990s India began to take initiatives to improve relations with its neighbouring countries. India's relations with Bhutan had been cordial and continued to be the same despite the emergence of ethnic conflict in Bhutan and strained Bhutan Nepal relations. India is refrained from commenting on the issue and did not allow its relations with Bhutan to disturb.<sup>136</sup> With Nepal, a process of normalization of relations started with the signing of the accord in June 1990, restoring the prior status of April 1987. The revision of trade and transit treaties, which had become a note of discord between the two countries during 1987-88, further strengthened their relationship. India agreed to provide economic concessions to Nepal in order to encourage trade. India and Nepal also developed understanding on the issue of mutually beneficial utilization of the Mahakali River. For Srilanka, India's withdrawal of the IPKF in 1990 was a great relief. It indeed paved the way for the improvement of relations between the two countries. In 1991 the two countries agreed to the setting up of a joint commission to provide an institutional framework to their bilateral relations. India's relations with Bangladesh remained unstable during 1975-90.<sup>137</sup> The Khalida Zia government which came to power in February 1991 could not make much headway except in resolving the Tin Bigha issue.

India's relations with Pakistan however remained same as they were in the past vitiated by a hostility that was basically the legacy of history.<sup>138</sup> The suitable government created after 1990 did not help much in removing



mutual distrust and suspicion. India did try to improve trade relations and encourage cultural relations with Pakistan, but issues concerning Kashmir, cross border terrorist activities, nuclear development, narcotic and drug trafficking, etc. remained unresolved. On the whole, India's South Asia policy lacked a clear and broad perspective. All efforts towards building bridges and the confidence building measures proved to be mere rhetoric and were confined to strengthening public relations.

### **India as a Regional Power: Policies and Perception**

Hegemony is the privileged exercise of power in complete disregard to the interests of other states. Indian policies with regard to the liberation movement in Bangladesh in 1971, the ethnic crisis in Sri Lanka in 1987 and the attempted military coup d'état in Maldives in 1988 are cited as illustrations of India's hegemonic authority in region. Even diplomatic statements, like the Indian Government's comment on the deteriorating conditions in Baluchistan and also the advice for Pakistan Government to exercise restraint has been interpreted as interference by India.

India has defended its Bangladesh policy on the grounds that India intervened only after her requests to the United Nations to act against Pakistan failed to yield results. —The Guardian (a British daily news paper) had described the Pakistani troop's atrocities as an arrogant crime against humanity and human aspirations. Given the compulsions of national security coupled with the humanitarian crisis in East Pakistan, India sought to provide military assistance that led to the emergence of Bangladesh. The military involvement by India is further defended by referring to the request for the same by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the founding father of Bangladesh. Despite all justifications, the role played by India in the emergence of Bangladesh is viewed even today as a vindication of the regional apprehensions. The most important result of the 1971 crisis on



regional perceptions has been the demonstrated ability of India to alter the geo-political landscape of South Asia.

India is accused of using the Indo-Srilanka Accord of 1987 to assert its military potential in the region. The accord allowed India's diplomatic involvement in resolving the confrontation between the Tamil and Sinhalese in Srilanka and the option of military assistance was expected to be contingency clause, which few expected would be utilized. The deterioration of the security situation in Srilanka and the fickle policies of President Premadasa forced India to get militarily involved in the Island politics. The professions of caution and restraint provided by India have done little to address the regional fear psychosis generated in response to the episode. The fallout of India's gaffe in Srilanka was so immense that even the ministerial level meetings for launching SAARC were adversely affected. In November 1988 the Indian military in response to a request by the de jure government of Maldives helped to crush an attempted coup on the island. The Maldives episode, as an individual case study would have perhaps not invited much attention, but the fact that it took place barely a year after India's military involvement in Srilanka sought to reinforce the negative perceptions about India. The importance of the Maldivian episode lies in the kind of the reinforcements it provided for the apprehensions about India's politico-military clout in South Asia.

India's relations with South Asian neighbours are characterised by numerous bilateral contentions. India favours a bilateral dialogue for addressing these concerns, while the neighbours demand a multilateral regional approach. India fears that the neighbours would gang-up against her and demand unrealistic concessions in a multi-lateral scenario, while the neighbours suspect that India seeks to take undue advantage of the weak bargaining capacity of each state in a bilateral dialogue. Neighbours



view Indian bilateralism as an instrument of coercive diplomacy, while India considers the demand of multilateralism as an unnecessary burden of the nascent and fragile process of SAARC. Moreover, India unlike Indonesia has not shown any serious interest in the organization as it prefers to cooperate with smaller neighbors only on a bilateral basis. Inter-state interaction is a multi-dimensional process involving bilateral, regional and other forms of multilateral relations. In South Asia the disagreement over the most preferred strategy emerges from the perceptual divergence among regional states. The psychological predispositions have come to be so shaped that any reference of bilateralism translates into possibilities of Indian hegemony and any assertion of multilateralism is deciphered as a pressure generating tactic, irrespective of the actual merits of either approaches. The most obvious example cited as a justification of India's hegemonic aspirations is the Indira Doctrine. The Indira doctrine was an implicit foreign and security policy response to the newly regional security environment in South Asia. The essence of the Indira doctrine was India's claim for hegemonic status in the region and represented a tough and uncompromising attitude towards neighbours irrespective of being large and small. Two principles of Indira doctrine are:

- i) No foreign power should be involved in the South Asian region;
- ii) The involvement of any foreign power that does not recognize India's predominance in the region would be treated as an inimical to India's interest.

Indira doctrine emphasized that no South Asia nation should ask for outside assistance from any country, if a South Asian nation genuinely needs external assistance, it should seek it from India. A failure to do so will be considered anti India. From this perspective Indian concerns are predominant in South Asia, especially over those of external powers who



must not be allowed to exploit crises to enhance their own positions in the region. By implication, any attempt by another South Asian nation to invite such outside intervention will be considered hostile to India and grounds for Indian retaliation. In short Indian security policy in South Asia is based on denying external powers a regional foothold with military force if necessary. Indira doctrine is India's Monroe doctrine as its strategic predominance in the region is asserted by denying external powers a regional foothold. Indira Gandhi's enunciation of this doctrine is a direct reflection of the systemic, domestic and individual level influences in her foreign policy strategies.

Rajiv Gandhi then Prime Minister of India formulated a grand strategy following Indira doctrine. Rajiv Gandhi followed the inherited, the restive domestic and neighbourhood region where threat perceptions were emanating from several quarters. India and Pakistan had fought two full scale wars – first in 1965 and then in 1971 when Pakistan lost its eastern territory, Sino-Pakistan friendship began in an upward swing after India's nuclear tests in 1974, the problem of Sikh separatism led to the assassination of Indira Gandhi, the ethnic Tamil factor in India Srilanka relations troubled India's military engagement with Srilanka, the threat of Islamic fundamentalism coming to power in Afghanistan as soon as soviet forces withdraw and Nepal's decision to procure arms from China aggravated India's security doctrines.

Rajiv Gandhi responded to the threats of insecurities with strong military and diplomatic policies. His bilateral policies towards Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan and Srilanka and his grand strategic framework in the neighbourhood remained in tune with Indira doctrine. In 1986, Rajiv supported Indian military's plan and completely personalized his decision making in handling the crisis. He flexed India's hegemonic muscle against



Nepal when it was determined to seek an independent path from India. India imposed an economic blockade on Nepal that resulted in serious economic distress and shortage of vital goods in Nepal. The Indo-Srilanka peace accord was signed in June, 1987 and the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) was sent to Srilanka for guaranteeing and enforcing cessations of hostilities in Srilanka. Besides India's engagement in Maldives was one of the success stories of India's military missions in the neighbourhood. An attempt to overthrow Maldivian president Maumoon Abdul Gayoom in November 1988 was organised by a wealthy businessman Abdullah Luthufi. Such extensive military engagements in the neighbourhood underscored India's desire to establish regional supremacy.

The origins of the Doctrine are traced to the Srilankan crisis of 1988 and laid down that India would consider the presence or influence of an external power in the region as adverse to its interests. India's justification for the policy was an attempt to protect the region from the adverse effects of the Cold War, but the neighbours viewed it as a policy to abolish any challenge to India's regional position. In the recent years India has not only allowed but in fact aligned with extra-regional powers to address regional issues, but the regional perceptions fail to take notice of these developments. There was outstanding cooperation between US and Indian ambassadors to try and get Nepal back to multiparty democracy. The Gujral Doctrine, India's policy of providing unilateral concessions to South Asian neighbours without seeking reciprocity proved to be too mild in the face of the impregnable perceptual framework of India's neighbours. Altaf Gauhar, leading Pakistani columnist commented that, —The Gujral Doctrine is not a doctrine of good neighborly relations but a Bharti Plan to seize the neighbour peacefully. Regional economic cooperation is viewed by regional states as a mechanism of ensuring the economic empowerment



of India at the expense of her South Asian neighbours. The South Asian countries were not enthusiastic about South Asian Preferential Trading Agreement (SAPTA) because they felt that the impact of their unfavourable trade balance with India would be accentuated if liberalization is encouraged in regional context. Countries in the region also fear that if market forces are allowed to guide the intraregional trade India would emerge as the dominating factor leading to the political dependence of these states on India.

Sadar Assef Ali, Foreign Minister of Pakistan and Mustafiz ur Rahman, foreign minister of Bangladesh clearly stated that despite their obligations under the Marrakesh and WTO (World Trade Organisation) arrangement they would not be able to respond to India under those obligations till political issues like Kashmir and Farakka are resolved.<sup>148</sup> The fear rather than the existence of Indian hegemony makes the South Asian states apathetic to pursuing mutually beneficial economic policies. The regional hegemonic doctrine proposed by BJP was in response to the threats regional security environment in South Asia experienced. The essence of the BJP's regional doctrine was asserting India's primacy in the region by implicitly forcing deference from all its neighbours. Contrary to regional expectations, expansion of economic relations with India has benefited the regional economies and India has granted numerous economic concessions. In the case of Nepal, for instance, the constraint of the value-added component imposed on Nepali products for duty-free entry into the Indian market was reduced from 80% to 50%, and now even this has been completely removed. In relation to Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, India agrees in principle to reduce their adverse trade balances but the modalities have still to be worked out.<sup>149</sup> Following the Gujral Doctrine India announced at the 1997 Male Summit to unilaterally withdraw restraints to entry to



India of all exports from within the South Asian region, including Pakistan. Indian companies had invested US\$83 million in 140 ventures till 1999 in four Stock Market Companies (SMCs). In addition Indian companies have extended US\$ 3.5 million worth of loans and credits and guarantees worth \$16.5 million to their affiliates in the SAARC region. As a major positive development for regional cooperation India's preferential imports as compared to 1996 became more diversified in 2000. India already has a free trading arrangement with Bhutan, Nepal and Srilanka and negotiations are underway for a free trade agreement with Bangladesh. India has adopted a preferential policy towards investment in SAARC countries. A fast track channel for processing investment proposals has been created to expedite projects. The ceiling for processing investments under the fast track channel had been increased from an initial US \$4 million to US \$ 15 million and further to US \$30 million in May 1999, in case of member countries of SAARC other than Nepal and Bhutan.

### **India's Trade with SAARC Members**

South Asia's intra-regional trade as a share of total trade remained below five percent in the 1980s and 1990s and continues to be around the same level at present. At a broader level, the available data of the major South Asian countries indicate that industrial countries continue to assume a major share of the region's trade, while developing countries outside South Asia have been the second most important group, although their importance has been steadily diminishing. Though the imports from SAARC increased steadily during the period and have quadrupled, it remained around one percent of India's global imports since 1998-99. Despite the fact that most of its neighbours are import dependent, India's trade with its neighbouring countries has not been very impressive, both in terms of volume and as a percentage of its global trade. India's intra SAARC trade is approximately



2.6 percent of its total trade, with India's exports to SAARC countries constituting roughly 5 percent of its total exports and India's imports from the SAARC countries constituting only 0.9 percent of its total imports. Even though the trade volume has increased in the recent years, it is much below the true potential. Given the size of the Indian economy and its geographical positioning at the centre of the region, the success of trade initiatives taken in the SAARC region greatly depends on India and therefore India needs to play a greater role in ensuring that the goals of SAFTA are achieved. However, it is important to note that the official accounts of South Asia's international trade statistics are flawed by the high incidence of informal trade between India and its neighbours. The data merely captures the formal trade which takes place among the neighbouring countries. Studies have shown that huge informal trade takes place through the bordering countries for instance; the informal trade between India and Pakistan was estimated to be US\$1bn for the year 2004-2005.

According to the World Bank Report on 'India Bangladesh Trade, Trade Policies and Potential Free Trade Agreement', very approximate estimates based on surveys in Bangladesh during 2002, total smuggled exports from India to Bangladesh have been around US\$ 500mn, about 42 percent of Bangladesh's recorded imports from India in 2002-03, or about 30 percent of total imports. Most of the smuggled imports came by the land border. Similarly, informal exports to India from Bangladesh, Nepal and Srilanka are also relatively high though they comprise a sizable share of third country goods. These national estimates of informal trade based on a sample survey of key locations may have high error margins and may not be fully reliable.<sup>156</sup> However, the available information on the informal trade does not significantly alter the pattern of intraregional trade. India is not likely to change its directions.



Indian hegemonism will continue to plague the region because it believes that its place as the overlord of the Indian Ocean is secure with the new Western alliances. But the small nations have the power collectively to tie up India as Lilliputians tied down Gulliver. Those familiar with Gulliver's Travels will not forget how Gulliver the giant in the land of pygmies put out the fire in the Queen's house and just opened his fly and eased his bladder. The Lilliputian neighbors are sick of the smell of Indian urine. The Indians may enjoy the urine of even the cow and may find some medicinal properties in it. But the SAARC must consider ways to put an end to Indian hegemony covered in pompous piety. They must decide whether they will drown in a deluge flowing from a Gulliverian bladder or jointly plot and plan to tie down the Gulliver. Indian bladder politics, if it goes on, will degrade small nations that believe in preserving their dignity and self-respect.

### **Challenges to Indian Hegemony in South Asia: China and Pakistan Chinese Response to India's Hegemonic Role in South Asia**

The improving relations between New Delhi and Washington offer some hope of easing external constraints on India's regional role, but China continues to remain a major worry for India. Beijing's intrusive role in South Asia has created major problems for India as far as the management of interstate relations in the region are concerned. Since the late 1950s India's relations with China only overtly nuclear state in South Asia have been antagonistic in character. However there has been some improvement over the years as seen in the official visit by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to Beijing in December 1988. The basic problems between the two countries, including the disputed border and the asymmetry in their nuclear capabilities continue to haunt their relationship. It was not until 1959 when Tibet's Dalai Lama fled to India and border clashes between India and



China escalated and with this Sino-Indian differences came out into the open. As Sino-Indian relations deteriorated from the late 1950s onward Beijing began to side both politically and militarily with Pakistan in its disputes with New Delhi. In response to this two-front threat from China and Pakistan, India's defense expenditures escalated beginning in the early 1960's. This generated increased pressure on the Indian economy. In the wake of the 1959 uprising in Tibet against Chinese control and the Indian decision to give refuge to the Dalai Lama, Beijing began to encourage anti-Indian sentiments in the sub-Himalayan monarchies of Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim. China also supplied training and weapons to various tribal insurgencies in North-Eastern India.

The Sino-Indian border war of October-November 1962, which ended in a humiliating defeat for India, can be considered the military high point of the adversarial relationship between India and China. The more perceptive members of India's foreign policy and defense community have been firmly of the opinion since the 1960s that Pakistan posed an immediate, short-term threat to Indian security, while the long-term and far more serious threat came from China. They believe that while conflict with Pakistan is a more likely possibility than war with China in the short run, Pakistan's capacity to hurt India's vital interests is limited by the sheer asymmetry in indigenous resources that can be mobilized by the two countries in times of conflict. China is a different kind of power altogether. It has in the past demonstrated its military superiority over India as in the border war of 1962, and is more than a match for India in demographic terms. China has also built an impressive industrial and technological infrastructure, which is reflected not only in its conventional military power but also in its capacity to produce and deliver sophisticated nuclear weapons. In fact, India's strivings for nuclear capability were related more to the



asymmetrical nature of the Sino- Indian nuclear equation than to the Pakistan factor or to the double standard of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. While it may address Pakistan's main security concern, it does not even begin to address India's major security problem in the sphere of nuclear weaponry. The imbalance in nuclear capability between India and China has also created a negative impact on the Sino-Indian border problem from New Delhi's point of view. It is difficult for the two parties to find a solution that would be acceptable to both governments as well as to the Indian public. New Delhi's main anxiety seems to be that once Beijing is relieved of the political and military uncertainty, it may adopt a more aggressive posture in its own neighborhood in South and Southeast Asia. New Delhi is particularly worried that if Chinese influence in South-east Asia increases, this will embolden China to challenge India on its doorsteps in South Asia in the sub-Himalayan Kingdom's of Nepal and Bhutan. New Delhi has viewed the escalation of China's rhetoric since 1987 regarding disputed territories in Northeastern India as part of a Chinese strategy that does not rule out renewed confrontation with India.

