

SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN INDIA - II

B.A.(Sociology) – Second Year

Paper Code : BASO1924



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(A Central University)

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SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN INDIA - II

Unit - I

Poverty and Unemployment: Conceptual Debate; Causes; Rural Poverty; Effective Measures in Poverty Alleviation; Unemployment in India, Types, Causes, Consequences, Remedies

Unit - II

Deviance Among Children: Concept of Juvenile Delinquency; Children in Conflict with Law and Children in Need of Care and Protection; Causes and Types of Deviance Among Juveniles ; Preventive Measures; Juvenile Justicesystem

Unit - III

Alcoholism and Drug Addiction: The Concept, Extent of Alcoholism, Causes, Treatment of Alcoholics; Drug Addiction, Causes, Role of Family and Peer Groups, Preventing Drug Abuse and Combating Drugaddicts.

Unit - IV

Problems of Weaker Sections: Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribe, and Backward Castes

Unit - V

Female Infanticide and Foeticide: Female Infanticide – Concept, Causes, Types, Preventive Measures; Female Foeticide, Causes, Consequences, Possible solution.

Unit - VI

Communalism and Secularism: Concept of Communalism, Communal Violencein India; Understanding Secularism in India.

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UNIT - I**Lesson 1.1 - Poverty****Structure**

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1.1.1 Learning Objectives

India, the largest democracy in the world and the fifth largest economy on the planet is also home to the world's largest population of poor. India has more than 363M poor people (as per the Rangarajan Committee) which is more than the entire population of the USA. 50% of it is concentrated in states such as UP, Bihar, Orissa, MP, WB. In this unit, we will attempt to have a more comprehensive understanding of:

- Definition of poverty
- Different measures of poverty
- The difference between Rural & Urban poverty
- The Causes of Poverty
- Previous and future alleviation measures for poverty

1.1.2 Poverty & Unemployment: Conceptual Debate

The causes and effects of poverty & unemployment are often inter-related in such a way that one problem hardly ever occurs alone without the other. To explain the situation further via an example, bad

sanitation makes people more vulnerable to diseases and diseases spread more easily. Similarly, poor people find it more difficult to get employed and unemployed people remain poor for larger periods of time.

The vicious cycle of poverty and unemployment together ensures that there are troubles throughout the life of an individual. These handicaps are even passed on from one generation to another: it is best to refer to them as hereditary plagues. Low incomes and continued unemployment create a situation where kids cannot simply attend school.

When kids do not get the necessary education, they get involved in child labour. When they get involved in child labour, they are more susceptible to transmittable diseases due to lack of basic hygiene. This requires continued treatment and an outflow of the already reduced incomes. Those who never go to school further the argument that hard work is not a very good way to get out of trouble because they have seen their parents fail at the task every single day of their lives. Thus, they are resented to their usual lifestyles.

There are 'individual' theorists of poverty like Spencer, Carnegie, Lane & David Elesh who argue that poverty has an individual basis. It is a personal matter and depends on success and failure of the individual. If a person ends up in poverty, it is only because he is in possession of virtues like being dull or lazy or inefficient. The ideology of individualism believes that poverty is good for the society because it ensures survival of the fittest. Surely, they could not be more wrong when it comes to rural poverty in India. How does an entire family end up in poverty? Is being lazy or dull a disease that is passed on through droplets via air? How do generations after generations end up in poverty? The individual theory of poverty is one of those theories which only touches the surface without going into details and ends up explaining nothing.

Oscar Lewis came up with the conception of culture of poverty in 1959. He maintained that poverty is a type of special culture that passes on hereditarily. The lifestyle of the lower class or the poor is the cause of unending poverty as per this theory. Ryan and Chilman support Oscar Lewis in his endeavor.

The intention behind elaborating these theories is to explain that poverty cannot be understood in solitude without coordinating the relations it has to other social problems like unemployment and social discrimination. In India, everyone apart from the poor themselves look

down upon the poor as a burden on the society. They are humiliated at every instance possible and barely receive any attention for even the most important of their problems. They are often accused of being unreliable and un trust worthy: suspicions often lead the police first to them in case of any thefts/crime and accusations are thrown around without a second thought. This means that the problem of poverty cannot be thrown away from the society unless we get to its roots. And that is exactly what we will attempt to do in this chapter.

1.1.3 Poverty

Humancivilization has seen poverty in myriad forms since ages. The fruits of development have never been equally shared among the various sections of our society. Poverty is thus a universal phenomenon. It is at the same time multi-dimensional: poverty can be economic, political, social as well as cultural.

Poverty however varies as per the existing standards of the society. In some countries which have a much greater per capita income than India (UK, Germany, etc.), people are not poor due to lack of basic necessities of life but rather because there are others with a much higher level of living. A particular amount of earning per month in England would constitute as being poor, while the conversion of same amount into Indian rupees would have vastly different consequences.

Harrington defined poverty as the deprivation of those minimal levels of food, health, housing, education and recreation which are compatible with contemporary technology, beliefs and values in society.

Rein identifies three elements in poverty: subsistence, inequality and externality. Subsistence emphasizes provisions of sufficient resources; inequality compares bottom strata with more privileged while externality focuses on social consequences of relative poverty.

Henry Bernstein (1992) has identified the following dimensions of poverty:

- a. Lack of livelihood strategies
- b. Inaccessibility to resources
- c. Feeling of insecurity and frustrations
- d. Inability to maintain and develop social relations with others as a consequence of lack of resources

1.1.3.1 Measures of Poverty

Poverty lines and poverty ratio have multiple uses: firstly, the correct identification of poor; secondly, allocation of expenditure and resources on anti-poverty programs across states or regions; and thirdly, tracking poverty over time and across regions. Therefore, we cannot move ahead without a detailed understanding about how poverty is measured.

The first study on poverty in India was done by Dadabhai Naoroji who estimated the per capita income in his book “Poverty and Unbritish rule in India” (1871). He showed that India was a poor country in comparison to Britain. Dadabhai estimated the income per capita in 1868 as Rs20. He was followed by Digby (Rs18,1899), Dr.Rao (Rs65,1931) and Government of India (Rs204, 1945 and Rs255, 1948). Even today, India has a very poor per capita income of US\$1900 compared to \$8,870 of UK and \$17,480 of USA.