Indian displeasure with Nepal was ostensibly triggered by a dispute related to the renegotiation of a trade and transit agreement that expired in March 1989. It was in fact a manifestation of Indian anxiety that Kathmandu was deliberately downgrading its relations with India in favour of China. While tension between India and Nepal over China's role in the sub-Himalayan kingdom can be traced back to the 1960's, it was a series of Nepalese actions in 1988 that precipitated India's tough line.

### **Conclusion**

India can foster regional cooperation given the potential for it and because all the ills of South Asia revolve around the head of India. Propaganda is made about effective role of India in regional integration



but that is far from truth, because its approach towards regional cooperation in South Asia has no takers. India can be held responsible for South Asian regional instability. India has tended to prefer bilateral engagements within the region and avoided multilateral ones to suit its ambitious policies and downplays regional cooperation by focusing on building bilateral alliances. While this stand does not negate the possibility of regional integration, it adversely affects its prospectus. Hence India's policies of avoiding leadership role have led to perceptions of abandonment of its regional responsibilities. South Asia being notorious for lack of cooperation has inherent potential for harmony and cooperation but the need is to explore possibilities in a multilateral set up. South Asian association for regional cooperation (SAARC) needs to provide that platform for resolving both economic and security problems and India needs to strengthen any regional initiative for a better future of South Asia. It is genuine that India's size and level of development enjoins on it the responsibility of being the natural leader in the process of South Asian development. In dealing with regional concerns India claims to perform its leadership role by pursuing policies to further the common interest of regional states. But the hesitant and cautious policies pursued by India contradict the qualities of dynamic leadership. On the pretext of countering regional apprehensions, India has on many occasions abandoned the leadership mantle. Ironically such policies have fuelled allegations of lack of interest on India's part for regional concerns. Hence India's policies of avoiding leadership have led to perceptions of abandonment of regional responsibilities. Dynamism is the most basic quality of leadership, which has not been demonstrated by India.

India has shown reluctance for updating the Indo-Nepal Treaty of 1950 and the Indo-Bangladesh Treaty of 1972 despite repeated demands by the two states. The Indo- Bhutan Treaty of 1949 was updated only



recently in 2007. Diplomatic dynamism implies making the right move when time is opportune; a characteristic missing in India's regional manoeuvres. The insistence by India for signing a five year agreement with Bangladesh allowing it to transport goods to the North-East of India at the sidelines of the SAARC Summit in Srilanka in early August 2008 reflects the political naiveté of India. Without getting an assurance from Bangladesh on the issue, a public statement by the India's Ministry of External Affairs on the possibility of signing an agreement only contributed in straining bilateral relations. Moreover expecting the Caretaker Government of Bangladesh to decide on such a sensitive issue demonstrates how distanced is India's approach from the regional realities. In dealing with national political crisis, the South Asian states expect India to play a determining role.

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## ROLE OF PDP/CONGRESS COALITION GOVERNMENT IN J&K (2002-2008)

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### Introduction

**In 1996 State Assembly Election** the return of Farooq Abdulah was symptomatic of a silent grounds well of public disenchantment with the separatist movement, violence and Pakistan it was not an ordinary development, but a turning and crucial point in the nightmarish chapter in Kashmir's recent history. In vote turnouts ranging from 15 per cent to as much as 60 per cent , and in the face of a sustained Boycott campaign by Hurriyat Conference. National 57 Conference chalked up an impressive Two-thirds majority with seats in an 87 member Assembly:<sup>1</sup> it would take about 20 members to try and topple his government – a seemingly impossible task considering that Farooq waged a virtual single man campaign that brought most of his party men back to power, and given the reality that any legislator going out of the fold would risk losing his governmental security cocoon and face the guns of militants who while demoralized and a disarray , were still a force to reckon with in most parts of the Valley. As Shia leader and veteran congressman Molvi Iftikhar Ansari, who had joined the state cabinet and who had functioned as Farooq campaign manager and crowd-puller in various segments of the Valley, put it " the Chief Minister owes nothing to any body right now. He did it on his



own and he holds every card in his hand". But other side of the picture also vindicated that Farooq Abdullah being viewed as the "last bridge between India and Kashmir" was able to be endorsed by the centre. And it was this discretion that led him to made niche in the crucial elections of 1996.

The government also evolved and presented its own perspective of conflict resolution. National conference made efforts towards the restoration of autonomy in Jammu and Kashmir, eroded since 1953. however autonomy was the main plank of National Conference manifesto for assembly election of September, 1996 that returned the party with massive mandate in all three regions of the state, thereby restoring the democracy in Jammu and Kashmir after Seven years.

### **Common Minimum Programme of Congress/PDP Colition government**

Common minimum programme is a commom arrangement or common understanding among different coalition partners to make the coalition government run smoothly and efficiently. In India, Congress-led UPA government adopted a common minimum programme for the smooth functioning of the coalition government at the centre. Likewise, in Jammu and Kashmir, Congress/PDP coalition government also adopted and agreed to a common minimum programme for the governance of Jammu and Kashmir which was released at New Delhi on October 28, 2002.

### **INITIATIVES THAT MADE THE DIFFERENCE TOWARDS PEACE WITH DIGNITY**

- Successfully pushed dialogue to address both internal and external dimensions of situations; first the centre appointed Mr.
- N. V. Vohra to initiate dialogue with people of the state and later



- Deputy Prime Minister Mr. L. K. Advani was nominated to hold talks with separatists who were demanding dialogue at highest level; first time separatists invited for talks and that too at such a high political level; enthused by changed ground situation PM offered hand of friendship to Pakistan at Srinagar's massive meeting.
- Central Govt. agreed to the coalition government's demand for operating Srinagar-Uri-Muzafarabadabad bus service and included it in fresh 12-point peace initiative, Pakistan's response
- In agreeing to the proposal in principal satisfying, modalities to be worked out bilaterally, people's visits to each other on both side of border bound to demolish the walls of hatred and pave way for lasting peace, thaw in situation despite hiccups.
- People's mindset changed, atmosphere relaxed with greater sense of security; highway opened till midnight; cities and towns
- Bustling with activity till late hours.
- Nations acclaimed healing touch philosophy showed good results, helped changed mindset , over 2000 militancy victims given jobs in all militancy effected districts;
- Years old; CM visited victim's families; pension of 1.5 lakh aged,
- Widows, destitute, disabled raised by 50% to 60% and provided at doorstep, social security scheme for marginal workers launched.

### **Revival of tourism**

- Country wide campaign launched by Chief Minister and Tourism to attract tourists by removing their fear psychosis led to revival of tourism came to Kashmir; 1.56 lakh pilgrims to Amarnath shrine; 45 lakh to Vaishnodevi shrine; Ladakh too received record tourists.



- Bellwood too returns to the valley.
- Development authorities set up for Pahalgam, Gulmarg, Sonamarg and Patnitop headed by Chief Minister at these places.
- Concept of tourist villages being introduced to expand infrastructure.
- First amusement park set up at Pahalgam by J&K Bank, similar parks coming up at Badamwari, Srinagar, Gulmarg and Jammu; beautiful park with children's corner set up at Anantnag by the bank.
- Visits of president, PM, Congress president, CMs, 450 MPs build confidence among the people of the country, Srinagar becoming 'Geneva of East', hosted inter-state council meeting, congress CM's conclave; 140 national and international conferences; 6 major national sports events.
- Government to involve private sector for development of resorts; taken up renovation/conservation of religious and historic buildings like Hazratbal, Jamia Masjid, Khanqah-e-Moulla, Baba Rishi, Aishmuqam, Mubarak Mandi to promote heritage tourism in collaboration with Union Ministry of tourism.
- GGM Science College declared heritage, proposal for a similar status to SP College Srinagar under process.

### **Need Based Technical Education**

- Thrust given on technical education, many measures taken to expand reach of vocational training to hitherto uncovered areas.
- Polytechnics sanctioned for Leh, Kargil and buildings under construction; all polytechnics being modernized by 2005.



- Private sector being involved for providing vocational training.
- ITI network strengthened: 6 new ITIs sanctioned for Banihal, Akhnoor, Ramnagar, Doru, Bijbehara and Tangmarg; latest and popular trends like dental laboratory technician, electronics, mechanical, medical electronics, architecture, IT, interior decoration, fashion designing, house keeping, landscaping, tourist guide, floriculture, etc. being introduced to make technical education more need based.
- Rs. 30 crore projects prepared for modernizing ITIs; another state sector plan of Rs. 21 crore formulated.
- Training and placement cells created for accommodating youth in corporate sector.
- 20% seats in ITIs made payment seats; service charges for repairing of typewriters, funds thus raised to be used for maintenance and expansion of ITIs infrastructure.
- Two free computer literacy centers at Srinagar and Jammu through Mumbai based Bhartiya Vidya Bhawan in the pipeline.

#### **Healing Touch to Have-Nots**

- Social security scheme for marginal workers launched; government to contribute Rs. 100 crore.
- Pension to 1.70 lakh aged widows, handicapped and destitute enhanced by 50 per cent to 160 per cent, doorsteps delivery ensured through money orders at government expenses eliminating hardship of these 'have-nots', 17000 new pension cases sanctioned.
- Physically challenged persons, financial assistance increased to Rs. 300.

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- Separate Directorates of Social Welfare created for Kashmir and Jammu for effective implementation of welfare schemes.
- Honourism of anganwari workers and helper's raised from Rs. 800 to Rs. 1300 and Rs. 400 to Rs. 640 per month respectively.
- Government mooted a scheme to construct Nari Niketan centers.
- Militancy victims rehabilitation corpus enhanced to Rs, 100 crore to providem relief to victims.
- ICDS project for Batwara sanctioned.
- Health Services Revolutionized
- Health services improved with better discipline and health care, punctuality of medical staff including doctors improved with positive response.
- Jammu and Kashmir rated as third state in the country having best Medicare facilities.
- Tele-medicine facility introduced in SKIMS, SNMH, Leh, GMC Jammu/Srinagar, District Hospital Kathua.
- All hospitals to have modern blood banks; districts to have diagnostic centers.
- New drug policy formulated to check malpractices in purchase and eliminate possibilities of supply of spurious drugs.
- Two accidental hospitals being set up on national highway.
- Medicos engaged on contractual basis to provide their services at rural and critical.

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- Laces; post-graduate department proposed for Srinagar Dental College with increase in seats for BDS; Jammu to have Dental College; new building for CD Hospital being constructed.
- Guidelines formulated for doctors going abroad; terminated doctors would be considered for a fresh engagement on return; graduate doctors to give undertaking to serve the state for at least seven years with two years rural services.
- Family Welfare Department broad based; ISM strengthened.
- Two nursing colleges being set up at Srinagar and Jammu.
- Super specialty cardiac unit at SKIMS; Cath Lab facility provided; patients need not go to Delhi and Chandigarh for these facilities; separate departments for cardiology, neurology created at Jammu GMC.

### **Rural Transformation**

- Panchayats empowered to be nerve centres of rural transformation; 50% funds placed at their disposal for execution of rural schemes, each of 2700 panchayats provided with additional grant of Rs. 3.00 lakh for speeding up execution of works.
- Election to left over panchayats being completed; elections to Block Samitis, also being held; Panchyat Adalats and Zila Samities soon.
- Each panchayat to have Ghar; 2700 such buildings being constructed.
- For the first time, 33% reservation of women panchs done away with.
- Panchayats to oversee functions of rural institutions.



- Rural development schemes expeditiously executed; Rs. 132 crore out of the allotment of Rs. 175 crore spent, registering 76% expenditure.
- Appreciating good performance, the centre announces special package of Rs. 81 crore to J&K over and above the normal annual allocation.
- Registering cent per cent expenditure under SGRY and 95% under SGSY, 90% of food grain lifted and utilized under SGRY included unutilized 2270 Mts. Of 2001-02.
- 1592 cases sanctioned under SGSY till September, '03', 2 special projects for Baramulla and Anantnag got sanctioned while for Doda Srinagar and Badgam sent to the centre for approval.
- Rs. 46 crore special area specific projects formulated for centrally sponsored scheme and under execution, additional projects involving Rs. 66.43 crore sent to the centre for approval.
- Nodal officers being appointed to chase cases of self-employment in rural development sector.
- Cell being created to formulate area and topography- specific projects for central funding.

### **Reforms in power Sector**

- Consumer get first major healing touch of coalition government in shape of improved (respite) power supply; power cuts reduced to 4 ½ hours from earlier 9 to 14 hours supply, improved maintained through out the year, better management ensured.
- New hydel power policy announced to involve private sector in execution of mini and small projects; 12 projects with 68 MW



installed capacity notified for private investment , steps aimed at harnessing state's huge untapped 20,000 MW hydel potential.

- Jammu and Kashmir state power Development Corporation identified 140 micro, mini and medium hydel projects with installed capacity Of 550 MW in the state.
- Execution of 9 micro hydroelectric projects with installed capacity of 11.22 MW to be taken upon by PDC.
- Execution of 8 power project with installed capacity of 14.96 MW taken up.
- 1, 21,475 illegal connections detected and regularized; 30, 21 load agreements revised.
- New electricity flat rate slab approved for consumers to give relief to the people.
- Prime Minister cleared Rs. 300 crore project for transmission line between Kangan and leh; funds for 450 MW Baglihar Projcet arranged; centre too helped through grant of Rs.630 crore; though taken up by previous government without arrangements of funds, its financial closure to 3 power project for Ladakh; technical clearance for Rs. 300 crore 45 MW Alachi Hydel Project at Leh granted.
- Grid station being upgrade, 6 such station being augmented in Kashmir.
- Sate Electricity Board abolished.
- Re-appraisal of Sawalkote power project undertaken to educe the cost, Rs 2000 crore brought down, negotiations in progress.



## **Attracting Industrial Investment**

- Countrywide campaign launched by Chief Minister Mufti Mohammad Sayeed accompanied by Deputy Chief minister Mr. Mangat ram Sharma to attract investors to boost industrial activities; about 144 proposals involving investment of Rs. 900 crore under examination ; state also got Rs. 400 crore proposals for clearance ; multinational companies to set up at least two units at a cost of Rs.200 crore for textile and footwear industry ; leather industry delegation visited Kashmir to Explore possibilities of setting up leather units for export promotion.
- A satellite centre of India institution of carpet technology and craft development institute being opened at Srinagar for training local artisans ; 15 craft "melas" being organized all over India ; participation of Kashmir artisans in international exhibition on the anvil.
- Jammu and Kashmir cements plant to be expanded; production to increase from 400 TPD to 1200 TPD.
- Entrepreneurship development institute set up for providing training and consultancy services to the existing and prospective entrepreneurs; MOU signed With PHDCCI, new Delhi for providing training and consultancy services to the existing and prospective entrepreneurs.

## **Improving Road Communication**

- North-South superhighway express corridor takes off from Srinagar; Rs. 168 crore bye-pass, road stretch up to Qazigund to be taken in the next phase, Rs.570 crore project for 4-laning of road from Srinagar to Uri prepared, sent to the centre.



- Six new road project got sanctioned under Central Road Fund from Ministry of the road Transport and Highways this year over and above state share as a Special dispensation ; works commenced on improvement/ Widening of Indria Gandhi road in Srinagar, Khanabal-Chandanwari road, Dablehar-Sai road, widening and improvement of Katra –Panthal road; Phase-1 of North- south road in downtown Srinagar and Thathri-Gandoh road also approved; construction of bridges at Saida Kadal, Dalgate bridge and Ashai Bagh too Sanctioned.
- Under village connectivity programme, 20 villages are being connected, 5 villages so far connected, work on other 15 projects progressing and slated to be completed by March.
- 120 self-help groups of 950 unemployed engineers set up for Government works in different departments to absorb job less engineers, 400 engineers taken on contract basis.

### **Higher Agriculture Productivity**

- State achieved bumper agriculture and horticulture crops after many years , fruit production reached to 12 lakh Mt against 9.30 Mt of last year ,annual turn over reached all time high of Rs. 1800 crore.
- Market interventation scheme introduced to benefit farmers:.98 crore earmarked this year to purchase 30,000 Mt C-grade fruit to ensure standard grading of fruits for better returns.
- Toll tax on fruit export waived; orchardists benefited by Rs.75 crore annually.

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- For giving boost to export of apples and Walnuts, Rs . 123.28 crore two Agro Export Zones established.
- Six hi-tech green houses established to produce olive plants in abundance.
- Work space on 17 satellite fruit markets costing Rs. 44.25 crore 7 nearing completion , being commissioned this year.
- For making entry in to world market, 27 varieties of international standards fruit saplings imported to have remunerative yield
- Paddy blast disease fully controlled .
  - New forest policy for the state soon; suggestions sought from intellectuals and NGOs on draft policy for better management of green wealth.
  - Forest covers being expanded; 4444 hectares covered by planting 28.18 lakh plans cover in a year.
  - Under national afforestation programme, about 6,000 heacters covered in volving Rs. 12.58 crore
  - Timber Scal rates Slashed by 10 % to 20 % to give relief to the people.
  - Resin extraction reduced by 20% to conserve forests.
  - Rs. 5.85 crore Vanaspati Van project at Ganderbal sanctioned by the centre to give fillip to cultivation of medical plants.
  - Two pilot projects launched in Verinag and Mahmaya under indo-Norwegian project for development of 7 lakh hectares degraded forests.

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### **Augmenting Water Supply**

- 69 water supply schemes completed/nearing completion in rural areas of Kashmir; 42 water supply schemes completed in Jammu region.
- Under a pilot project, 97 schemes taken up to cover uncovered rural areas of Srinagar and Udhampur districts at a cost of Rs. 1508.30 lakh and Rs .834.50 lakh respectively.
- Rs. 6.88 crore provided for completion of water supply scheme at Handwara and Harishpathri, Ganderbal.
- Water supply scheme Bijbehara at the final stages of completion, water supply scheme Zainageer, Spopore town expected to be completed soon.
- Worn out pipes replaced in Jammu at a cost of Rs.114 lakh.
- 5 tube wells, one 5.4 MGD filtration plant constructed at sitli at Rs. 25 lakh.
- Out of 30 identified towns, 21 brought under augmentation scheme of drinking water.

### **Towards Sustained Consumer Movement**

- Decades old disparity in the rural and urban ration scales removed by raising rural scale; uniformity adopted, ration scale for BPL families also raised, 20 % increase registered in covering BPL families also raised in covering BPL beneficiaries.
- Drive lunched against adulteration, Shops raided, 27 cement and 180 other units sealed on complaints of adulteration.



- Restructuring of food supplies Ministry to consumer Affairs and public Distribution petroleum products closed.
- Consumer movement strengthened.
- Consumer movement strengthened.
- Loopholes in PDs plugged, saving of Rs. 68 crore affected that was used to clear FCI's past liabilities estimated over Rs. 200 crore.
- 5000 ration shope to be established in Kashmir to Phase out old departmental Ghat system, 1000 shaps opened with engagement of unemployed youth.

#### **E-governance comes to J&K**

- Jammu and Kashmir goes hi-tech.
- Video confrencng factuality lunched, secretariat linked with Srinagar, Jammu, Leh, Nyoma.
- E-governance at secretariat; SMART-GOV (simple, Moral, Accountable, Responsive and Transparent Governance) lunched, 5 department covered in the first phase.
- Under Science /Technology projects, 203 villages being brought under village electrification programme on conventional energy resources by 2010.
- 5114 solar lanterns costing Rs. 1.78 crore being provided in 27 villages of Gurez and Karnah bythe year end; in last ten months 5000 solar home lighting system , 2000 solar lanterns provided in the state ; 10 KWP solar lighting plants of Uri , Kupwara , Mendhar and Darhal.



### **Modern Touch to Urban Areas**

- Srinagar gets new Master Plan, Jammu to have it soon.
- Coporation Act implemented; civic polls in winter to give representative character to urban local bodies.
- Massive beautification drive launched in most of the towns; removing years old encroachments ;enthused common man with a hope of better environment; people voluntarily removed encroachments even in downtown Srinagar; choked roads became trafficable after decades.
- Roads widened and upgraded with landscaping wherever possible.
- Parks and green patches developed in various towns.
- Parking lost being established at various places; lots at Super Bazaar, Parade, Jewel Chowk functional; works in progress at bvarious place including at Doctors lane in Jammu; major parking lot for over 1000 vehicles planned at Sheikh Bagh, Lakhowk in Srinagar.

### **Fillip to sports Activities**

- After many years, sports and physical activities got encouraged and given boost in educational intuitions especially in Kashmir valley; youth services and sports department activated; physical education being made compulsory from primary class; rehbar-i-Khel being appointed to coach youngsters; stadia being upgrade , new stadia under construction, play fields at district; tehsiland block level planned.
- Following semblance of normalcy, Jammu and Kashmir hosted national sports events; improvement in situation made Kashmir a favorite place for sports, next activity planned in Gulmarg.



## **Jammu and Kashmir Right Information Act-2004**

The enactment of right to information Act is a landmark event in the history of Jammu and Kashmir which made information accessible to every citizen of the state. It enables to control misuse of power and promote openness, transparency and accountability in administration. As the National Right to information Act (NRTIA) is not applicable to the J&K state, it had its own Act which was hardly used by the people. The Jammu and Kashmir Right to information Act (JKRTIA) though shares its main features with the National RTIA, but the biggest lacuna in the J&KRTIA is that unlike the NRTIA, it does not provide for the institution of the information commission.<sup>38</sup>

As J&K RTIA does not provide appointments of information Commission, the people of J&K are deprived of this vital institutional mechanism for the effective implementation of the Act. There is no commission to which a person seeking information from the government can approach for guidance about the procedure of filling a complaint.

### **Administrative**

- ❖ Government's prompt and effective handling of situation after earthquake got international acclaim.
- ❖ Azad received appreciation form all over the country and abroad for his dynamism exhibited to tackle post earthquake situation preventing out break of diseases, deaths due to hunger and severe chill and snow fall in quake affected areas.
- ❖ All public services like PHE power, Medicare, supplies of essentials restored promptly.
- ❖ Massive reconstruction programme in all affected areas launched.



- ❖ Double and triple shift working system introduced for early completion of 550 identified development schemes of urgent public utility.
- ❖ To ensure financial discipline and pace of the works, 10-day time fixed for according administrative approvals and technical sanction for new projects...
- ❖ New clause introduced in contract agreement where under contractors, executive agencies, officials would be penalized if found responsible for delaying projects.
- ❖ Contract agreements would now be having also a clause for punishment, blacking and penalizing contractors or executive agency in case of delay in completion of the development works.
- ❖ Additional district Development Commissioners in every district placed to faction as monitoring officers of development works; similarly Special Secretary rank officers in each development department to monitor the works of particular department to monitor the works of particular departments , both these functionaries to report directly to the Chif Minister.
- ❖ Anti –defection slaws made more effective to curb defection menace by enacting amendments to existing law.
- ❖ ARTO for every district approved to ensure better traffic management.<sup>52</sup>
- ❖ Transparency, accountability and good governance to be the key drivers of new work culture.



- ❖ Two and half hours of additional working hours' per week in the secretariat- regular monitoring of punctuality, attendance and disposal of work.
- ❖ Timely accord of administrative approvals (AA's) for development works made mandatory .fast track system for accord of AA's being introduced.

### **Impetus to Agriculture Sector**

- ❖ Highest importance accorded to agriculture, horticulture and allied activities .In the chaining market Scenario; farmers are being encouraged to cultivate more remunerative cash crops.
- ❖ Cash crops like vegetables, saffron encouraged so as to make optimum utilization of the available land resource and unique agro climatic conditions of our state
- ❖ State registered a record vegetable production of 9 lakhs tones where as saffron production has gone up from 50 quintals in 2002 to 150 quintals in 2005.
- ❖ National agriculture insurance Scheme has also been extended to our state and the response of farming community to risk indemnification has been encouraging.
- ❖ In cooperative sector, 46 Poultry cooperative Societies have been registered in the state during 2006-2007.

### **Health**

- ❖ A maternity hospital and a nursing college being set up at SKIMS.
- ❖ Steps are afoot to improve the personal management of the Health and Medical Education Department so as to provide avenues for



regular promotion to the deserving and improve the moral of the doctors and other staff.

- ❖ State has become a participant in the national Rural Health Mission which Amis at providing adequate medical care to mother and child at various stages .various District level Societies are also being set up under this mission.
- ❖ Laparoscopic surgery started in all district hospitals of Jammu province and Baramullah, Anantnag, Pulwama; JLNM hospitals to provide modern surgical facilities to poor people at their door steps.
- ❖ X-ray machines provided in about 24 primary health centers. Construction work Nurses and Doctors hostel, administrative block in progress and to be completed soon.

#### **Streamlining of Education Sector**

- ❖ Massive drive launched to achieve total literacy by 2007 by implementing Sarva Siksha Abhiyan (SSA) and increasing the enrollment in schools part circularly in far-flung and hilly areas.
- ❖ Remarks progress made in the up-gradation and construction of primary school under SSA.
- ❖ 14 Kasturba Gandhi Balliaka Vidyalayas are being set up.
- ❖ 56 Upper Primary School are being provide dcomputers and many Higher Secondary School, DIETS and in the state are Being Connected to EDUSAT.
- ❖ 19 Colleges are now offering PG. courses, 16 Professional courses like BCA, BBA and BIT having been introduced in the Degree Collegs.



- ❖ The quality of education in the colleges is being monitored through the mechanism of the National Assessment and Accreditation Council (NAAC) Bangalore.
- ❖ New Degree Colleges are being set up. Peace of work on the construction of Government College for Engineering and Technology at Jammu has been speed up. 4780 Kanals of land has been transferred for setting up Baba Ghulam Shah Badshah University at Rajouri. Around 1267 Kanals of state land had earlier been transferred to Shri Mata Vishnu Devi University.

### **Technical Education**

The existing industrial Training Institute (ITI's) are being upgrade and modernized at a loc total cost of 37 Crores, 69 New Traders are being added and obsolete equipment replaced. Rs 30crore World Bank Aided Project for Modernization of four government polytechnics is under progress. 9 industrial Training Institute (it is) and two Women Polytechnics opened. 523 posts of Lecturers and 286 non teaching posts created for 18 new colleges.

### **Create employment opportunities**

- About 19000 vacancies referred for selection including over 2870 to the public service Commission (JKPSC)
- Government has directed all the departments to refer the vacancies to the concern of selection process as quickly as possible.
- The department of employment is being strengthened to enable it to play a catalytic role in counseling and guiding the youth towards self-employment.



- Many self –employment schemes are being implemented by various state and central departments , Special self-employment package for urban poor under SJSRY has been launched; centre granted Rs 8.49 crores as first installment for implementation of the Scheme.<sup>57</sup>
- 3300 unemployed agriculture graduates and post-graduates adjusted as Rehbar –e-Zirat.
- More than 5000 Rehber-e-Taleem Teachers (ReT) regularized as General Line Teachers and over 2150 teachers appointed under Sarva Sikhsha Abhiyan, 7000 EGS volunteers, 8000 Anganwari workers and equal number of helpers, about 15,000 policemen, 3000 contractual engagements of Doctors, Engineers and Staff for the newly established colleges in the state.

### **Boosting power supply**

Jammu and Kashmir become the first state to have a separate budget for power sector. In view of estimated 20,000 MWs power potential of the state; steps are being taken for proper utilization of hydro potential. Steps taken for increasing local power generation from 1653 MWs to 2700 MWs by 2015, work on construction of new transmission lines including 270 MWs, HTL from Northern grid to Valley spear. Work in Baglihar Hydro Project and other more than dozen mini Hydel Projects intensified. 35 mini Projects with an installed capacity of 195 MWs have been identified for public –private partnership. To cover all the remaining un-electrified and de-electrified villages and habitations, a new central scheme called “Rajiv Gandhi Grameen Viduthikaran Yojana” and included in the Bharat Nirman Programme being implemented in the state at an estimated cost of RS 707 crore with the objective to cover all such Villages and habitation by 2009.



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## **Streamlining Relief and Revenue System**

- Custodian and Nazol Department given new dimension by introduction of beneficial and reformative measures.
- Evacuee property, Custodian land and Rhacharai identified and inventoried to prevent malpractices on one hand and mop up resources on other, many cases detected where leases have not been renewed for years together to give undue benefit to some.
- Process initiated to remove encroachments/ illegal occupation big chunk of land has been retrieved from land grabbers.
- Noazool land received focus of Administration and management, Stringent action against violators taken
- All Nazool land within Jammu and Kashmir Municipal Corporation being allotted to Development Authorities.
- Modified Roshini Scheme introduced.

## **Rehabilitation of Kashmiri Magrants**

- Pragmatic measure taken for hour able return of Kashmiri Pandits.
- 5000 flats are being constructed in the valley to facilitate return of Kashmiri migrants of which 1500 have already been constructed.
- Employment opportunities being provided to Kashmiri Pundits Staying back in the Valley.
- Condition of migrant's camps in Jammu improved.
- Monthly cash relief Cato migrants families enhanced to 3000.

## **Information Technology**

- Moving towards IT revolution.



- All efforts are on to convert valley in to Silicon Valley of the country by popularizing IT.
- It beings used to improve efficiency in disposal of official work and delivery of public services.
- Video-Conferencing facility provided in six districts of the state namely Leh, Kargil, Baramulla, Kupwara, Poonch and Doda, other districts also in the pipeline for similar connectivity.
- Community Information Centre (CIC set up in 110 blocks of the state , efforts on to Make Cic's useful; for realities.
- Infrastructure Support in the form of the software technology peaks and internet connectivity is provided to encourage entrepreneurs to stop their own units.

### **Opening of Srinager-Muzzafarabad Road**

Opening of Srinager-Muzzafarabad Road is undoubtedly a major political initiative to Forest better relations between India and Pakistan. As a sequel to this, Poonch-Rawelakote road was thrown open on June 20, 2006 when the UPA Chairperson Mrs. Sonia Gandhi flagged off the bus from Poonch. This has strengthened the people to people contact and bolstered our confidence to open many more routs across LOC. These routs will eventually by used for trade and commerce as well.

### **Revenue Department3**

Roshini Act: The J7K state Lands (vesting of ownership to the occupants).Act.2001 made more flexible, result oriented and people friendly by carrying out revolutionary amendments in the Act in 2006-07 giving20 lakh kanals of the state free of cost to the farmers for agriculture purpose of test 251483 applicants received, recived, 16998 disposed off in which 6021 kanals of land distributed realizing an amount of Rs 22472 lakh.



## Relief to October 8 of 2005 Earthquake Victims

The State government with the assistance of government of India provided a compensation of rupees one Lakh for each fully damaged house. The government also sanctioned special assistance of Rs. 30 Thousand for construction of temporary shelter sheds with an incentive of Rs. 5000 to those who constructed the sheds before the end of December 2005. A total of Rs. 601.27 corer ex-gratia relief also sanctioned in favour of earthquake victims. First installment of about rupees one crore distributed among 50 affected families of Khundroo Ammunition Depot fire.

### Corpus Fund for Migrants:

Corpus fund of Rs.5.00 crore created for the welfare of migrant community. They fund shall government a long way to mitigate Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh envisioned by G.N Azad led coalition government ushered the state to a new structure era of development and progress .Senior members of the congress party have expressed their joy and happiness towards the coalition government who put the Jammu and Kashmir on progress and development .the congress rank and file believes that its government took steps to refurbish the image of administration by cultivating a new work culture. Strict anti-corruption measures were taken to salvage the image of the state government. In fact Ghulam Nabi Azad as a chief Minister remained more focused on development agenda rather than the dialogue agenda of his predecessor.

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## INDIA AND SAARC: CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

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### INTRODUCTION

#### Challenges before SAARC

SAARC was born with different disabilities and constraints, which were essentially self-imposed. It adopted a functional approach of cooperation in non-controversial areas like social and cultural fields, hoping that if successfully carried forward, opportunities for cooperation in more vital areas could open up. Moreover, SAARC follows the principles that all decisions have to be made unanimously and that no bilateral and contentious issue can be made on the SAARC agenda. This clearly exhibits a weaker inter-state relationship toward equitable participation in policy making for South Asian people. Although cooperation among SAARC countries was supposed to be based on areas of mutual cooperation, with the exclusion of bilateral and contentious issues, it is the latter that has derailed the success of SAARC. Since the partition of British India into the Republic of India and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan in 1947, the Kashmir issue has been one of the main obstacles preventing the SAARC region from achieving its full economic potential as a regional grouping. For example, the postponement of the SAARC Heads of State Summit in 1999 followed renewed tensions between India and Pakistan. Similarly, both countries' preferential imports declined significantly from 1996 to 1998 following the nuclear tests in 1998 and the Kargil conflict in 1999. The way forward for SAARC to achieve greater regional economic cooperation



will mean dealing with bilateral and contentious issues such as the Kashmir dispute. In this context, political will and a change of mindset is crucial to resolve economic obstacles like the Kashmir dispute if the SAARC region does not wish to fall further economically.