Poverty can also be measured by “head-count measure” or “Sen’s measure” (concept given by Amartya Sen). One problem with the head count measure is that it gives equal weightage to the marginally poor and the very high poor. They are treated equally when the number of BPL people is expressed in terms of percentage relative to the population of the country. To solve this problem, Sen’s measure calculates the intensity of poverty. **Poverty gap** helps measure how far a person falls below poverty line.

The concept of poverty differs from country to country as minimum standard of living varies. 21.9% of India lives Below Poverty Line as per the latest statistics using the Tendulkar Committee approach. (57th round, NSSO). The estimates vary because UN estimates that 28% live BPL in India. The three important committees set up in India to estimate poverty include:

- a. Alagh Committee (1979) based on minimum calorie intake which was 2400 calories for urban and 2100 calories for rural
- b. Tendulkar Committee (2001) based on minimum expenditure which was Rs.27 a day for rural (25%) and Rs.33 a day for urban (13.7%): This roughly translates to Rs 816 for rural areas and Rs1000 a month for urban areas
- c. Rangarajan Committee (2014) increased the parameters and set it at Rs972 a month for rural areas (30.9%) and Rs1407 a month

for urban areas (26.4%). The government has however not taken a final call on this report and today's estimates are still as per the suggestions by Tendulkar committee.

1.1.3.2 Rural Poverty

As per estimates by the Tendulkar committee, of the 269.3 million poor people in 2011-12 in India, 216.5 million are in rural areas and the remaining 52.8 million in urban areas. The expert committee headed by former RBI governor C. Rangarajan put the number of poor people at 363 million, with 260.5 million in rural areas and 102.5 million in urban areas.

Rural poverty is characterized by a number of features which are different from urban poverty. While rural poverty is characterized by high levels of adult illiteracy, and lack of infrastructure or resources (27% villages have banks with a 5km radius) and remains submerged in agriculture (65% involved), urban poverty is more concerned with absence of hygienic sanitation and competition for limited resources.

In urban areas, Relative poverty takes precedence over absolute poverty, problems of tenancy are more severe and there is a much higher crime rate emanating from urban areas. There is also wastage on a large scale as compared to little or none in rural households. On the whole, the middle and upper classes are greatly responsible for the fast depletion of natural resources, as well as the production of toxic and non-toxic wastes.

While some may argue that there is a link between global poverty and worsening environmental conditions, it is quite the opposite in urban and rural areas. The poor along with their kids actually try to recycle, reuse and resell whatever useful they can find in the garbage and this brings them into constant contact with materials detrimental to health. They eventually help the society in getting rid of that garbage but are never given the credit for it.

An important component in rural poverty are the children who barely have any choice when faced with it. They do not have the ability to change anything that is happening to them. There isn't much that they can do to help any members of their families. In an ideal case scenario, they shouldn't have to do anything either because that is something beyond their reach. In most rural families however, as soon as the kids are able

to stand on their two feet by the age of five or six: they are employed in various small paying jobs despite child labor being completely banned.

They are faced with discrimination and social exclusion from a very early stage in their life. This widespread discrimination forces them to showcase more aggressiveness as a coping mechanism. There is a lack of control while reacting to any stressful events, and they usually follow what has been going on for decades. The continuous experience of having been taken advantage of in early childhood ensures that they never find a constructive way to deal with such stressful situations. As they grow up over the years, such behavior becomes more and more entrenched in their psyche: and they can never recover to their original identities.

The nutritional approach to poverty is more relevant for rural poverty than the relative deprivation one. In the case of nutritional approach, poverty is calculated in terms of consumption of calories of food. For rural areas, the recommended calories per person per day is 2400. People who are unable to get the bare minimum due to low income are referred to as being 'below poverty line'. Below poverty line (BPL) is however nowadays measured in terms of economical statistics. A result which is common across countries and continents is that people living BPL is more in rural areas than the urban ones.

In short, poverty across rural areas can be characterized as 'absolute' poverty. Because this is so common, there is less media coverage in rural areas even for the most distressing pieces of news. Because they assume that it's the usual outcome from such areas, and it is nothing sensational to report about. For the very same reasons, it appears as if the life of a rural person has less value than that of one living in an urban locality. On average, the poor lives shorter than the rich is something that has been internalized by most of us including the media. Therefore, the death or the harassment or torture of rural poor barely receives media attention.

However, many including Dandekar & Rath argue that the urban poor of India are only an overflow of the rural poor. They migrate to the cities or towns in search of better employment opportunities, and subsequent generations settle there itself.

1.1.3.3 Causes

At the outset it should be made clear that there is no single factor which can itself account for poverty.

Gillin & Gillin divided the causes of poverty into five categories. We are going to be following their broad categorization in this chapter.

a. **Incapacity of the individual**

This includes hereditary weakness of the individual or one that is a result of accident/disease such as being blind, deaf, mentally deficient or disordered. Due to lack of work, a major portion of their income is spent on curing one disease. Poverty and sickness form a vicious partnership in the words of Hunter.

Illiteracy is also one of the reasons for poverty: people are incapable of being employed for most work. They therefore have to be dependent on others.

b. **Adverse physical environment**

Adverse climatic conditions fall under this category. Lack of rain or too much rain in India often spoils the entire agricultural product and causes heavy losses. The farmers are unable to repay their debts and caught in a vicious cycle. Moreover, sometimes basic raw materials are not available.

c. **Economic factors**

This categorically refers to the uneven distribution of wealth. The trickle-down effect is yet to work in India where national growth has not benefitted a vast majority of population. Their income has barely risen: it is only inflation that has been increasing.

Henry George talks about how the ownership of land leads to monopoly and poverty on extreme scales.

As per Malthus, increasing population itself is a cause of poverty because population increases in geometric progression while food can only accumulate arithmetic progression. This is especially true in rural villages where it is impossible for families to find bread for too many children (6-8).

d. Defects in Social Organization

They vary from society to society depending on the internal organization: the caste system in India is a worthy example. Some people are destined to be poor solely because of the occupations that are available to them to be recruited into. They cannot possibly have a luxuriant form of living by being a barber or a cobbler in one small village.