### India and SAARC

In South Asia, India accounts for 72 percent of the total area, 77 percent of the population and 78 percent of the regional Gross National Product.<sup>175</sup>The geographical uniqueness and its rapid economic growth makes India stand out as a logical driver for the success of the SAARC. The enabling and constraining capabilities of India with regard to promoting regional cooperation in South Asia had been discussed even before the conceptual journey of the SAARC began in 1983. India occupies a unique position in the South Asian region. By the virtue of its size, location and economic potential, India assumes a natural leadership role in the region, but the overbearing presence of a neighbour with aspirations for global leadership has also been a source of apprehensions for the other South Asian countries. India claims a leadership position for herself, while her South Asian neighbours accuse of her emerging hegemony.

**Table.1**  
**Some Basic Economic Indicators of SAARC Countries**

Country	Population (2011)	Area (Sq. Kms.)	GDP in US \$ (Purchasing Power Parity - 2010)	GDP Growth Rate (2010)
Afghanistan	29.8 million	652,230	\$ 29.81 billion	8.9 %
Bangladesh	158.6 million	143,998	\$ 259.30 billion	6.0 %
Bhutan	0.7 Million	38,394	\$ 03.50 billion	6.8 %
India	1.2 billion	3,287,263	\$ 04.04 trillion	8.3 %
Maldives	0.4 Million	298	\$ 01.80 billion	4.0 %
Nepal	29.4 million	147,351	\$ 35.31 billion	3.5 %
Pakistan	187.3 million	796,095	\$ 451.20 billion	2.7%
Srilanka	21.3 million	65610	\$ 104.7 billion	6.9%

Source: *Interstate Conflicts and Regionalism in South Asia: Prospectus and Challenges, Spring, Summer.*



India is also a constant factor in most of the inter-state disputes within the region; some owe their origin to the colonial past. India has a range of issues with Bangladesh, Nepal and Srilanka including sharing of waters and borders, illegal migration, trade and transit relations and perceptions of inappropriate Indian interference in the internal affairs of others. There are other inter-state conflicts too which do not involve India, but these are less significant compared to those involving India. The strained relations between India-Pakistan are the most severe obstacle to regional cooperation within the framework of SAARC'. The Kashmir issue and Pakistan's support for cross-border terrorism continues to underscore the brittle relationship between India and Pakistan which seriously impedes the SAARC growth.

Pakistan has consistent involvement in undermining India's leadership role in the region. While addressing the sixteenth SAARC Summit, Maldivian President Mohamed Nasheed in a direct reference, blamed India and Pakistan for making the SAARC non-functional. Similarly, Jigme Thinley, Bhutan's Prime Minister, in his opening address at the same Summit stated that, 'fractious and quarrelsome neighbours do not make a prosperous community'. India considers that the SAARC provides an opportunity to the smaller nations to collectively oppose its interests. Some nations of the region have forged ties with China to balance the influence of India. Nepal, Bangladesh and Pakistan's initiative in campaigning for China's entry into the SAARC as an observer is viewed by India as an attempt to marginalise its influence in the region. The indifferent attitude of the smaller nations towards India besides dampening the spirit of SAARC vitiates the environment for India and makes it reluctant to take on leadership within the region. Suspicion and mistrust amongst the member states, serve as a stumbling block in the way of



moving towards substantive areas of cooperation within the framework of SAARC'.

### **More Theoretical than Practical**

The single most important weakness of the SAARC process has not been in the domain of ideas but their execution. Although there is no dearth of bright ideas but most of them are not pursued to their logical end. This is true for both governmental and non-governmental sectors. In the official SAARC process non-implementation of decisions can be identified at three different levels:

- 1) The Technical Committees do not follow-up the decisions, resulting in their repetitive reiteration year after year;
- 2) The findings and recommendations of workshops and seminars generally remain on paper;
- 3) The decisions taken by the First Special Session of the Standing Committee and even the plans and projects specifically recommended by various specific ministerial groups are not seriously implemented.

### **Terrorism in South Asia**

In South Asia, terrorism has been a factor influencing interstate relations for a long time now. India and Pakistan have a conflictual relation on the issue of terrorism. India accuses Pakistan and its ISI (Inter Service Intelligence) of sponsoring cross-border terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir and North East and encouraging internal violence all over India. While Pakistan blames India of inciting ethnic and separatist strife in Pakistan. The relations between the two worsened further after terrorist attack on the Indian parliament in December 2001, which saw India threatening to launch a full-scale war to end the cross border terrorism. This situation



proved detrimental for the weakening of regional security. India also had complaints against Myanmar, Bhutan, Nepal and Bangladesh for allowing the terrorist organisations of North Eastern India to utilise their territories to run terrorist camps. Srilanka, on the other hand, had problems with India as Srilankan government accuses India of helping Tamil terrorists operating in Srilanka. Examples of cooperation are limited but worth mentioning. There has been cooperation between India and Nepal in 1950's to deal with political revolts in Nepal and India sent its troops to pressurise the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) for the implementation of 1987 agreement. On regional level, the third SAARC summit in Kathmandu (1987) adopted a resolution to suppress terrorism, which was further reinforced in the Summit of 2001. After September 11, 2001 attack on pentagon and World Trade Center (WTC) in America there has been a renewed effort by the US to cooperate with the South Asian countries to end the South Asian nexus of global terrorism.

### **Western Outlook**

Though the SAARC has granted observer status to the European Union and eight other countries<sup>188</sup>, the West still looks at South Asia as two entities: 'Western South Asia', comprising Afghanistan, Pakistan and India and 'Eastern South Asia' which includes the other countries. The West attaches significant importance to the former due to the US-led involvement in the 'Global War on Terrorism'(GWOT) and its relationship with India, considered a rising power. On the other hand 'Eastern South Asia', is considered as a less significant region for the West, as it offers very little of economic or strategic interest. After the defeat of the LTTE in Srilanka and the process of Maoist soldiers being re-integrated into Nepalese society, there are no major political issues of concern to the West. The SAARC, therefore, does not enjoy the same level of Western support as



ASEAN and other regional organisations did. Finally, while SAARC has yet to devise a conflict management norm – informal or otherwise – the presence of extra-regional powers in the organisation and region appears to have reduced the chances of armed inter-state conflict in South Asia. Much of this also has to do with the rapprochement between India, the largest member of the regional organisation, and the US. Traditionally, India has regarded the superpower with suspicion, given its close alliance with Pakistan. However, in the early 21st century some factors have brought the U.S. and India closer together. Apart from India's growing economic openness, a mutual suspicion of China's rise and an interest in countering terrorism have changed Indian perceptions of the US and the latter is increasingly seen as a fair arbiter.

### **SAARC and Environmental Issues**

Climate change is one of the most serious challenges faced by humanity in our times. This challenge is more serious for the developing world especially the South Asia. The poorest are the most vulnerable to the effects of climate change, having the least resource from the status quo and minimum protection from the environmental shifts. The World Bank in its approach paper observes that in South Asia around 600 million people subsist on less than US \$1.25 a day. Hence even small variation in climatic conditions can cause irreversible losses and dip large numbers into destitution. The vestiges of effect of climate change can be seen in a simple estimate: over 50% of the South Asians, i.e., more than 750 million people have been affected by natural disasters in the last decades. The human and economic toll has been high with almost 230,000 deaths and about US \$ 45 billion in damages. Climate change has also social and political consequences. To a great extent it might increase the volatility of weak or failing states by overstretching the already limited capacity of governments



to respond effectively to challenges that they face. It could even destabilize well-off and emerging countries and even the entire regions because of the inability of the governments to provide protection in the face of climate change. It could aggravate hardship and trigger frustration leading to tensions between different ethnic and religious groups within and between countries. Climate change will alter rainfall patterns and further reduce available fresh water by as much as 20-30% in certain regions.

Since its inception SAARC has taken significant initiatives on environmental issues and combating climate. The third SAARC summit which was convened in Kathmandu, Nepal on November 2-4, 1987, decided to commission a study on the protection and preservation of the environment and the causes and consequences of natural disasters' in a well-planned comprehensive framework. In fact, while deciding to constitute a commission in this study, the summit leaders expressed their deep concern at the rapid and continuing degradation of the environment including extensive destruction of forests in the South Asian region. They also noted that South Asia was afflicted with such natural disasters as floods, droughts, cyclones, tidal waves which have had a particularly severe impact causing immense human suffering. This study which was finalized in December 1991 was formulated after very comprehensive national studies by individual member states to bring out the conditions prevalent in the countries of the region on environment and natural disasters. The individual country reports also mentioned the preventive and remedial measures taken with regard to adverse climatic conditions and natural disasters. The individual country studies were amalgamated with the help of consultant experts. The report noted that the region is one of the poorest in the world and has a high rate of population growth and population density and further the SAARC member states comprise 20% of the world's

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population living on 3.5% of the total land area and generate only 2% of the world's GNP.

SAARC environment ministers meeting in Dhaka in 2008 adopted SAARC Action Plan on climate change. The objectives of the action plan were to identify and create opportunities for activities achievable through regional cooperation and South-South support in terms of technology and knowledge transfer, to provide impetus for regional level activities and to support the global negotiation process of United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) such as Bali action plan, through a common understanding or elaboration of the various negotiating issues to effectively reflect the concerns of SAARC member states.

### **Democratic Crisis**

The political culture prevalent in South Asia has not seen much of a democracy. Many of them have had their shares of problems with military coups, despotic monarchies and other non-democratic features. And India often had to bear the brunt of undemocratic policies executed by some of its neighbours. This has affected bilateral relations in some form and SAARC has been the loser in the final count. A form of 'democratic and other socio-economic culture exchange' is always welcome among the SAARC nations. Differences in political systems also make regional cooperation difficult. Except for India, none of SAARC's members have a stable, secular democracy. Unfortunately, the convergence of political systems is unlikely in the near future. The problem was aggravated in the past because of India's pro-democracy rhetoric. In recent times, however, this problem has to some extent changed because on the one hand India has toned down its rhetoric, and on the other hand democracy has begun to put down roots in SAARC countries such as Bangladesh, Bhutan,

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Maldives and Nepal, while Sri Lanka is actively encouraging its Tamil minorities to participate in the democratic process.

### **Dynamics of Intra and Inter-State Conflicts in South Asia**

There is no single particular factor/reason as the main cause of conflict in South Asia. It is embroiled in many issues and provides a disappointing picture in every social, economic and political context. This is due to the fact that South Asia is almost perpetually plagued by various inter and intra-state conflicts and crisis stemming from the lackadaisical approach of the ruling elite towards resolution of such problems which are based on narrow considerations of caste, religion, ethnicity, language, community and after different selected problems. This distorts the national integrity/unity and the overall order and situation of the affected states. In other words, the persistence of multifarious problems, both within and between the South Asian states hampers the sustenance of an environment wherein basic essential needs of the common man are fulfilled.

Furthermore, South Asia is an area of tremendous political complexities. States like Pakistan and Bangladesh have been largely ruled by authoritarian military rulers. India per se faces several unresolved issues that stem from internal as well as external sources. These include ethnicity, border disputes, separatist demands, terrorism and subversive activities, communalism, religious problems and so on. All these issues flout the basic ideals of nation building in India, that is, the ideals of democracy, secularism, socialism and federalism. The political fundamentalists such as Maoists and mainstream political parties are posing major threat to democracy in Nepal. In addition to creating law and order problems, increased human rights violations and a heavy reliance on security forces have undermined the question of legitimacy of governance in Nepal. Moreover, the problem of civil violence in recent years has emerged as a more serious security



issue than the problem of inter-state warfare in South Asia. India has been variously preoccupied with quelling separatists and religious conflicts such as in the state of Punjab and Kashmir (an issue that remains contentious between India and Pakistan), for the separatists, Mizoram, Assam and Nagaland (Eastern India) for an autonomy and in Gujarat, Mumbai and other parts have certain religious, ethnic, psychological and economic underpinnings. Srilanka has also had its own set of problems.

Democracy in this tiny island nation remains overshadowed by the civil war emanating from Tamil-Sinhalese ethnic conflicts. These conflicts in Srilanka have pushed successive governments on the brink of collapse. Ruling elites in Srilanka failed to reform economic policies due to polarised political debate. In Pakistan, the society faces sporadic bursts of violence derived from ethnic, sectarian and religious differences. For instance, conflict in the Sindh province between ethnic Sindhis and those residents who migrated from India following partition has made the province ungovernable. Conservative religious elements are also very powerful in Pakistan leading to tensions and conflicts over religious differences, which has also played a major role in sustaining the Indo-Pakistan altercations over Kashmir. All this can largely be attributed to the fact that political and governing institutions in most of the South Asian countries are weak while the political parties themselves lack vigour, organisation, discipline and commitments. Taken individually, each of the South Asian states suffer from some kind of instability and consequently projects varying intensities of human deprivation.

### **Inter-State conflicts**

South Asia is one of the critical regions with complex security in the world primarily due to the fact that most of the South Asian states are engulfed with varying degrees of conflicts and disputes. Inter-state conflicts



in South Asia probably are highest compared to any other regional blocs. Bilateral relations are defined by antagonism and mistrust. The differences between India and Pakistan over Kashmir, between Srilanka and India over the nationality of Tamilians where Srilanka accused India especially the state government of Tamil Nadu for supplying arms and providing trainings to the Tamil terrorists in its Southern areas are only two of the most outstanding examples in this regard. The dispute between India and Bangladesh over illegal migration from the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT), demarcation of boundaries involving fertile islands and enclaves and also in sharing the water of river Ganges.

The retreat of the British Raj and the ensuing bitterness generated between the ruling elites of the two major South Asian states gravely disrupted the traditional complementarities and cohesion. Indeed, the legacy of state formation in South Asia bestows a unique complexity to the entire region. Thus, some of the contentious issues that inhibit cooperation in South Asia include those resulting from colonial legacies, issues of political and ideological character, issues of strategic conflict and military balance, issues that arise from the spill-over effect of internal conflicts and turmoil in a given country on its neighbours and issues that arise out of resource and developmental conflicts. The most pronounced security dilemma stems from escalating arms race in South Asia, particularly between the two military powers India and Pakistan. These disputes among countries further complicate the scenario and have created a lot of problems among the leaders for friendly talks. This situation deficits confidence building measures (CBMs). They are meant to address precisely this kind of situation in the region and obstruct any sort of operationalisation of Free Trade Area or much talked South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA). Similarly the cultural diversity based on languages, religions and ethnicities



is another factor that disabled region to unite. Rather it frequently exerts a negative impact on inter-state relations in South Asia due to religious differences. For example, Pakistan's deep commitment to create an Islamic state and Bharatia Janata Party's (BJP's) commitment to make India purely a Hindu state are two kind of school of thoughts that hampers nation making in South Asia.

The area is characterised by countries with widely differing political systems – democracies, military dictatorships and monarchies. Though most of the South Asian states have emerged with shared colonial pasts, similar political experiences, common social values divergences, however, are still significant. India and Srilanka have performed better than other functioning democracies with varying degrees of success. Pakistan and Bangladesh, at the beginning of the 1990s witnessed a sweeping democratic transition in their domestic scenarios. Nepal's transition to democracy is at the crossroad following the Maoist movement. The Indian political system has been professedly a blend of democracy, federalism, secularism and until its global collapse socialism. Bangladesh and Pakistan are Islamic states where the influence of religion runs very high as an instrument of political profiteering rather than indicator of prevailing public opinion.

Maldives is an Islamic society with relatively lesser influence of religion in politics. Nepal remains under Hindu influence while Bhutan and Srilanka are Buddhists societies. South Asia presents as different political order and powers structures as one seldom finds in any other geo-political region of the world'. South Asian nations despite their apparent adherence to the ideal of nonalignment have pursued extremely diverse foreign policies. Consequently, the major global powers have played their roles in aggravating the intra-regional cleavages of South Asia. Finally, India's overwhelming regional preponderance creates certain basic

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insecurities and sharp differences between India and its neighbourhood. All these aspects have created a multitude of problems for the South Asian region. These problems collectively boil down to a crisis of legitimacy, welfare and order in the affected area.

The troubles in South Asia, its endemic tensions, mutual distrust and occasional hostilities are largely considered products of the contradictions of India's security perception vis-a-vis that of the rest of the countries of the area. India's neighbours perceive threats to their security coming primarily from India whereas India considers neighbours as an integral part of its own security system. There has always been certain psychological misgiving on the part of the smaller states about their all-powerful neighbour India. This has also been the main cause of failure of the SAARC to evolve as true regional bloc.

Since its inception in 1985 there have also been serious differences among member countries over the aims and functioning of SAARC. Such differences have been pronounced in verbal bickering in several SAARC meetings. This is in the face of the fact that closer social, economic and cultural ties (the espoused ideals of SAARC) are considered the only hope for building regional cooperation efforts in South Asia in the coming years. Indeed, increasing rationalisation of world trade and the fluidity of the emerging global system has increased trade within each trade blocs and those countries that do not belong to any trade blocs are likely to be the losers. This also provides a strong rationale for sustaining the SAARC vis-à-vis future trade prospects of South Asia. The failure of SAARC arises precisely out of the effort to use the institution to focus attention away from serious disagreements within the member countries and establish some arrangements despite these disagreements. Unless an institution comes to possess the ability to harness (or at least moderate) such play, it

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can only play a marginal role in promoting regional growth. The assumption that peace can be achieved through SAARC without addressing the political problems of the region has neither been able to cultivate peace nor to invigorate the SAARC process successfully. Though since its very inception it has been regularly able to hold Summit meetings but there are interruptions in between owing mainly to intrastate conflicts between the member countries.

### **India factor and South Asia as India's exclusive Sphere of Influence**

South Asia is India's exclusive sphere of influence. There can be very little doubt about the fact that India desires that all the six neighbouring states of South Asia should let her determine the policies and goals of the region. India would also like them to turn for help in solving their problems and meeting the needs for technology. The movement of Indian forces into Srilanka in 1987 with reference to the Tamil problem is an illustration of the role India hopes to play in the region. When a small neighbour cannot handle its domestic problems, Delhi will be happy to do so for them, if necessary, by the use of the great military machine which India is building. It is a common phenomenon in international relations that a small neighbour had to live under fear when its large neighbour has expansionist policy and there are unresolved and complicating factors in their relations. This is particularly true in the case of South Asia as India continuously shows her hegemonic flavour towards her small neighbours rather than being regarded as 'Big Brother'. Bhutan and Nepal are continuously living under this threat of becoming next Sikkim and bilateral disputes are especially acute with each and every country. To some extent India also sees SAARC as a forum for ganging up to withstand Indian hegemonic pressures, which is just an illusion.

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To create a sense of easiness among her neighbours, the former Indian Prime Minister I K Gujral adopted a doctrine called Gujral Doctrine as a tool of conflict management in the region. The Gujral Doctrine is a set of five principles to guide the conduct of foreign relations with India's immediate neighbours as spelt out by I.K. Gujral, first as India's foreign minister and later as the Prime Minister. Among other factors, these five principles arise from the belief that India's stature and strength cannot be divorced from the quality of its relations with its neighbours. It recognises the supreme importance of friendly, cordial relations with neighbours. These principles are: first, with neighbours like Bangladesh, Bhutan, Maldives, Nepal and Srilanka, India does not ask for reciprocity, but accommodates what it can in good faith and trust; second, no South Asian country should allow its territory to be used against the interest of another country of the region; third, no country should interfere in the internal affairs of another; fourth, all South Asian countries must respect each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty; and, finally, they should settle all their disputes through peaceful bilateral negotiations. But in reality it has never been applied or discussed at the policy level. Indian bureaucrats were sceptical about the idea. Also once Gujral was out of power, the doctrine went with him. The growing political strife and bureaucratic obstacles indicates that non-tariff barriers in the form of political disputes, bureaucratic delays and interference by the intelligence agencies have been obstructing trade between India and Pakistan. There are growing concern that regionalism in South Asia might end up as Pandora's box if concerned efforts are not made beyond the turmoil of political exigencies. Even the newly formed SAPTA has met with extremely limited success in promoting intra- SAARC trade. Similarly, hopes of forming a South

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Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA) considered being more unrealistic. For instance, a free trade implies dismantling customs barriers, which means all SAARC members will have to agree on a common import policy, either formally or informally and no country will retain sovereignty over the import policy. However, it is felt that unless countries of a region enjoy considerable political harmony, they cannot possibly agree on concessions like surrendering sovereignty over their import policy. This is particularly true in South Asia where, being the strongest – that is, the Indian economy– will tend to be dominant overall regional outcomes. So, although economic cooperation and even integration is very desirable in South Asia, it calls for creating a politically harmonious subcontinent, which is an extremely formidable task. It implies settling issues like the Kashmir, sharing of land and boundaries with Bangladesh, renegotiating the 1950 Treaty with Nepal and so on. India clearly has the ability to build nuclear weapons and is equally clearly opposed to any other South Asian power acquiring that capacity. In a world which has shown no serious inclinations towards disarmament, the threat of a Nuclear attack on the South Asian region is therefore either going to be met with the help of one of the superpowers or India.

### **Conclusion**

By improving inter-state relations and adopting a multilateral approach, SAARC can project itself as a united entity, thus improving its international image. Active engagement with the observer countries will attract foreign investment and other support which will boost development within the region. India having established itself in the world, should take the lead in showcasing the SAARC achievements while engaging with the West. Initiatives such as laying a network of gas pipelines in the region can help project the SAARC as the *Asian Gas Grid* thus promoting itself as

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a useful organisation. Greater interaction with ASEAN and the adoption of relevant lessons from its success will go a long way in helping SAARC's cause and put it on the path of progress. The future of SAARC is tied up with the containment of superpower activity in South Asia and the success or failure of that effort depends on the climate of security that can be established within the region. The establishment of a climate of security, in turn, depends on the Indian role in the region and the response of the smaller states. The presence of superpowers in a region usually undermines sovereignty while regional organizations are supposed to reinforce it. South Asia in the eighties was in the forefront of Soviet-American relations. The urgency for concerted action by the SAARC countries to prevail upon the superpowers to keep their conflicts outside the region cannot be overstated. General Zia-UI-Haq referred to this kind of possibility in his statement that, our success in this endeavour (SAARC) could serve to inhibit great power rivalry and restrain their action in South Asia and the adjacent regions of the world. But this does not seem to be happening. Superpower activity is on the increase in South Asia and SAARC appears to be quite helpless to put a stop to it. Only a fairly radical transformation in the present cautious approach of SAARC can bring about a change in the situation. The conditions that need to be created are the climate of suspicion and distrust will have to be replaced by a sense of oneness based on the struggle for a better life. The variety of cultures and languages in South Asia does not take away from the unity of experience of all groups with exploitation, poverty, disease and neglect. The region must focus more on the unity of experiences rather than the differences.

South Asians must learn to distinguish between technology for peace and technology that spreads hunger and death. Nuclear weapons in particular and armament in general must be discouraged so that the region

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can have a greater sense of security from the threat of a nuclear holocaust and save the resources that are being wasted on armament. South Asian newspapers and media must be encouraged not to promote the climate of misperception and negative images of one ethnic or religious group against another. A positive role can be played by the media in promoting the philosophy of SAARC so that the people of the various states become more receptive to the tasks of regional cooperation. Economic cooperation that benefits all the states of the region equally is essential for self-reliance. Water and power resources, food and technology properly shared can change the destiny of many regions of South Asia which suffer from one shortage or another. Together, South Asian states have a large enough domestic market to absorb goods and services at a level with which few regions can compete. If conditions of security, economic well being and trust can be created within South Asia, SAARC can play an important role in limiting the involvement of the superpowers in the region. These conditions will make possible such bold steps as putting bilateral differences on the agenda of SAARC instead of seeking help from a superpower use of economic and other sanctions by the community against members who threaten or resort to the use of force. There need to be taken collective actions to deal with threats from outside the region such as the Sino-Indian conflict or the Afghanistan situation and agreement on a basic line of action vis-a-vis the superpowers. In the past South Asian states have relied a great deal on the super- powers, it is time they boldly test their ability to rely on each other.

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## ASPIRATIONS OF EDUCATED GIRLS IN RURAL INDIA: THE CASE OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR

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### INTRODUCTION

Ultimately she is taught to sacrifice her self either as a mother or a wife. She is treated as an inferior human being. She has to be governed by social norms prescribed by the male dominated society to be treated as a burden on parents and deprived of opportunities in life. She faces oppressions and suppressions (Kulshreshtha, 1991). As stated by Simone de Behaviour (cited from Tandon, 2008) in her book "second sex" "one is not born but rather becomes a woman. No biological, psychological or economic fate determines the figure that human female presents in society, it is civilization as a whole that produces this create intermediate between male and eunuch, which is described as feminine."

Education makes the women and girls aware about their rights and they have the desire of success in the traditionally male dominated field. Education is a human right and it is only through education that the goals of equality, development and peace can be achieved in the society. Education is a major instrument of social change which is necessary for development and nation building. Education without discrimination benefits both boys and girls and thus contributes towards the equal relationship between men and women. Education of women is important as it improves the health, nutrition and education of family besides ensuring women's participation in the decision making process of the family and society at large (Mohit,

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2005). The equality among human and across the societies can be achieved only by providing sufficient and equal opportunities for better health and education to the girls and women. It is through primary education that women are able to overcome the social and traditional barriers and promote social development, while by achieving higher education, promotion of social and occupational mobility, personality development and intellectual development is possible among Women folk (Rameshwari and Varsha, 2007).

It is only through education that the gateways of peace, progress and development for people especially women whether living in rural or urban areas can be achieved. Education makes the women aware about the discrimination, injustice, ill-treatment which they are facing over decades. Education create the desire among the girls to participate in the welfare policies and programmes which improve the living standard of people especially women living in rural areas and remove the backwardness which women are facing from the very beginning. Educated girls wish to flourish themselves in every field of society same as that of men and overcome the norms, rules and regulations set up for them by men folk in the society. They tend to raise their status in the society by having access to resources especially in the field of education, health, media, employment, marketing, administration and other opportunities. They also have the desire to use their skills and creative energy in the development process and create social and political identity same as that of men. Education fills them with the aspirations to liberate themselves from the bondage of slavery in the society and aware the people about the contribution which they are making for the society. Not only men but women also have the right of financial autonomy, freedom of movement, participation in the household decisions etc. Education enables them to throw away the un-equal, inferior and weak status bestowed upon them by the society. Educated women have

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better job prospects and thus have a greater value outside the home. They marry later, have fewer children and are better able to influence family decisions and overcome the silence which they bear over decades.

In this chapter the aspirations of educated girls has been described by certain parameters like age of marriage, equal inheritance rights, participation in decision making process, job preference mate selection, and so on.

### **Age at Marriage**

The Hindu Marriage Act 1955 has brought revolution in the institution of marriage. The minimum age of the boy and the girl is fixed i.e. 18 years for girl and 21 years for boy (Chandrakala, 1969). Also the child marriage Restraint Act 1929 was amended by presenting the bill of the prohibition of child marriage Act 2006. The act was amended to make the act more effective and the punishment more strict so as to eradicate or prevent the evil practice of child marriage in the country. This will enhance the health of children and the status of women (Arora, 2008). Marriage is an important decision of life but in India the domain of marriage is decided by the parents or elderly kinsmen. In spite of strict laws against child marriage parents tend to marry off their daughters as early as possible. As stated by Ritu, Thind and Seema (2007) parents who fail to arrange the marriage of their daughters at an appropriate age are looked down upon in the society such negative sanctions have made marriage universal in India. In contrast, the society adopts a totally different attitude in case of men, e.g. they have all the liberties in mate selection and marital adjustments.

The data highlights that majority of the respondents (74.52 per cent) has reported that age of marriage should be 23 to 27 years which is followed by 22.64 per cent of the respondents who report that girls should be married off during 18 to 22 years of age (Table 5.1). Nearly 3 per cent of the respondents has reported that age of marriage should be 28 years and above.



**Table 5.1: Distribution of respondents on the basis of their preference of age at marriage**

<i>Age of Marriage</i>	<i>No. of Respondents</i>
<i>18-22 years</i>	<i>24(22.64)</i>
<i>23-27 years</i>	<i>79(74.52)</i>
<i>28 years and above</i>	<i>03(2.84)</i>
<i>Total</i>	<i>106(100.00)</i>

\* Figures in parenthesis denote percentage

The data clearly indicates that 3/4<sup>th</sup> of the girls have the desire to marry after attaining age of 23 to 27 years, so that they will not face any problem in the completion of their studies. It may be also concluded that education makes girls conscious of their carrier which in turn ensures their successful and happy married life.

### **Equal Inheritance Rights**

The Indian society is a traditional society and people of India have firm faith in the laws of its Shastras. The position of women which was assigned by Narada, Vashistha and Manu etc is prevailing even today. The great sages, in their text, presented women as a dependent entity, without having any independent rights of their own. The father protects a woman in her childhood, the husband during her youth and the son in the old age. These women have no rights of independence. According to Sarvadhikari (cited from Raka, 1999), the principles of Hindu traditional law (1880) pointed out the reason for women's exclusion from inheritance. He has reported that according to these sages women are unfit to acquire property as they are prone to affection, kindness and many types of soft sentiments. Thus women will never be able to manage the property.



Although constitutions of India has provided fundamental rights to everybody irrespective of caste, creed, sex, colour but the women are denied from the fundamental right of acquisition of property. Indian parliament made several bills/acts in the last four decades to bless the women with more power and authority and bestow her benefits, and those acts are Hindu Succession Act (1956), Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act (1956), Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act (1956). The main target of these acts has been to create greater equality among both sexes. But unfortunately, these acts and provisions are present in theory not into practice. Consequently, even today the Indian women's rights are governed by traditional norms which treat them unequally.

Muslims are not away from it, though it is mentioned in the Holy Quran to give equal inheritance to women also, but Muslim women are denied such rights. They have the desire to own property but all their desires and aspiration remains as a dream which never full-fill and in this way they are denied from their basic right and all the property is provided to sons only.

Data highlights that almost 85 per cent of the respondents has reported that they have the desire to get equal share of parental property; same as that of the male members of the family (Table 5.2). Only a small proportion of the respondents (15.09 per cent) have reported that they do not wish to get any share in the parental property.

**Table 5.2: Desire to provide equal inheritance**

<i>Equal inheritance</i>	<i>No. of respondents</i>
<i>Yes</i>	<i>90(84.91)</i>
<i>No</i>	<i>16(15.09)</i>
<i>Total</i>	<i>106(100.00)</i>



Except the few, girls mostly have the desire to get a share of parental property. They hold that such property right may help them to be self-sufficient and tackle the problems which they are facing in the society.

### Reasons for Equal Inheritance

The data with regard to the reasons given by respondents reveals that majority of the respondents (60 per cent) has stated that it is their fundamental right to get an equal share in the property of their parents; therefore they should not be denied this right of property by the parents or other family members (Table 5.3). In the view of 24.45 per cent of the respondents, getting share in the property of parents make the girls self sufficient and independent. In addition, such right in the property can help them to face the hardships of life easily and ensure their good life. Besides this, 15.55 per cent of the respondents has reported that Islam has given equal rights to both boys and girls, therefore it becomes compulsory for the parents to treat equally girls as well as boys and provide their daughters with equal share in the property.

**Table 5.3: Reasons for equal inheritance**

Reasons for equal Inheritance	No. of Respondents
Islam allows	14(15.55)
To make girls self-sufficient	22(24.45)
Fundamental right	54(60)
Total	90(100.00)

\* Figures in parenthesis show percentage

From the above, it may be made out that education arouse the girls awareness about the right which are bestowed upon them by the religion and the Constitution. They have the desire that their rights should be recognized and fulfilled by the parents and the society at large. Education may have attributed to their realization of the inequality that they are facing not only outside the family but also within the family.



## Reasons for not giving Equal Inheritance

There are many reasons which ensure the girls un-acceptance of parental property like fear of gossiping by the people about the girls who are getting share in parental property and in this way they try to avoid the circumstances which make them talk of the village. Many girls have threat that demanding share of property becomes the cause of their disrespect in the family because they think girls do not have any right to own the property.

The data in this regard shows that 43.75 per cent respondents has reported that getting share in the property becomes the cause of disrespect in the parental family and after marriage they will not get warm welcome by the parents as well as by brothers and even parents and brothers will not allow them to visit their house (Table 5.4). This threat among girls ensures the denial of claiming their share in parental property and they do not even dare to think about it. According to 31.25 per cent of the respondents, it is the right of brothers to have/own the property of parents and girls have nothing to do with it. They further expressed that their parents are providing them shelter, provide all possible facilities and also make arrangements for their marriage besides dowry so parents should not be compelled for share in property. According to them, it is a sin to claim share in property. Further, 25 per cent of the respondents have reported that if they demand their right to property they are looked down and stigmatized/labeled as immoral in the society, so they refrain from such activities which raise fingers against them in the society.