Customs and traditions also contribute to poverty. In India, the vast majority of people do not use birth control methods because they consider children as the Gift of God. This fatalistic attitude leads to backwardness and low standard of living.

Karl Marx, a vehement critique of the capitalist mode of production, also attempts to bring to light a defective organization where workers are exploited to produce the surplus value and pushed into poverty.

Moreover, there are just defective social instances which push people into poverty. For example, **colonization**: when the British forcefully shut down all the cottage industries in the country so as to ensure that their finished products are bought by all: they brought about widespread poverty throughout the country. This was no fault of the common people because despite wanting to work and having the requisite raw materials, they were forced not to.

e. War or Natural disasters

Due to war, many of the strong & active individuals are killed. Moreover, a general invasion of inflation affects the world. For example, the recent Russia Ukraine war has led to oil prices and wheat prices rising across the world. Thus, the value of what could be bought with a certain amount of money decreases thereby pushing people into further poverty.

This was previously seen in many nations of Europe post the two World Wars that took place. After being faced by devastating wars, most people were forced to live in poverty and barely survived on donations and charity. Similarly post the earthquakes that occurred recently in Syria and Turkey, the country can only survive based on aid money after the damage to infrastructure, poverty and people that it has faced.

1.1.3.4 Poverty Alleviation Programs

Over the years emphasis has been given on poverty alleviation programs which basically aim at improving the condition of poor and downtrodden. The government had three approaches or types of policies regarding the same, which are as follows: -

1. GROWTH ORIENTED APPROACH (Initiated from the first five-year plan)

- It was based on the expectation that effects of economic growth would spread to all sections of the society and will trickle down to the poor also. It was hoped that rapid industrial development and transformation of agriculture through green revolution would be beneficial to all sections of society.
- Land was redistributed along with abolition of zamindari system and land ceiling act. The Land ceiling Act fixed a specified limit of land, which could be owned by an individual in order to avoid concentration of land in few hands.
- Infrastructure building was focused upon, and industrial housing schemes were introduced for workers.

However, all of this proved to be ineffective for the following reasons: First of all, the incessant population growth resulted in very low growth in per capita income. The Green revolution intensified the disparities regionally and between large and small farmers instead of reducing them. There was unwillingness and inability to redistribute land for political and bureaucratic reasons. Benefits did not trickle down to the real poor. Due to its ineffectiveness, policymakers adopted a new scheme of action explained below.

2. POVERTY ALLEVIATION PROGRAMMES APPROACH (Initiated from the third five-year plan)

- It has continuously been progressively enlarged since: this approach preferred balanced urban growth, a better slum environment and promoted smaller towns. It focused on growth with stability and greater self-reliance as a fall out of the wars with Pakistan & China.

- There were two types of programs that were initiated under it: -
 - a. Self-employment programs (Included Rural employment generation programs, Prime Ministers Rozgar Yojana, Swarna Jayanti Sehri Rozgar Yojana, etc.)
 - b. Wage employment programs (Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana, MGNREGA)
- 3. MINIMUM NEEDS APPROACH (Initiated from the fifth five-year plan)
 - The 5th plan (1974-79) for the 1st time actually addressed the issue of removal of poverty as a prime objective. It was now realized that growth by itself was not sufficient to address issues of poverty. Therefore, the 6th plan made a frontal attack soon after Late Smt Indira Gandhi gave the slogan – “Garibi Hatao”.
 - It marked a transformation to allocating resources in the economy for welfare orientation focus on poverty alleviation. It aimed to provide minimum basic amenities. India became one among the pioneers in the world to visualize that people’s living standard could be improved through public expenditure on social consumptions needs.
 - Under this, programs were introduced to supplement the consumption of the poor, create employment opportunities and bring improvement in both their health and education.
 - Public distribution system; integrated child development scheme; midday meal scheme all come under this approach.

The government had followed directed planning until 6th plan. From then onwards, indicative planning started by pointing which sectors require investments from private sector in terms of priorities so that the government could focus more and more on social justice and equity. The 7th plan brought the Urban Basic Services program (USBP), which for the 1st time explicitly talked about Urban poor. The 8th plan introduced the Nehru Rozgar Yojna (NRY). 9th plan merged UBSP with NRY to form the Swarna Jayanti Sehri Rozgar Yojna (SSRY). VAMBAY (Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojna) was launched during the 10th plan apart from Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission and Integrated Housing & Slum Development Program. All these missions gave a time frame for poverty reduction and set ambitious targets. (For example, a reduction from 26-21% by 2007). During the 12th plan, National Urban Livelihood mission replaced SSRY.

Several other schemes which have been undertaken by the government to reduce incidence of poverty include:

- A. Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act which was suggested by Jean Dreze, the Belgian economist: It assures 100 days of work per year, or promises to pay 1/3rd of daily wage if it is unable to find a job within 15 days.
- B. National Nutrition Mission/Poshan Abhiyaan under Ministry of Women & Child Development specially for girls between 0-6 years, pregnant and lactating women.
- C. Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojna (PMJDY) which was started in 2014 reached 38 crore accounts by 2020. It offers overdraft facility of Rs 10,000 and an accidental insurance cover of 2 lakhs. It is a part of the larger JAM trinity (Aadhar+Mobile) which represent Direct Benefit Transfer, and could be a part of future Universal Basic Income scheme.
- D. PM Shram Yogi Man-Dhan (2019) under Ministry of Labor & Employment is a pension scheme on a 50:50 basis.
- E. PM Ujjwala Yojna under Ministry of Petroleum & Natural Gas for Below Poverty Line families provides them with free LPG connection, Rs 1600 apart from preventing pollution and promoting a healthy atmosphere.
- F. Jan Shiksha Sansthan (1967) under Ministry of Skill Development & Entrepreneurship works on improving life skills of migrants who move to urban areas from rural places
- G. National Food Security Act provides Ration card to eldest female only to promote a more gender equal society. Children from the age of 6 months up to 14 years are given rationed or cooked food. Moreover, households are given 5kg food grains at subsidized prices (Rs 3 rice, Rs 2 wheat, Rs 1 coarse grains)
- H. Street Vendors Atma Nir Bhar Nidhi under the aegis of the Ministry of Housing & Urban Affairs is a micro credit facility launched to empower street vendors to recover losses incurred during the Covid-19 pandemic

Today, the government as a true representative of a mixed economy and follows three-pronged strategy which is a combination of all of the above 3 approaches:

1. Broad Targeting- Government undertakes ambitious programs for overall and comprehensive development of all the poor of the country.