**Table 5.4: Reasons for not giving equal inheritance**

Reasons	No. of Respondents
Disrespect in family	7(43.75)
Brothers right	5(31.25)
Lose status in society	4(25.00)
Total	16(100.00)

\* Figures in Parenthesis denote percentage

The above data clearly depicts that girls who do not want a share in parental property feel a threat of loss of status in the family as well as in the biradari and society. Moreover, despite their willingness, they refrain to ask for their rights due to the environment in which they live and are socialized. In this way, they are denied the property right which is bestowed upon them not only by the Constitution but also by the religion.

### **Women Participation in Panchayats**

In India, the demand for women participation in the political process has been continuing for long and efforts has been made to put them in the political decision making process. There are many government initiatives to tackle the issues concerning women and ineffective participation of rural women in the decision making process. The initiatives of the government include the provisions of Constitutions in the form of Articles (Article 14,15,16,39,42,46,47,51 and 243) as well as the Fundamental Rights and Directive principles which grant equal status to both men and women in all walks of life. Lady Dutta in 1931, during the National congress session had expressed grief due to the absence of women members in the legislature assembly and she said that only women could have addressed/voiced the feelings of their sisters with greater clarity and force than men(cited from Pamale, 2007). In 1974, some members of the Committee for the Status of Women in India (CSWI) expressed the similar concern and argued that women representation would take up the cause of other



disadvantaged women. The former Chief Election Commissioner T.N Seshan too felt that absence of women from political decision making process made the drafted laws and regulations discriminating against them. In short, the growing demand for participation of women in political process by the women themselves is the result of realization that political participation equips them with the power to redefine political agenda and their interests.

Panchayats' have been existed since long in the country. Women have not been integral part of this system except in some states which introduced reservation of seats for women in local self-governance. The major mile stone was achieved in 1992 when 73<sup>rd</sup> Constitutional Amendment was passed in the parliament and 33 per cent of seats are reserved for women in Panchayat Raj Institutions (PRIs) and for the 1st time 33 to 40 per cent of women were brought into decision making process from the previous 2 to 4 per cent (Ghosh, 2007).

The data regarding the views about the participation of women in political bodies reflects that majority of the respondents (56.60 per cent) wish to participate in panchayat Raj Institutions (PRIs) (Table 5.5). Rest, 43.40 per cent of the respondents do not want to participate in the Panchayat Raj Institutions.

**Table 5.5: Aspiration of Respondents to Participate in Panchayats**

Panchayat Participation	No. of Respondents
Yes	60(56.60)
No	46(43.40)
Total	106(100.00)

This shows the change towards enlightenment among the educated girls as they wish to break through the barriers of the society by participating in the panchayats of their respective villages. It means that



education broaden the horizon of girls as they think it a good step to participate in the decision making process at the lower level of the political system. They hold that in this way the male domination can overcome.

### **Reasons of Participation**

Rural educated girls have desire to participate in the Panchayat Raj Institutions in order to address the problems of women folk in rural area. Women in rural areas face many problems like wage discrimination, poverty, limited access to resources, low levels of literacy, absence of basic amenities etc. Their condition is further deteriorated by the presence of cultural factors which are deep-rooted in our system like patriarchy, early marriage and so on. In order to address all these problems, educated rural girls want to participate in the political decision making process to come out form the backwardness which they are facing over a long period of time. They want to raise their status by participating in public functions, besides occupying prominent positions in the social and religious gatherings.

Majority of the respondents (66.67 per cent) states that they wish to participate in PRIs in order to address the problems of women in their village (Table 5.6). Since the Constitution has given equal rights to all irrespective of sex, caste, race etc they wish to participate in the decision making process and compel the authorities to address their grievances. This aspiration is expressed by 23.33 per cent of the respondents. Further, 10 per cent of the respondents has reported that they tend to participate in the PRI so as to raise their status in the society. The girl students aspire to be a party to the decision making process at the grass root level to address problem of women and achieve equality of status in the male dominated society.



**Table 5.6: Reasons of Panchayat Participation**

Reasons	No. of Respondents
Address the problems of women	40(66.67)
Equal rights	14(23.33)
To raise status in society	6(10)
Total	60(100.00)

\*Figures in parenthesis denote percentage.

### Reasons of Non Participation

There are several reasons which keep the educated girls away from the participation in PRIs like disapproval from family members and also due to religion as many girls especially among Muslims consider it against the religion to participate in the political process. The fear of cleric outburst against the female participation in PRIs may inhibit their active role in decision making bodies. Non-acceptance of decisions by the male members in village may also be the reason of non-participation of educated girls in PRIs.

The analysis of data highlights that in the view of 78.26 per cent of the respondents, it is against Islam to participate in the PRIs (Table 5.7). Religion does not permit the women to participate in the elections as it amounts to moving with the male; this refrains women from participation in public sphere. Besides this, 13.04 per cent of the respondents has reported that due to threat of life, they are not participating or even cast votes in the elections. According to them they will be killed by the militants if they participate or cast their vote in elections. In the opinion of 8.70 per cent of the respondents participation in PRIs is useless because decisions taken by women are never accepted by the male members and their grievances remain un-expressed as well as unaddressed. Therefore, it is better to keep themselves away from such activities.



**Table 5.7: Reasons of non-participation**

Reasons of Non-participation	No. of respondents
Against religion	36(78.26)
Decisions not accepted	4(8.70)
Threat of life	6(13.04)
Total	46(100.00)

\* Figures in parenthesis denotes percentage

From the above, it may be concluded that still religion plays a dominant role in the life of people and keep them away especially women and girls from the participation in decision-making process. Although small in proportion, the educated girls lack interest towards participation in Panchayat Raj Institutions due to the problem of male dominance and un-recognition of their status and position. Threat to life by some anti-social elements too keeps the women away from participation in the Panchayat Raj Institutions.

### **Male Participation in the Household Activities**

Male members in the family are keeping themselves away from the household activities especially in rural areas and left all the burden on the shoulders of female members. Male members consider that it is not their duty to do house-hold activities as they are working outside and are earners of the family despite the fact that women are busy from sun-rise to sun-set in the activities like bringing fodder for animals, fetching water over a long distance, rearing children, cooking, washing etc. They are also serving male members in the family and take food after the male members of the family have finished their meal. But all these activities and busy schedule of women is not recognized by the male members as such activities have no use value. The male members rather expect services from the female members continuously and treat them as subordinate. Even the male child refuses to help their mothers and sisters in the household activities and think that helping in these activities degrade their status. So, from the



beginning a superiority complex is developed among the male and in the adult age they feel ashamed by keeping himself involved in the house-hold activities.

The exploration of the data highlights that majority of the respondents (83.02 per cent) has reported that they want the male members to help them in day-day activities in the household but male members are not ready to do the house-hold work and considered it as a duty/responsibility of female members not male members (Table 5.8). Almost 17 per cent of the respondents has reported that they do not like the participation of male members in the house-hold activities.

**Table 5.8: Male Participation in House-hold activities**

Should Men participate	No. of respondents
Yes	88(83.02)
No	18(16.98)
Total	106(100.00)

\* Figures in parenthesis denote percentage.

From the above it may be concluded that education make the girls aware about their rights not only outside but at home also and want equal participation of male in the household chores.

### **Reasons of Non-Participation of male in household activities**

Data with regard to the non-participation of male members in the household activities reflects that in the view of 66.67 per cent of the respondents, it is not the duty of male members to do the house hold activities as they are working outside (Table 5.9). They opine that it is not good to compel them to do household activities or help female members in the daily chores of family. Further, 33.33 per cent of the respondents has reported that it is a sin to ask the male members of the family to do household activities. They have expressed that women should refrain from doing this sin. On enquiring what sin means, they explicitly explained that they will go to hell if their menfolk are made to do household chores.



**Table 5.9: Reasons of Non-Participation**

Reasons of Non-Participation	No. of Respondents
Not duty of male members	12(66.67)
It is a sin	6(33.33)
Total	18 (100.00)

The above data clearly shows that traditions are still deep rooted among many educated girls in the rural area. Though less number of educated girls are against the male participation in the house-hold activities but we can say that these are the age old traditions which completely dominate the life of even these educated girls.

### **Job preference of Educated Rural Girls**

Employment of women paves their way for integration in the process of national development. Employments make the women self-sufficient and raise their status in the society. Teaching profession is the most preferred job as per the opinion of 59.43 per cent of the respondents (Table 5.10). The educated girls like teaching profession because their parents and other family members have similar liking for this profession. They also expressed that only teaching profession is good for women because in this profession they have not to spend the nights outside and also get the chance to serve the family members well. Almost 17 per cent of the respondents has reported that they like the medical profession and wish to flourish themselves in the field of medicine. Moreover, 12.26 per cent of the respondents has stated that they like to take up the administration jobs such as IAS (Indian Administrative Service), IFS (Indian Forestry Service) KAS (Kashmir administrative Service). Only 11.32 per cent of the respondents has expressed their preference for law profession largely in the area of judiciary rather than practice.



**Table 5.10: Job preference of respondents**

Job Preference	No. of Respondents
Teaching	63(59.43)
Doctor/Medicine	18(16.99)
Administrative services	13(12.26)
Lawyer (judiciary)	12(11.32)
Total	106(100.00)

\*Figures in parenthesis denote percentage

From the above it may be concluded that the main preference for Job is teaching as in this profession there is no need to spend the nights away from the family. Other jobs preferred by the educating girls include medicine, administration and law, though their proportion is less than those who preferred to be in the teaching line.

### **Marriage Preference/Choice**

The data with regard to the marriage preference of the respondents is concerned a large proportion of the respondents (63.20 per cent) want to marry the spouse of their choice and not according to the parents and other family members as well by kinsmen (Table 5.11). Those who want to marry according to the choice of parents not their own constitute 36.80 per cent of the total respondents. In their opinion, parents are the best judge to select the mate.

**Table 5.11: Marriage Choice of Respondents**

Marriage Preference	No. of respondents
Girls choice	67(63.20)
Parents choice	39(36.80)
Total	106(100.00)

\* Figures in parenthesis denote percentage

From the above it may be concluded that girls want to throw away the age old tradition of selection of spouse by parents and not taking girls interest into consideration. They wish their spouse should be according to their choice.



## Reasons of Self Choice

There are several reasons associated with girls' preference to choose their marriage partner. The reasons include leading a happy life. Since it is a lifelong decision where even a single mistake may prove fatal in the future the decision of the girl/boy should be final. Girls also prefer their own choice with regard to marriage so that they can understand ideology of their partners. It has been observed that girls prefer such type of marriage in order to overcome the conflicts and violence in their future life.

The data reflects that nearly 45 per cent of the respondents who prefer to have partner of their choice hold that self choice in the selection of marriage partner gives them the chance to know ideology of each other (Table 5.12). Such matching ensures easy adjustment in life. Almost 33 per cent of such respondents has expressed that selecting the marriage partner by the girl or boy leads to a happy life. The partner selected by the parents or other kinsmen many a times lead to suppression and exploitation of female in her life. There are less chances of domestic violence in the self selected marriage partner in the opinion of 22.39 per cent of the respondents.

**Table 5.12: Reasons of Self-Selection of Marriage Partner**

Reasons	No. of Respondents
To know each other's ideology	30(44.77)
To lead happy life	22(32.84)
Less chances of domestic violence	15(22.39)
Total	67(100.00)

\* Figures in parenthesis denotes percentage

Thus, girls want to know and understand their life partner before marriage so that they can lead a happy life in future. They want a relationship of mutual understanding and not the relationship where they live a life of sub-ordination and full of restrictions.



### Reasons of Parents selection/choice

The data shows that majority of the respondents (51.28 per cent) has expressed that marriage should be the domain of parents because they decide well as compared to their daughters (Table 5.13). Therefore, complete responsibility should be given to parents to select the marriage partner for their daughters. They also state that the parents have more experience to judge the right mate as per the family status and personality of the girl. Further, 30.77 per cent of the respondents have reported that parents will be disrespected in the community if their daughters themselves choose marriage partner. So, in order to ensure the high status/respect of parents in the community, girls should be married according to the choice of their parents. Almost 18 per cent respondents have reported that due to strict rules at home they prefer to go for parent's choice rather than self-choice of marriage partner.

**Table 5.13: Reasons of Parents choice of Marriage Partner**

Reasons	No. of Respondents
Parents decide well than their daughters	20(51.28)
Parents will be disrespected in community	12(30.77)
Strict rules at home	7(17.95)
Total	39(100.00)

So, mate selection should be left to the parents who understand the society and its norms better than the young ones. In addition, societal pressure on the family restricts the movement of girls especially who to a large extent confine to home and avoid taking independent decision not only about life but also in other matters.

### Qualities of the Mate

Majority of the respondents (60.38 per cent) has reported that they prefer to marry with an educated person whether he is employed or not



(Table 5.14) .They express that educated person has broader outlook and do not find faults in the activities of their partner inside as well as outside the home besides standing together with their partner in the struggle of life. Further, 32.07 per cent of the respondents have reported that they like to marry with the employed person as it makes the family financially secure and ensures a good standard of life. In their opinion, the type of employment does not matter but most of them want that employment in government office is better than that in the private one. Rest of the respondents has reported that their partner should be a businessman as it provides them the opportunity to enjoy all the available facilities. In addition, they need not to work inside or outside home to earn money and support the family.

**Table 5.14: Qualities of the Mate according to Respondents**

Mate Selection	No. of Respondents
Educated	64(60.38)
Employee	34(32.07)
Businessmen	8(7.55)
Total	106(100.00)

From the above it may be concluded that education change the attitude of the girls as the main importance given to the education of their marriage partner rather than their job. It may be concluded that education broadens the mental horizon of the girls therefore their main preference is the educated life partner who can withstand with his partner in the struggle of life and ensure a happy and prosperous married life.

### **Work for Earnings**

Though women are working in organized and un-organized sector to earn money in order to ensure their economic independence and support their family and parents but in the Kashmir valley, majority of the women



are not allowed by their parents or family member to work outside except in their own agricultural and for horticultural fields and there is complete restriction on the women which bars them from earning. The data with regard to the desire of the respondents to work-out side for earning income reveals that majority of the respondents (72.65 per cent) want to work in one or the other office so as to make use of their knowledge and education (Table 5.15). Only a small proportion of the respondents (27.35 per cent) have reported that women should not be allowed to work out side home for earning income.

**Table 5.15: Respondents Desire to Work outside**

Work outside for earning	No. of Respondents
Yes	77(72.65)
No	29(27.35)
Total	106(100.00)

\*Figures in parenthesis denote percentage

### **Reasons to work outside for earning**

The data highlights that large proportion of the respondents (45.46 per cent) feel that women should be allowed to work outside so as it ensure the financial independence of women (Table 5.16). As working daughter contributes for the improvement of the economic conditions of the family, the parents will not feel their daughters as an economic burden. Moreover, 28.57 per cent of the respondents have reported that women should be allowed to work outside in order to maintain good living in the family. Almost 26 per cent respondents state that it is the right of the women to have freedom because they have rights equal to that of men therefore women should be allowed to work outside as per their choice and restrictions should not be imposed on them. In addition their rights should be recognized in the family.



**Table 5.16: Reasons to work outside**

Reasons	No. of Respondents
Maintain good living	22(28.57)
Financially independent	35(45.46)
Equal rights	20(25.97)
Total	77(100.00)

\* Figures in parenthesis denote percentage.

The data thus, highlights that respondents wish to be self sufficient and independent in life and overcome the dependency which women are bearing inside the family as well as outside the family.

### **Reasons of not to work outside**

The data with regard to restriction on women to work outside reflects that majority of such respondents (65.52 per cent) think that that it is against religion therefore women should refrain to work out side for the purpose of earning (Table 5.17). Besides this, 17.24 per cent respondents have reported that women should be in limits and if they work outside, it degrades the respect of family as well as that of the girl. Further, a similar proportion (17.24 per cent) of the respondents has reported that it is not the duty of women to work outside and earn money for the family; this responsibility lies with the male members of the family. Therefore, women should not be allowed to work out side for the financial purposes.

**Table 5.17: Reasons of not-allowing the women to work outside**

Reasons	No. of respondents
Against Religion	19(65.52)
Women should be in limits	5(17.24)
Not the duty of women	5(17.24)
Total	29(100.00)

\* Figures in Parenthesis denote percentage.