Ex- MGNREGA

2. Narrow Targeting- Government introduces schemes only for select audience.

Ex- National Urban Livelihoods Mission

3. Social Security Schemes

Ex- National Nutrition Mission, PMJDY, Atal Pension Yojna

1.1.3.5 The Road Ahead

Despite valiant efforts which have brought poverty from about 70% at independence to about 22% in 2011-12 (last Census), there still remains a lot of work to be done. The overall criticism about the same could be summarized in the following few points:

1. The question has never been about intention or political will but rather the implementation of the said policies or programs that have been undertaken.
2. Lack of proper identification of the beneficiaries is a problem that has never been solved satisfactorily. There's always a class of people who seem to usurp the benefits meant for much more deserving sections.
3. Lack of awareness of the government schemes among the poor and the illiterate is another factor. Moreover, many of the schemes and their objectives overlap thus confusing the already confused.
4. Since the beginning of the story of independent India, there has been one constant, i.e., the absence of any monitoring mechanism to measure the efficacy or the end result of the schemes or for tracking the outcomes.
5. The overlapping of the many schemes which was talked about earlier as wellbring about diffused focus and accountability at different levels.

The following steps need to be given a serious thought for better and more targeted action to rise above poverty:

1. There should be regular & independent social audits for plugging leakages and improving delivery of schemes.
2. The deployment of modern technology to create a digital database and a tracking mechanism to reach target group is mandatory.
3. Schemes must be refined in future to avoid overlapping: Social registry provides one such option. It is a dynamic information system which ensures better inclusion of intended beneficiaries as well as coordination among welfare various programs. This initiative has already been undertaken in many countries. Chile, Brazil and Turkey lead the list in terms of implementation of the social registry. India is not far behind: systems close to social registry are being implemented in states like Madhya Pradesh (Samagra) and Rajasthan (Bhimashah).

Social registry will be very important to ensure the elimination of poverty in India. It would be highly useful for policymakers to make decisions based on evidence by identifying trends and intervention hotspots to ensure that public officials can be directed more constructively.

4. Adoption of the “cluster approach” is a serious possibility: It should start with the implementation of schemes in most backward villages, and then transfer the onus of further development onto villages and then move onto the next cluster. This will lead to fundamental changes as the needs of the villages would get assessed first, and this would enable the government to acquire a better understanding of resources required for each concerned village.
5. Universal Basic Income could also be looked upon as one of the options, while controlling the population growth could be the panacea to many ills.
6. Use of the Global Multidimensional Poverty Measure which gives other factors more importance than just income and is better suited at identifying poverty than the BPL approach. It will provide a more complete picture and even better identification of which aspects of poverty reduction are improving and which aren't. Launched in 2010 by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (OPHI), it covers more than 100 developing countries. The index ranges from 0 to 1. A higher score indicates higher incidence of poverty. It tracks deprivation across three dimensions and 10 indicators with each of the following dimensions having 2/6 weightage:

- i. Education: Years of schooling and child enrollment
- ii. Health: Child mortality and nutrition
- iii. Standard of living: Electricity, flooring, drinking water, sanitation, cooking fuel and assets

To realize the gravity of the situation, we must always remind ourselves that every third poor person in the world is an Indian. In 1990, VP Singh Govt waived off loans worth Rs10,000 crores, and again in 2010, another scheme waived off Rs50,000 crores. The government and the people who decide who comes to power need to realize that such stunts are just political gimmicks which are producing no actual favorable or sustainable outcome, much similar to 1995 being declared as 'The Year for Poverty Eradication' (8th SAARC Summit)

But credit should be given where its due. Global Multi-dimensional Poverty Index (MPI) 2018 promotes India's story as a successful one and gives space to India in a separate chapter. It points out that India has made tremendous progress in reducing the instances of multidimensional poverty. Multidimensional poverty was almost halved between the years of 2005/06 and 2015/16 (down to 27.5%): this was only possible due to progress being the fastest among the poorest. Within these ten years, the number of poor people in India fell by more than 271 million – a truly massive gain with global implications. NITI Aayog constituting a Multidimensional Poverty Index Coordination Committee (MPICC) with technical experts from OPHI and UNDP and the creation of a MPI Parameter Dashboard to rank States and UTs are steps being taken in the right direction.

Bihar, Jharkhand and Uttar Pradesh emerged as the poorest states in India, according to Niti Aayog's 1st Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI). 51.91 per cent population of Bihar is poor, followed by 42.16 per cent in Jharkhand and 37.79 per cent in Uttar Pradesh. Madhya Pradesh (36.65 per cent) has been placed fourth in the index and Meghalaya (32.67 per cent) is at the fifth spot. Kerala (0.71 per cent), Goa (3.76 per cent), Sikkim (3.82 per cent), Tamil Nadu (4.89 per cent) and Punjab (5.59 per cent) have the lowest poverty rates.

Bihar has the highest number of malnourished people. Bihar was also the worst performer when in terms of percentage of population deprived of maternal health, years of schooling, school attendance and cooking fuel and electricity. While Uttar Pradesh was ranked the worst

in the child and adolescent mortality category, Jharkhand performed the worst in terms of percentage of population deprived of sanitation.

Poverty in general is a very dangerous component in the society that has the capability to destabilize entire countries. In the Arab Spring, the revolts initially started because of poverty and lack of jobs but it eventually led to most governments being completely overthrown. We need to address it in its entirety as soon as possible. Debates around poverty measurement need to be let go of and it must be understood that measurements only help to make a general notion about tracking poverty in a better manner: there is no right or wrong.