## CONCLUSION

From the above it may be concluded that traditions, religious norms and customs dominate and act as a restraint even for the educated girls. For this, girls should be kept away from being an earning hand of the family. Although large proportion of respondents express their desire to work outside and become an earning hand of their family, so as to ensure their financial independence and support their families. This may overcome the difficulties and hardships faced by the family but they are refrained from doing because of the pressure by their family members in certain cases.

However it may be concluded that educated girls have lot of aspirations like to marry late, to own property, to participate in the decision making process within the family as well as outside the family and so on. They also have the desire to overcome the social and traditional barriers imposed on them not only by their family members but also by the society at large. They wish to overcome the dependence and promote social and occupational mobility. In addition, to intellectual and personality development, educated girls wish to break through the ill treatment given to them by the patriarchal society. In order to ensure their freedom from the bondage of slavery, they wish to participate in every field like health, media, employment, marketing, administration and so on. Not only men but women have also the right to have financial autonomy, freedom of movement and participation in house hold decisions.

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## **A REROSPECTIVE STUDY OF SAARC: WITH MAIN FOCUS ON ISSUES RELATED TO INDIA**

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### **INTRODUCTION**

According to a 2005 report of the human development center, South Asia is fast emerging as the poorest, most illiterate, most malnourished, least gender sensitive-indeed, the most deprived region in the world today. The per capita Gross National product (GNP) of South Asia (\$ US 309 in 1993) is lower than any other region in the world. The region contains 21% of the world's population but produces only 1.3 % of the world's income. The adult literacy rate (48%) in South Asia is now the lowest in the world. The migration of the landless into cities exacerbates urban environmental problems and creates opportunities for socio-political unrest. Moreover, the movement of the people across the subcontinents borders in search of food and employment causes friction within and between the regional neighbours. Further, despite some improvements in the past four decades, the literacy rates remain disappointingly low throughout the region, especially for females and in the rural areas, the overall adult literacy rate for India is an estimated 48%, for Pakistan and Bangladesh about 35% and for Nepal 26%. High literacy rates stifle family-planning efforts, limit farmers abilities to neutralize technological improvements and reduce labour efficiency in the general manufacturing sector, Srilanka has achieved solid success in improving literacy rate which is close to 90%. Although most of the South Asian countries have recently initiated varying degrees of economic reforms by adopting liberalization and free market economic



policies, the persuasive and innate character of their domestic/regional problems tends to negate most of the constructive efforts. In view of the fact that South Asia imported 18% of total arms produced in the world, the logic of such large and growing military expenditure needs to be questioned. The tradeoffs between military expenditures and the provisions of basic services are worth considering.

According to Mahbob-UI-Haq, a battle tank normally costs 4 million dollars, immunizing a child against deadly diseases costs one dollar. For the purchase of each battle tank, four million children could be immunized. A mirage (war plane) reportedly costs 90 million dollars. It costs an average of 30 \$s to maintain a child in primary school. Three million children can be benefitted against the same amount and be provided primary school education. Against the purchase of three Agosta 90B submarines, 17 million children could have been provided with primary schooling, while 67 million couples could have been facilitated with family planning services. The question arises whether national security can be sustainable when achieved at a heavy cost to the citizen's health, education and wellbeing. Income disparities in South Asia are one of the biggest in the world. All the countries of the region have a dramatic concentration of wealth and power.

The inability of South Asia to execute its determination for progress is reinforced in its performance towards achieving Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

The idea of regional cooperation in South Asia was first initiated by President of Bangladesh late Zia Ur Rehman, who visited India, Nepal, Pakistan and Srilanka during the period of 1977-1980 to explore the possibilities of regional cooperation among the South Asian countries. In May 1980, he issued a formal call for SAARC regional cooperation. The



proposal received a positive response from all the countries except two major powers of South Asia, India and Pakistan who were initially hesitant to form the regional organisation but later on they too accepted the idea. Hence the consultation at official level was carried out for the proposed cooperation. These preliminary exchanges at different levels i.e., foreign secretaries and foreign ministers clearly brought out that the proposed cooperation between these state should on one hand reflect the spirit of mutual trust, understanding and sympathetic appreciation of political inspiration existing among the countries of the region and on the other hand be based on the principles of sovereign equality, territorial integrity and non-interference in internal affairs of each other. The first ever regional summit of the heads of the states was held in Dhaka (Bangladesh) on December 7, 1985 after about four and a half year's preparation. Contentious and bilateral politico-security issues were deliberately kept outside the purview of SAARC.

Since the establishment of SAARC, 17 summits have been held in its twenty six years of existence. Dhaka-1985, Bangaluru 1986, Kathmandu 1987, Islamabad 1988, Male 1990, Colombo 1991, Dhaka 1993, New Delhi 1995, Male 1997, Colombo 1998, Kathmandu 2002, Islamabad 2004, New Delhi 2007, Colombo 2008, Thimpu 2010, Addu city Male 2011.

India always predominates in South Asia. India contains nearly 76 % area of total region, its population is three times more than the combined population of other seven countries of the region and its GNP is 71% of the total GNP in the region. Geography has provided India a central position in the region. India is also a constant factor in most of the inter-state disputes within the region. Some owe their origin to the colonial past. India has a range of issues with Bangladesh, Nepal, Pakistan and Srilanka including sharing of waters and borders, illegal migration, trade and transit



relations and perceptions of inappropriate Indian interference in the internal affairs of others. There are other inter-state conflicts too which do not involve India, but these are less significant compared to those involving India. The strained relations between India-Pakistan are the most severe obstacle to regional cooperation within the framework of SAARC. Some nations of the region have forged ties with China to balance the influence of India. Nepal, Bangladesh and Pakistan's initiative in campaigning for China's entry into the SAARC as an observer is viewed by India as an attempt to marginalise its influence in the region. The indifferent attitude of the smaller nations towards India besides dampening the spirit of SAARC vitiates the environment for India and makes it reluctant to take on leadership within the region.

Several factors such as political, economic, security and potentiality of mutual economic benefit through regionalism seem to have influenced President Zia Ur Rehman's thinking about establishing a regional organization in South Asian region. However, the existence of SAARC has enabled South Asian political leaders to meet regularly and carry on informal discussions to address their mutual problems. Informal talks among the leaders at regularly held SAARC meetings have led to inter-elite reconciliation on many sensitive issues, producing some noteworthy results in South Asia. The Heads of State or Government during the Ninth SAARC Summit agreed for the first time that a process of informal political consultations would prove useful in promoting peace, stability, amity and accelerated socio-economic cooperation in the region.

The leaders reiterated this intent during their Tenth and Eleventh Summits in Colombo and Kathmandu respectively also. The Agreement on SAARC Preferential Trading Arrangement (SAPTA) was signed in 1993 and four rounds of trade negotiations have been concluded. With the



objective of moving towards a South Asian Economic Union (SAEU), the Agreement on South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA) was signed during the Twelfth Summit in Islamabad in January 2004. SAFTA has entered into force in the year 2006 with some reservations. As such SAFTA has not been fully implemented across the region of South Asia. There is still restricted trade regime between India and Pakistan. The Association has carried out Regional Studies on trade, manufactures and services, environment and poverty alleviation, SAFTA and Customs matters. Since its inception in 1985 there have also been serious differences among member countries over the aims and functioning of SAARC.

Such differences have been pronounced in verbal bickering in several SAARC meetings. This is in the face of the fact that closer social, economic and cultural ties (the espoused ideals of SAARC) are considered the one and only hope for building regional cooperation efforts in South Asia in the coming years. Indeed, increasing rationalization of world trade and the fluidity of the emerging global system has increased trade within each trade bloc and those countries that do not belong to any trade blocs are likely to be the losers. This also provides a strong rationale for sustaining the SAARC vis-à-vis future trade prospects of South Asia. The assumption that peace can be achieved through SAARC without addressing the political problems of the region has neither been able to cultivate peace nor to invigorate the SAARC process successfully. Though since its very inception it has been regularly able to hold Summit meetings yet there have been interruptions in between owing mainly to interstate conflicts between the member countries.

o The agreement and ratification of the SAARC regional convention on suppression of terrorism.



- o The agreement on the SAARC regional convention on narcotic drugs and psycho tropic substances.
- o The formulation of a procedure for projection of SAARC collective positions at international fora.
- o The establishment of SAARC University at Delhi.
- o The library of SAARC constituted periodicals, journals, magazines and annual report which is available to common people increasing contacts.
- o The establishment of the SAARC food security reserve meant to meet emergency situations in the region.
- o SAARC Social Charter was launched in 2006 for the upliftment of the marginalised sections of the member countries of SAARC.

In order to fulfill the high aspirations of its peoples in the face of current global economic and financial crises, SAARC will need a new strategic vision. In South Asia, over the past six decades, development practitioners, economists and politicians have presented a number of measures and approaches to address and fix South Asia's socio-economic problems, but nothing sufficient has been done in this regard. Most of the conflicts, intra and inter-state rivalries and the worst terrorist activities in the region, thrive on the wings of leadership. In South Asia, the agenda to achieve prosperity is driven by the need to achieve sustainable growth and reduce poverty. The eight nations of South Asian region, commonly suffer from problems pertaining to agriculture, water, power, environment and health care. The region shares common agricultural problems concerning of availability of high yielding varieties of seed, manure and pesticides. Problem of water and power remains a common issue among farmers of the region. South Asian societies are witnessing religious divisions. After the division of sub-continent along communal lines, religion has become a

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primary factor contributing to the growth of fundamentalism and numerous other forms of political and sectarian violence in South Asia.

Environmental degradation in South Asia is analogous to the region's population problem apart from having several negative socio-economic and politico-security implications. The dependence of the poor countries of South Asia on natural resource base, such as soil, water, forests and fisheries is self-evident but environmental abuse is rampant to an unbelievable degree. After more than 26 years of its existence, millions of people are without elementary health facilities, safe drinking water and no access to basic sanitation facilities. The political culture prevalent in South Asia has not seen much of a democracy. Many of them have had their shares of problems with military coups, despotic monarchies and other non-democratic features. South Asia has the highest incidence of poverty not only in terms of absolute numbers but also as a percentage of the population, compared to any other regional group of countries in the world. All the countries of the South Asian region are facing common issues like poverty, income inequality, low productivity, mass unemployment and large population dependent on agriculture. The most serious impediment in achieving even a modest degree of improvement in the presently dismal state of Indo-Pakistan relationship is the high level of misunderstanding and misperceptions that the public opinion in each country has about the problems facing the other. Relationship of South Asian countries is often a source of discord than unity among them. The challenge for South Asian nations is that they should forget the history of hostility towards each other and should develop an accommodative culture and society in the subcontinent through objective research based on respect for various religions and social groups that have lived in it and have contributed to its development.

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The best assistance to SAARC would be to remove the gap between professions of collective intent and actual cooperative action. The states need to prioritize regional objectives and streamline them with national priorities. In this context the Ministries related to this need to be sensitized to the importance of regional cooperation in domain-specific areas. The South Asian states need to develop policy approaches that take into account the political and economic complexities of SAARC, in particular the needs and developmental priorities of the less developed countries. The physical and soft connectivity among the SAARC countries needs to be developed and strengthened. Trade integration needs to be expedited through faster implementation of SAFTA. Care needs to be taken not to hold regionalism hostage to the twilight of bilateral relations. The focus needs to be on taking practical and quantifiable steps to associate all stakeholders, especially the private sector and think-tanks in the formulation and implementation of regional policies in different areas. The SAARC states are still far away from the cherished goal of regional economic integration. SAARC and regionalism in South Asia require the intensity of an article of faith and an optimistic, problem-solving predisposition.

SAARC can transcend the straitjacket of —process and can bring forth enduring instrumentalities of cooperation (like SAFTA, SDF, SAARC Food Bank, etc.) to forge stronger bonds of cooperation. In the final analysis, the success of SAARC institutional arrangements will rest on identification and pursuit of the core projects which could yield tangible results. These projects can be easily identified in the areas of trade facilitation, removal of barriers, and improvement of regional transport, removal of transit restrictions, opening up of port facilities and promotion of trade in energy in a comprehensive way, comprising regional grids for electricity, hydropower and gas pipelines.



There needs to be a South Asian identity in terms of brand names, quality standards, investment regimes and other areas where a common approach would be to the benefit of all. Cross-border transactions must be depoliticized and pursued purely on economic terms. The SAARC Charter formulated in a different environment in 1980's should be revised to address the present aspirations of the member states. SAARC developmental needs to be used to develop infrastructure in the member states. South Asia should work on more integration on trade and investment. It is necessary to remove domestic compulsions about trade and investment integration. Necessary efforts should be taken to build social and economic capital which will ensure the security of human beings in the region and should formulate South Asian economic union. Role of media is essential for furthering cooperation in South Asia. The role of media should be positive and should highlight commonalities and strong features of country. There should be maturity on the part of media and their policy makers. The political will of the leaders of South Asia is very important towards the better future of SAARC.

South Asia had a common past, a common heritage and culture. The leaders of South Asia need to revise that commonality among its people as has been done in both Europe and South East Asia. In order to create a better ground for mutual cooperation among the mainstream leaders, track two diplomacy can prove fruitful. In terms of size and strength India has more important role to play in the region. Like India, other member states also have to play their respective roles to help enhance regional cooperation. India must pay special preference to private companies from SAARC countries to tie up with Indian companies. . The full fledgling SAARC Documentation Centre (SDC) could also serve as a SAARC Information Centre accessed by all people from the region for information about SAARC.



India must actively work for a region-wide acceptance of the vision of a South Asian community based on peaceful coexistence, economic cooperation, religious tolerance and cultural understanding. Liberalisation of economies in South Asia has energised the private sector to pursue the goal of regional cooperation irrespective of the attitudes and initiatives of the respective governments. SAARC needs to develop wider global perspectives in this era of multilateral diplomacy and globalization.

### CONCLUSIONS

Human Development report, authored by the distinguished Pakistani economist, Mahbub-ul-haq speaks volumes about the low profile quality of life in this region. Fifty years after independence, about 500 million people in the region are destitute; basic education is denied to 1200 million individuals and 260 million are without elementary health facilities. In terms of real per capita income, Pakistan ranks 119th and India 142nd in the world. In the face of such a grim situation in the social sector, says the report, the countries of South Asia are spending too much on arms and too little on the social sectors. India ranks first in total arm imports and Pakistan tenth, though India's per capita expenditure is far less than Pakistan's. While the global expenditure declined by 37 percent during the last decades, military spending in South Asia has gone up by 12 per cent during the same period. As far as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human development index is concerned SAARC countries occupied lowest positions. National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER) human development profile of India said that about 16 percent of India's rural population earned rupees 3 per day and another 18 percent about Rs 5 per day.

Accessibility of safe drinking water is denied to nearly 50 per cent of the villagers. UNDP introduced the human development index



comprising life expectancy, educational attainments and income indicators to give a composite measure of human development. SAARC countries occupied low positions in this ranking. They were ranked as; Srilanka (89), Pakistan (134) India (135) Bangladesh (143) Nepal (151) and Bhutan (158). Trade is one of the major priority areas of economic cooperation under the SAARC charter. In spite of various commonalities of SAARC countries, the intra-regional SAARC trade was 2.8 per cent of their global trade during 1985 which, however, picked up to 4 percent till 1995 and then it progressed further. The operationalisation of South Asian preferential trading arrangement (SAPTA) on December 7, 1995, a decade after the launch of SAARC was of course a positive step in the right direction. In fact it was the real beginning of SAARC, but at the same time it was only a first step towards a liberalisation and creation of SAARC trade block. The Consolidated National Schedules of Concessions containing the list of products furnished by the member countries for tariff concessions is not very impressive.

In the first round of SAPTA negotiations, SAARC countries identified 226 items (484 tariff lines at six digit level) for exchange on tariff concessions ranging from 10 percent to 100 percent.<sup>63</sup> India agreed to extend tariff concessions to 50 percent on 106 items, while Pakistan agreed to offer tariff concessions from 10 percent to 20 per cent on 35 items, Srilanka on 31 items, Maldives 75 percent on 17 items, Nepal 10 percent on 14 items, Bangladesh 10 percent on 12 items and Bhutan 15 percent on 11 items. However during the second round of SAPTA negotiations which concluded in Kathmandu on 29-30th November 1996, items for exchange on tariff concessions picked up the 1972 tariff lines from Brussels round. India agreed to give tariff concessions on 911 items, while Pakistan offered tariff concessions on 368 items, Nepal on 227 tariff lines, Bangladesh on



241 tariff lines and Maldives on 8 tariff lines. The slow process of SAPTA is manifested with the fact that SAARC countries could finalise only 1972 tariff lines out of the 6000 tariff lines for tariff concessions.<sup>64</sup> However, there was a proposal of transition from SAPTA to SAFTA (South Asian free trade area) in the eighth SAARC summit in New Delhi with the total elimination of all tariff and non tariff barriers by 2005. Keen interest shown by all the member countries of SAARC in the ninth SAARC summit held in Male during May 1997 advanced the deadline for the implementation of SAFTA from 1995 to 2001. India's proposal for SAARC Economic Community (SAEC) after attaining the goal of SAFTA had also been responded positively in this summit.