In general, and especially after the corona pandemic, it has come to light that poverty is more than just about hunger or income: it also includes sanitation, space for social distancing, quality healthcare, education to avoid fearmongering and adequate nutrition and savings to sustain livelihood for long periods of time. The new reality is that poverty includes anything and everything that prevents an individual or family from accepting the opportunities being thrown open by an ever-expanding economy.

1.1.3.6 Summary

To begin with, we learnt about how poverty has existed since times immemorial. While it has been a universal phenomenon, there have been differing instances of it across societies. We then read about the definitions of poverty as visualized by Harrington, Rein & Bernstein. Poverty can be measured in different ways. In India, the Alagh Committee (1979), Tendulkar Committee (2001) and the Rangarajan Committee saw to this purpose. We then found out that Rural poverty is characterized by a number of features which are different from urban poverty with special emphasis on the role of children in it. It gave us a better understanding of 'relative' and 'absolute' poverty. We further delved into the causes of poverty as proposed by Gillin & Gillin: Individual incapacity, Physical environment, Economic reasons, Wars, Defects in Social Organization. We elaborately studied about the three different approaches undertaken by the Indian government since Independence: Growth oriented, Poverty alleviation program approach and the minimum needs approach. A list of schemes undertaken by the government was also outlined, and a path ahead for better results was jotted down.

1.1.3.7 Keywords

- Per Capita Income
Measures the average income by an individual throughout the year in a particular area/country. It is one of the most important attributes that helps us in ascertaining the quality of livelihood of people
- Trickle Down Effect
It refers to the economic policy wherein it is assumed that the benefits/incentives provided to the higher echelons of the society will eventually be passed onto the lower strata, and result in benefits for all
- Vicious cycle
A cycle of negative problems where one problem aggravates the other and vice versa. Thus, it becomes a complex chain which is endlessly repeated
- Census
A complete official survey that gathers data about the entire population of a region or a country. It is done periodically by the government and the evaluation of this data is useful for multiple purposes
- Audits
Unbiased financial examination that ensures that the accounts of a company/business comply with all legal requirements, and are in sound health. It is usually done by independent bodies for accurate findings
- Universal Basic Income
A form of income which is provided to all citizens of a nation: unconditionally and periodically. It is a social welfare program to help them sustain a bare minimum level of support
- Panacea
A long-term remedy for multiple problems
- Gimmicks
Actions with dishonest intentions that serve no other purpose except attracting attention or appeal of the general public

➤ Waive off

To give up or forego something that you have a deserved right to:
In the context of loans, the lender has relinquished the desire to recollect the amount due to them and the borrower is no longer under the obligation to pay it back

1.1.3.8 Self Assessment Questions

1. Who conducted the first study on poverty in India?
2. Name the three important committees which have been set up in India till date for poverty estimation.
3. Explain in short, the three approaches that have been undertaken by the Indian government since independence towards the alleviation of poverty.
4. Name two recent schemes which have been undertaken by the government to reduce incidence of poverty in urban and rural areas.
5. Critically analyze the problems that have plagued the poverty reduction schemes, and suggest measures that could be undertaken towards solving the same.

The following are a few statements based on what has been entailed in the chapter so far.

Fill in the blanks with suitable words.

1. Swarna Jayanti Sehri Rozgar Yojana was a ----- program
2. VAMBAY (Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojna), Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission and Integrated Housing & Slum Development Program were launched during the ----- five-year plan
3. Today, the government follows a ----- approach towards poverty alleviation
4. Lack of ----- of the government schemes among the poor and the illiterate has always been a problem
5. Global Multidimensional Poverty Measure tracks deprivation across -----dimensions and 10 indicators

ANSWERS:

1. Self-employment, 2. 10th, 3. Mixed/three pronged, 4. Awareness
5. Three

Lesson 1.2 - Unemployment

Structure

- 1.2.1 Learning Objectives
- 1.2.2 Unemployment
 - 1.2.2.1 Types
 - 1.2.2.2 Causes
 - 1.2.2.3 Consequences
 - 1.2.2.4 Remedies
 - 1.2.2.5 Summary
 - 1.2.2.6 Keywords
 - 1.2.2.7 Self-assessment Questions
- 1.2.3 References

1.2.1 Learning Objectives

In this following unit, we will learn about the following:

- Types of Unemployment
- Subjective & Objective causes of Unemployment
- Consequences of unemployment
- Remedies for Unemployment

1.2.2 Unemployment

Unemployment generally refers to the absence of work despite the desire to do it. It is a common phenomenon seen across many jobs and interviews. Out of the several hundred candidates who are interviewed, only a few get the job. Even in the best cases, the number of candidates selected account for barely 10% of the ones applying for the job while the rest have to go back dejected despite contributing years of their life into it.

Sergeant Florence defines unemployment as the “idleness of the persons able to work”.

As per **Karl Pibram**, “unemployment is a condition of the labor market in which the supply of labor power is greater than the number of available openings”.

As Professor Pigou rightly pointed out, we should make the mistake of including those who do not want to work while defining unemployment. We also cannot include the sick or the men who are out on a strike. Unemployment by definition refers to something that is involuntary. When we do not decide to be unemployed but rather the opposite is when we can actually be considered as unemployed. It is in fact quite difficult to measure unemployment because sometimes qualified persons accept work which does not provide them with the income that persons with their qualifications actually deserve.

As per the latest data from the Centre for Monitoring Indian Economy (CMIE), the urban unemployment rate slipped to 8.55% in January 2023 while the rural unemployment rate stands at 6.48%. If we look into the data provided by the International Labor Organization, the overall unemployment rate in India stands at 6% in percentage of total labor force. The female unemployment rate stands at 4.5% while the male unemployment rate currently stands at 6.3%. The exact state wise unemployment rate can be found below as per January 2023 data from the CMIE with Jammu & Kashmir leading the line at 21.8% and Haryana & Rajasthan not far behind.

| States | January 2023 |
|------------------|--------------|
| Andhra Pradesh | 5.5 |
| Assam | 16.1 |
| Bihar | 11.9 |
| Chhattisgarh | 0.5 |
| Delhi | 16.7 |
| Goa | 16.2 |
| Gujarat | 2.4 |
| Haryana | 21.7 |
| Himachal Pradesh | 10.0 |
| Jammu & Kashmir | 21.8 |
| Jharkhand | 13.8 |
| Karnataka | 3.4 |
| Kerala | 6.7 |

| | |
|----------------|------|
| Madhya Pradesh | 1.9 |
| Maharashtra | 5.5 |
| Meghalaya | 2.6 |
| Odisha | 1.5 |
| Puducherry | 5.3 |
| Punjab | 6.8 |
| Rajasthan | 21.1 |
| Sikkim | 2.4 |
| Tamil Nadu | 1.8 |
| Telangana | 5.3 |
| Tripura | 16.0 |
| Uttar Pradesh | 4.2 |
| Uttarakhand | 2.2 |
| West Bengal | 5.0 |

1.2.2.1 Types of Unemployment

The various types of unemployment can be categorized as:

a. Seasonal unemployment

In the *Rural Economy of Bombay* by Keatings, he elaborates on how a cultivator in the state of Maharashtra works for 180-190 days on an average. In the *Rural Economy of India*, RK Mukherjee opines that a cultivator works for 200 days at the maximum in a year. Multiple examples could be given regarding the same: the sugar industry in India is one of the finest among them. There are such occasions when work is available only during a particular time frame. Thus, for the rest of the year, the worker remains unemployed. In villages, this leads to people leading a life which is of a more migratory character.

b. Cyclical unemployment

At certain times of the year, certain activity requires more or less a large labor force to deal with the additional burden of work. Therefore, at times the employers employ a large reserve surplus of labor who eventually become unemployed once the period of flourishing activity subsides.

In general, throughout the world, we have come across the scenario where multiple IT companies are reducing or downsizing their staff post the pandemic era (hired more and more people to work from home because of need for making the best use of technology). Similarly, during wars, more armed personnel are recruited but as soon as the situation stabilizes, large armies are demobilized.

c. **Disguised unemployment**

When the existing work being done by a large number of workers, can be done even with the withdrawal of many of them, it is termed as disguised unemployment. The contribution such removed workers was thus close to none.

d. **Technological unemployment**

With advancement in technology, some of the work around industries has come to be fully automated, or in the best case, they do not require as many people to control the machines as they needed for manual labor. This virtual automation is also one of the types of unemployment. Advancement of new technologies has continuously displaced human labor. The recent invention of the ChatGPT is a threat to many working individuals.

e. **Involuntary unemployment**

Lord Keynes gave this concept which is sometimes also referred to as **underemployment**. Sometimes, people are forced to accept a cut in their wages due to certain reasons. While they may not be aware of it, this is also a source of unemployment where they are working under conditions that they would not in ideal conditions if there was free competition in the market. They are offering their services way below the price that they deserve for it. They are in essence doing inferior jobs while they have the capacity and qualifications of better paying jobs. This case only arises due to insufficiency of available work.

f. **Voluntary unemployment**

Voluntary unemployment occurs when a person willingly withdraws himself/herself from work. An example could be when he quarrels with the employer or goes on an absentee strike. This happens due to the desire of the person who could no longer be willing to work on the prevalent or prescribed wages.

g. **Sudden unemployment**

In many cases, a factory or a business may have to be shut down for various causes. For example, dispute among the partners or consecutive/huge losses. The introduction of better competition at cheaper prices also leads to changes in the market. At times, some products may even go out of use. Since the coming of the UPI system in India, innumerable mobile recharge shops have been shut down because we can recharge our SIMs sitting in the comfort of our homes by ourselves.

1.2.2.2 Causes

For clarity, we will follow Chapman's division of the causes into two sub headings: **subjective and objective**. The subjective factors are as follows:

a. **PERSONAL**

Elliot & Merrill have further mentioned the following under personal causes:

i. **Age Factor**

Young graduates who have fairly recently completed their education find difficulty in getting jobs because of their lack of experience. On the other end of the table, workers over the age of fifty have a very high incidence of unemployment among them as well due to their lack of adaptability and lesser vigor/enthusiasm towards production.

ii. **Vocational Factor**

Some candidates are unfit owing to their lack of requisite training for the job that they aim to be recruited in. Moreover, there may at times be more people than a particular job can accommodate: when the demand is less than the supply, many are left behind. Many capable men are available, and thus some tend to be underpaid as well.

iii. **Illness**

This factor includes physical and mental deficiencies of the workers. Physical disabilities do not always have to there before a man starts working, they may also come in due course of time. For example, industrial accidents often lead to many losing limbs or

certain abilities that could keep them employed. A minor tremor in the hand could debar you from using many machineries in the common industries. Such fatal incidents leave many workers permanently disabled.

The objective factors as follows:

a. **Rising growth of population**

An increasing labor force requires the creation of new job opportunities at the same rate. However, the rate of job expansion has never been at the same pace. The increasing population also ending up reducing the resources required for capital formation. Many resources including land are finite on earth: it is constant, therefore, the pressure of plot of land only keeps on increasing with which it is unable to cope up. Becoming the most populated country in the world doesn't augur well for India atleast with respect to unemployment.

b. **Faulty education system**

Defective & degree-oriented education causes irreparable damage. In rural areas the rate of literacy is yet to be up to the mark. No single individual or village can be blamed for this. This is a national phenomenon that is common to most rural areas with few exceptions.

c. **Defective social system**

The caste system restricts mobility due to the hereditary nature of the occupation. This ensures that even deserving individuals do not get to showcase their talent at appropriate places.

d. **Geographical immobility**

At times, there is surplus labor in one place and inadequate labor in another place. But if people do not migrate from one region to another, this cannot be taken advantage of. This could happen for multiple reasons. Firstly, there maybe a lack of information regarding the job availability in the specified areas. Secondly, there could be language barriers which could prevent the person from being employed. There could also be familial responsibilities and such other reasons behind the choice to not move from the present place.

1.2.2.3 Consequences

Unemployment could lead to disorganization at various levels: personal, family and community disorganization.

a. **Personal disorganization**

The outlook towards life of a person sometimes changes temporarily or permanently due to unemployment. It more or less weakens his ambitions, makes him/her feel helpless and saps away his will power and strength to start over again or give it his all. Self-doubts creep in and this destroys his capacity for sustained productivity.