South Asia has recently undergone many developments that signify radical change. However, such improvements are not sufficient to meet the MDG's millennium development goals and other development goals. The region has the concentration of the poor people with more than 500 hundred million (a third of the regions poor people population) living on less than US \$ 1.25 a day <sup>66</sup> with abject poverty, rising income inequalities and regional disparities remain issues of concern. Human deprivation is widespread in many parts of the region. Regional diversity born out of the multi-racial, multi-religious, multi-linguistic and multi-cultural cooperation adds further to the complexity of ensuring effective governance.

According to the latest HDI data published, the South Asian region falls at the bottom in the group of countries with medium human development since 1998 and continues to lag behind many other regions in the world. Further the gap between the region and the rest of the world does not seem to be reducing. The only region behind South Asia is sub-Saharan Africa. It is clear that human development has not kept up with the pace of economic growth in the region. Despite these low levels of human



development most countries in South Asia have failed to enhance public allocations for education and health. Economic survey since has not led to any major improvement in public allocations to social services. Improvements in social indicators have been slow generally not only on the grounds of limited expenditure but because of low levels of efficiency in the delivery of social services.

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## **A SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF FEMALE STUDENTS IN DISTRICT ANANTNAG IN JAMMU AND KASHMIR**

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### **Introduction**

The status of women represents standard of culture of any age. The social status of the women of a country symbolizes the social spirit of the age. A single woman plays multiple roles in her life like mother, sister, daughter and wife. In the role of daughter she serves her father and brothers. Secondly she acts as a wife and serves her husband and in-laws. In the due course, she becomes mother and rear children and through socialization transforms them into a dynamic and vibrant citizen. A woman is the creator and protector of a family. In fact society is the product of women.

In spite of women's contribution for the family and for the society at large, she is least respected and is unable to overcome the restrictions that binds and confines her to a limited space. No doubt, Constitution has bestowed women with legal, political, and social rights like control of property, equality of opportunity in education, employment and so on same as that of men but they are denied such rights by the men folk of society. Their role in the society is characterized with dependency, inferiority and submissiveness. Our traditions and customs still decide how women should dress, behave and move. This indicates that women are unable to take decisions not only outside but within the family also. Hence, women are still demanding for equality and justice because of the widespread discrimination they face in all walks of life. Generally women are at



disadvantage, their education is limited to learning domestic skills and they do not have access to positions of power. Although certain efforts have been initiated at national and international level to improve the conditions of women by ensuring the goals of equality and development. But still women are not treated equally in the society. Women are still the group of people who undertake the bulk of unpaid work which is done in the society, live in utter poverty, control few resources and are hardly educated even to the primary level. In India, the conditions of women are far from satisfactory because of the sex segregated character of the society and the traditional value system.

Education has been regarded as the most significant instrument for changing subjugated position of women in the society. It is expected that education will bridge inequalities in society. Education is one of the most important needs of any society and in Indian society where a large portion is living in rural area; it becomes essential to educate them. It is only through education that we can expect happier family life, better hygienic conditions besides reduction in fertility rate and ensuring economic prosperity. In spite of this, women are discriminated and such discrimination is worse among the rural women because of the lack of basic amenities of life, restrictions on their movement, lack of education facilities and so on. This in turn leads to mass illiteracy among rural people especially girls.

It has been observed that rural girls are less educated and their dropout rate is higher because of caste, occupation, income and education level of their parents. It is also because of discrimination that girls face at home and school. The analysis of the studies points out the importance of education among the girls especially in making them conscious of self, their personality development and strive for social and economic equality.

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Since Kashmir society is predominately Muslim one where female are denied most of the rights, their desire to participate in various fields of life is one of the issue that need attention. Also because of limited studies available about the Kashmir society and especially on the girls, the present study has been envisaged to look into the facilitating and inhibiting factors associated with girls education.

## **AGE**

Age is an important variable on the basis of which all societies make assumption about the appropriate behaviour and levels of functioning of people. Individuals have rights, roles, opportunities and responsibilities assigned or denied on the basis of their age. In the ancient and medieval era, respect was ascribed to any and every person higher in age and hence grey hair would bring a unique authority and power in family (Panda, 2005). Age not only determine an individuals physical and mental maturity but also depicts his/her life experiences. Age is one of the most important factor of social stratification and differentiation found in all societies.

The data shows that 47.17 per cent of the respondents mothers falls in the age group of 35 to 40 years where as 32.07 per cent of respondents father are in the same age group (Table 3.1). Further 36.80 per cent of the respondents have their mothers in the age group of 41 to 46 years where as correspondingly 45.28 per cent of the respondents have their fathers in this age category. Further 16.03 per cent of the respondents have reported that the age of their mothers varies between 47 to 50 years. The proportion of respondents having their father in the similar age category is 14.16 per cent. More ever, 8.49 per cent of the respondents have their father in the age category of above 51 years. From this it may be concluded that majority of the respondents under study have their parents in the middle age category; for father it is 41 to 46 and for mother it is 35 to 40 years.



**Table 3.1: Age-wise distribution of Respondents Parents**

Age	Parents	
	Mother	Father
35-40 Years	50(47.17)	34(32.07)
41-46 years	39(36.80)	48(45.28)
47-50 years	17(16.03)	15(14.16)
Above 51 years	-	9(8.49)
Total	106(100.00)	106(100.00)

\* Figures in parenthesis denote parenthesis

## Caste

A caste is a class of the community which disowns any connection with any other class and can neither inter marry nor eat nor drink with any but persons of their own community (Nesfield, 2007). Caste in India, dominantly influences social, economic and cultural life habits and outlook towards life. In India higher the level of caste, better the level of living and vice-versa because social status is positively associated with economic status and political power (Kamble, 1984). Membership to a caste is determined by birth and there is little rather than no opportunity for an individual to change the caste (Betille, 1996). Muslims are not averse to the caste-system, ideologically caste system is absent among Muslim but they have adopted it from Hindus community and most of the Indian Muslims are converted from Hindu Castes (Bhattachariya, 1973). Ghaus Ansari (cited from Verma, 2005) in his study on caste and social stratification among North-Indian Muslims, divide Muslim castes into three categories Asharaf, Ajlaf and Arzal. According to him the first category of Ashraf includes castes like Syed, Mughal, Pathan, Quresh, Maqdoom etc and all these castes constitute a broad category termed as the general castes. The second category i.e. Ajlaf include the castes like weaver (Juleha), Tailor (Darzi), Butcher (Qasab), Barber (Hajam), oil presser (Teli) etc. The third category is that of Arzal which includes the unclean or ritually polluting



castes such as bhangi or methar (sweepers and scavengers). This categorization of castes is used in the present study.

The analysis of the data reveals a considerable imbalance in the composition of caste-based groupings among the respondents (Table 3.2).

**Table 3.2: Caste Distribution/Category of Respondents**

<b>Caste Category</b>	<b>No. of Respondents</b>
Ashraf Category	91 (85.85)
Ajlaf Category	15 (14.15)
<b>Total</b>	<b>106 (100.00)</b>

\*Figures in Parenthesis denote percentage.

Majority of the respondents (85.85 per cent) are the members of the general castes category that is Ashraf category that include castes like Syed, Pathan, Malik, Shah and so on. The proportion of the backward caste is 14.15. None of the respondent is found to be of the third caste category. In other words, the ritually polluting castes are not represented in the sample; may be because of their low economic status or their inability to send their wards especially the female to the educational institutions.

### **Education of Respondents Parents**

Education is always an adventure thrilling lively and Joyful. As a social process education is concerned with the transmission of knowledge. It takes into account every pattern of human endeavor be it little or great (Ram, 2003). Education is a key that opens the door in life which is essentially social in character and plays a very significant role to determine ones socio-economic status. Education may be considered both as a process and as a product. The process signifies how development takes place or how change comes out. Product denotes the end result, what has actually taken place. In fact education is a life-long process. It begins at birth and continues throughout life till death (Salematullah, 1979). Education is the



major source of social mobility as it is linked with occupation (Dutta, 2005). Hence education opens up new job avenues for the people. Educated individuals are more exposed to modern ideas which provide them with a new kind of awareness of the existing social set-up. Education provides them consciousness as well as opportunities to come out of their traditional bonds of occupation and make a choice of new occupation. It provides them the opportunities to move in the social hierarchy which make the social structure less rigid.

The distribution of respondents' parents according to their educational level is present in Table 3.3. The data highlights that majority of the respondents' mother (79.25 per cent) are illiterate where as only 31.13 per cent respondents' father are illiterate. Further 14.15 per cent respondents' mothers have studied upto middle level but the respondents' fathers who had studied upto similar class is 36.80 per cent. More ever, 6.60 per cent respondents' mothers have studied upto higher secondary level and the respondents' fathers who fall in the same education level is 17.92 per cent. In addition, 14.15 per cent respondents' fathers had studied upto graduation and above but none of the respondents' mothers fall in the similar category.

**Table 3.3: Education Level of Respondents Parents**

Educational Level	Education of Parents	
	Mother	Father
Illiterate	84 (79.25)	33 (31.13)
Upto middle	15 (14.15)	39 (36.80)
Upto Higher secondary	7 (6.60)	19 (17.92)
Graduate & Above	-	15 (14.15)
Total	106 (100.00)	106 (100.00)

The above data clearly shows the inequality in education in rural areas where more preference is given to the education of the son than that of the daughter. The percentage of illiteracy is higher among women than



men which clearly depicts the prejudice and lack of interest towards education of woman mostly in the rural area.

### Income

Income is the acquisition of money via regular source, including money that one earn through work or any allowance that one might receive on a regular basis. Income is important for everybody and the level of income is the most decisive factor in defining one's status in the society (Tripathi, 1987). It is a source of satisfying the basic needs. Income is an indicator of economic class to which one belongs. Not only this, it determines the position of an individual in the occupational structure of the society. The living standard of a village community and its sections is reflection of the amount of wealth at its disposal and the manner it is being distributed among different sections of the community.

Table 3.4 shows that the lowest income of the respondents' fathers is Rs.1500 to 3000 per month and the highest income is Rs.7000 and above per month. The data highlights that 28.30 per cent of the respondents have the monthly income of their father between Rs.1500 to Rs 3000. This is followed by 25.47 per cent of the respondents who reported that the income of their father varies from Rs.3000 to Rs 5000 a month. Besides this 28.30 per cent of the respondents have a monthly income from Rs 7000. Only 17.93 per cent of the respondents have reported that the monthly income of their fathers is Rs7000 and above.

**Table 3.4: Income of Respondents Fathers**

Income (Monthly)	No. of Respondents
Rs.1500-3000	30(28.30)
Rs.3000-5000	27(25.47)
Rs.5000-7000	30(28.30)
Rs.7000 above	19(17.93)
Total	106(100.00)



Thus, the monthly income level of the father of respondents is limited to Rs 7000.

### Occupation

Occupation is also one of the important variable in the socio-economic analysis. An occupation is simply a way of earning money. Occupations provide income, social status and personal satisfaction to individuals (Montengna, 1977). The status and style of individuals in the society depends upon their occupation. In rural society, the main occupation of the people is usually agriculture. The data in this regard reveals that the father of majority of the respondents (68.87 per cent) are agriculturists (Table 3.5). About 22 per cent are employed in either government or private sector as teacher, class iv employee and the like. Further, 9.43 per cent of the respondents fathers are in business selling shawls, blankets or dry fruits.

**Table 3.5: Occupation of respondents' fathers**

Occupation	No. of respondents
Agriculture	73(68.87)
Employee	23(21.67)
Business	10(9.43)
Total	106(100.00)

The above data reflects that agriculture is the main occupation of the respondents' families. Some of the respondents' fathers are employed and few of them are in business. It may be either due to lack of opportunities of education or availability of other occupations in the rural areas.

### Family

Family is defined by the social functions it is expected to perform, reproducing and socializing the young, regulating sexual behaviour, acting as a major source of productive work, protecting children and providing



emotional comfort and support for adults serving as a source of ascribed status such as ethnicity and race (Rao, 2004). The family functions appear to play a crucial part in the survival of society in its present form. As societies change, pressure is put on the families to meet these changes and some families do not adopt as well as others.

Although the family has existed in many different forms, it has continued to full-fill societies basic needs for producing and socializing children.

It is evident from the data in Table 3.6 that 63.20 per cent of the respondents hail from nuclear families and 36.80 per cent respondents live in joint family. This shows that joint family system is still prevalent in India especially in the rural areas though their proportion is comparatively less than that of nuclear ones.

**Table 3.6: Family Type of Respondents**

Family Type	No. of Respondent
Joint family	39(36.80)
Nuclear family	67(63.20)
Total	106(100.00)

\* Figures in Parenthesis show percentage.

From the above, it may be concluded that still a good proportion of people living in rural areas believe in joint family system. It may be due to agricultural activities which need many family member and co-operation of family members.

### **Family Size**

Family size is also important factor in the socio-economic analysis. It indicates the number of members in the family of respondents. In the absence of adequate source of income, the large family size becomes a cause of poverty. Family size has also impact on the demand and supply of goods and sequences which are further related to expenditure and income.



Majority of the respondents (51.33 per cent) have family size consisting of 5-7 members (Table 3.7). Those who have 8 to 10 members in their families constitute 32.06 per cent of the respondents. Only 6.61 per cent of the respondents have upto 4 members in their family.

**Table 3.7: Distribution of respondents on the basis of family size**

Family Size	No. of Respondents
Upto 4 members	7(6.61)
5-7 members	65(51.33)
8-10 members	34(32.06)
Total	106(100.00)

\* Figures in parenthesis denote percentage.

However, the exploration of data reveals that the size of family in most of the cases is large in the respondents' family having more than eight members in the family. The size of family may have an influence on the education of children especially girls. More is the size of family members less are the chances of girls' education because the education of girls in poor economic conditions are sacrificed for the sake of boys' education. Poor people are not in a position to educate more than two children so they prefer to educate their sons as compared to the daughters.

### **Conclusion**

The research study has been carried out in the district of Anantnag of state Jammu and Kashmir. The Anantnag district consists of six tehsils which include Anantnag, Shangus, Bijbihara, Pahalgam, Kokernag and Doru. Out of the six tehsils of Anantnag district, tehsil Bijbihara has been selected because of the accessibility and familiarity of the researcher with the area. Tehsil Bijbihara have 57 village; five village have been selected randomly from among the villages of tehsil Bijbihara. The villages which are selected include Marhama, Mehand, Moman, Saller and Srigufwara.



In the selected villages, the total number of enrolled girls in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> class are found to be 607.

Using the proportionate random sampling technique, 100 respondents have been selected and more number of students have been selected from the girls higher secondary school of Saller village keeping in mind that those students might have different attitude from others who are studying in co-educational institutions. Therefore, total number of respondents comes to 106. The data from the selected respondents has been collected with the help a of pre-tested interview schedule which consists of both open and close ended questions. The data thus collected has been first edited and then codified for easy tabulation according to the objectives of the study. Descriptive statistics such as frequency tables and percentages are used to present information in an understandable form.

The socio-economic profile of the respondents family of orientation reveals that majority of the respondents have their parents in the middle age category, for father it is 41 to 46 years and for mother it is 35 to 40 years. The upper caste respondents' i.e Ashraf caste has the highest proportion (85.85 per cent) in the sample followed by backward caste i.e Ajlaf caste. With regard to the education status of the respondents parent, the mother of majority of the respondents are found to be illiterate while respondents' father have pursued education upto middle and higher secondary level. Few of the respondents' father are found to be graduate.

The income distribution shows that the monthly income of respondents' father is limited to as Rs 7000. Large proportion of the respondents father (68.87 per cent) are agriculturists. Only few respondents' father are either employed or in business such as selling shawls, blankets or dry fruits. Nuclear families are better represented than the joint ones. The size of family in most of the cases is large having more



than eight members in the family. From the analysis these variables, it can be made out that the education level in the area is low, income level is low and the major occupation is agriculture. In addition, nuclear families are no doubt, more than the joint one but the size of family is mostly large.

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