The young often become disillusioned. They take a liking to morally wrong means and become delinquent. This starts at home where their behavior is more likely to be irritable and cynical at the same time. When moral values are deserted, they become rebels. With the exhaustion of savings and denial of credits, some may resort to stealing to get by. The worst cases could also end up in suicide or in becoming a part of the smuggling or drug trafficking rackets.

b. **Family disorganization**

Due to unemployment, families have to resort to limited diet without essential minerals and nutrients. The inability to pay for ordinary medical care also comes into the picture. While members of responsible families do not resort to stealing, they have to inevitably borrow cash or goods to ensure bread for their family. Gold/silver ornaments have to be mortgaged and other such valuable items have to be sold.

Sometimes, out of desperation when school fees can no longer be afforded, children are forced to drop out of educational centers and made to work in lowly paid jobs for subsistence. The fights/tensions often arise between husband and wife or parents and children. Sometimes, a husband with conservative values wants his wife to refrain from working despite being unemployed and this has long lasting repercussions for the family. Tremendous conflicts may even arise when wife doesn't want to work leaving the child in the care of the husband.

c. **Community disorganization**

Those who are unemployed may at times become a threat to the society. Finding no other viable modes of income, they become

part of organized crime groups. This ultimately leads to greater burden on the society as a whole because police will need to work longer hours with the same wages. There will be more cases of hospitalization owing to gang wars and attacks on ordinary citizens.

Scenes of family disputes in disorganized are not uncommon. When there is no continued source of income, the hereditary property is looked upon by all members and this more often than not leads to disastrous consequences.

1.2.2.4 Remedies

The goal is to look for measures that have long lasting results and we must not be satisfied with short term measures. Following are some of the measures that should be adopted to alleviate the problem of unemployment:

a. Requisite Health services

In order to ensure that the worker can return to work as shortly as possible, it is necessary to provide him with medical facilities at a nominal or free cost. This will on the other hand ensure that his family doesn't suffer from lack of income for long periods.

Similarly, those who are suffer from disabilities owing to industrial mishaps should be properly compensated apart from being given free treatment so that they can work again.

b. Technical Institutes

Training of young individuals is equally important as their education. Without adequate training in real life scenarios, a large population will remain unemployed and under fed along with being susceptible to diseases. Most companies today are unwilling to take on individuals who do not have experience: therefore, apprenticeship programs are the order of the day.

c. Non-contributory pensions & Unemployment assistance

The state is slowly but surely moving away from the old pension scheme. The newer pension scheme brought in by the Government of India requires you to put in a part from your earnings so that it could be later encashed by you. However, this is impossible for many jobs where individuals earn the bare minimum to normally get by.

Social security schemes are yet to be mandatory and therefore many jobs do not even have the option of contributory options. Recently for the FY 2023-24, the budget allocation for MGNREGA was reduced: this appears to be a mistake that could drown us in the nadirs of unemployment.

Rather, unemployment assistance and minimum wages should have increased in an ideal world. No doubt this will be a noble endeavor. But the economic and fiscal cost of the program cannot be ignored. Perhaps, a better way to do it would be to set time limits for unemployment benefits.

d. Effective family planning measures

Despite the total fertility rate having come down a lot since independence, there is still a long way to go. The use of contraceptives for both men and women are very low in India. The importance of small and nuclear families is lost on the vast majority of people who need to be better informed.

To conclude, an effort towards successful nation building should shift from nationalism to building a society where there is an environment that nurtures all. This will enable the citizens to develop and make the best use of all of their skills.

They can then express their full potential and participate in the improvement of the society as a whole. An enabling and empowering society will represent and act according to a common set of values.

A satisfactory solution has eluded the policy planners but it cannot be long before we reach the place we truly desire to be in as a nation.

1.2.2.5 Summary

To start with this unit, we learnt about what constitutes unemployment. We then elaborately discussed the various types of unemployment: seasonal, disguised, technological, voluntary, involuntary and sudden unemployment with ample examples for each one of them. We further moved to understand in detail what constitutes the subjective and objective causes behind unemployment. Subjective ones included personal factors like age, vocation and disease.

Objective factors were attributed to the rising population, and the defective education and social system. The consequences of unemployment were deeply entrenched into the society at personal, family and community levels of disorganization. Last but not the least, we attempted to look for the remedies of unemployment starting from health services and population policies to the increase in the number of technical institutes and non-contributory pension schemes.

1.2.2.6 Keywords

➤ Surplus Labor

In the context of the chapter, it refers to people who are additional to the actual number of people required to work at a given point of time. This is not to be confused with the concept of surplus labor by Karl Marx wherein it refers to the additional value that a laborer produces above the value of what he/she is being paid for (the wage)

➤ Automation

The process of producing a product in a manufacturing facility or similar apparatus with minimal human intervention

➤ Mortgage

In simple words, it is an agreement between the lender and borrower wherein the borrower borrows money/cash in exchange for a security deposit (usually property). The deal gives the lender the right to take over the property in case of failure of payment

➤ Apprenticeship

The process by which young people are recruited under a certified expert to learn the skills required for a particular job or trade in a fixed period of time

1.2.2.7 Self Assessment Questions

1. What are the various types of unemployment?
2. Elaborate on the personal causes of unemployment
3. Describe in brief the consequences of unemployment in terms of family disorganization.
4. What is the role of technical training institutes in alleviation of unemployment?

Fill in the blanks using appropriate words:

1. ----- unemployment occurs when a person willingly withdraws himself/herself from work
2. Young graduates find difficulty in getting jobs because of their lack of -----
3. The ----- is an example of a defective social system in India
4. Unemployment leads to disorganization at various levels: personal, family and -----
5. Illness factor of unemployment includes ----- deficiencies of the workers

Answers:

1. Voluntary
2. Experience
3. Caste System
4. Community
5. Physical and mental

1.2.3 References

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UNIT - II**Lesson 2.1 - Juvenile Delinquency****Structure**

- 2.1 Learning objectives
 - 2.1.1 Concept
 - 2.1.2 Children in conflict with law
 - 2.1.3 Children in need of care and protection
 - 2.1.4 Causes of deviance
 - 2.1.5 Types of deviance
 - 2.1.6 Preventive measures
 - 2.1.7 Juvenile justice system
 - 2.1.8 Summary
 - 2.1.9 Keywords
 - 2.1.10 Self-assessment Questions
 - 2.1.11 References

2.1 Learning Objectives

No child is born a criminal. All children are innocent, and if raised properly are the greatest asset that a nation can ever have. At a tender age, they are nothing less than the 'Gift of God'. They are the future leaders who lay the foundation stage towards the increase in national wealth.

The Latin word 'delinquere' means to leave or abandon with 'de' meaning away and 'quere' meaning to leave. The correct combination of love, affection and rebuke, punishment is the ultimate meal for a child to grow. As the child grows in size, age and maturity, the physical punishment has to be replaced with discussions and advice.

The modern-day world has seen a multitude of problems, and new ones keep arising with the passing years. Juvenile delinquency is one of those problematic aspects that requires our utmost attention. Changing family patterns and a sweeping wave of urbanization together with globalization has made conditions more favorable for the growth of this form of deviance. The number of children affected by it has been on the rise for decades now.

It is not that juvenile delinquency used to be non-existent in the country altogether before. But the truth is that a combination of the traditional joint family norms, self-sustaining village culture and normative social control offered served as a kind of a preventive/mitigative check on the increase of delinquency in the past. Moreover, without serious legal initiatives to look into the same, a particular number could never have been ascertained. This has only been possible in the later stages.

In this unit, we will attempt to have a more comprehensive understanding of:

- Definition of juvenile delinquency
- The causes of juvenile delinquency
- Different types of juvenile delinquency
- Preventive measures for juvenile delinquency

2.1.1 Concept of Juvenile Delinquency

Cyril Burt has defined delinquency in the following manner, "When the anti-social tendencies of a child appear so grave that he becomes or ought to become the subject of official action." William H Sheldon terms delinquency as "behavior disappointing beyond reasonable expectations." C.B. Mamoria quotes juvenile delinquency as, "any kind of deviant behavior of children which violates normative rules, understanding or expectations of social system".

As we can note, some of these definitions have been made too wide to incorporate almost every slight misbehavior that is performed by a juvenile while others have specifically pointed out only those aspects which amount to a criminal offence. The 2nd UN Congress on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders (1960) makes a notable point: If juvenile delinquency is defined as per the criminal law in each country, no universal definition can ever be made. This is because there is huge variation in the criminal laws made by different countries. Leave apart countries, some criminal laws vary within states in large countries such as India and the United States of America.

If we set aside misbehavior, juvenile delinquency refers to any act which if committed by an adult would amount to a crime. Thus, there is only the legalistic definition that is considered a satisfactory one. Now, there is a general notion that majority of the cases of juvenile delinquents

come from families which generally fall in the lower sections of the society (under privileged groups). However, this may also be because of the fact that they lack the necessary financial or cultural resources to bail their kids out from moments which cause a series of events leading to troubles and eventually courts. We will attempt to discover the truth behind this in the following sections.

2.1.2 Children in Conflict with Law

As per the Juvenile Justice (Care & Protection of Children) Act of 2000, the upper limit for juvenile delinquents is the age of 18 years today. However, previously it used to be 18 years only for girls while it was 16 years for boys under the Juvenile Justice Act of 1986. Indian Penal Code Section 82 says that an offence which is committed by a child under the age of 7 years cannot be considered so. Similarly, Section 83 of the Indian Penal Code says that any crime committed by a child above the age of 7 years and below the age of 12 years cannot be considered an offence since she/he has not attained sufficient maturity of understanding.

The difference between a juvenile delinquent and an adult criminal is made on the basis of certain points: approach of the court, the reasoning behind the treatment and the behaviour of the individual in committing the crime. When the officer files charges, he/she often considers the following points:

- a. The particular offence committed
- b. The age of the offender
- c. The previous record of the offender
- d. The social history of the offender
- e. The ability of parents to help the behaviour of the offender

If there is no formal case, then the minor delinquent is placed under the charge of a probation officer. Such an offender is advised or rather mandated to perform community service for specific hours. The method of probation is thus, an important constituent of the conflict that children have with law. After the first instance of offence, it is attempted to ensure that the offender is kept under supervision under conditions that he needs to comply with and show good behaviour in exchange for freedom.

If the charges are filed, then the charges are read before a judge. The judge first decides whether to detain the juvenile or release him until the next hearing. Once the hearing starts, three possibilities are there:

- a. **Plea agreement:** The juvenile delinquent enters into such an agreement with the court. The juvenile has to mandatorily comply with certain conditions such as attending counselling, obeying curfews for returning to the place of residence, etc.
- b. **Diversion:** The judge may choose to retain control over the case and not declare a final verdict until the juvenile performs the necessary community services or serves his due in treatment programmes. In case the juvenile delinquent fails to comply with the conditions laid down by the court, the judge retains full power to reinstate the formal charges, hold the juvenile guilty of all charges and sentence him.
- c. **Trial:** In such an instance, both sides present their cases along with official evidence. At the end of the trial, the judge may deliver the requisite punishment he deems necessary.

In general, we present some of the statistics to address concerns and disregard myths concerning juvenile delinquency in India:

- a. The incidents reported as having being committed by the boys are much more in number and magnitude than the girls.
- b. The highest rates of juvenile delinquency are usually observed during the years of 12 to 16.
- c. Metro cities in particular with a population of more than 10 lakh individuals and urban areas in general showcase more incidences of juvenile delinquency in comparison to rural regions of the country.
- d. There is no significant co relation between the lack or availability of both parents with regards to the crime rate of juveniles. In fact, most juveniles come from families where they live with their guardians: 93.7% as per the NCRB data of 2020.
- e. Similarly, there is no co relation between lack of education and higher incidences of juvenile delinquency. Around 30% of juvenile delinquents are illiterate or have completed education only up to the primary level but the rest 70% come from educated backgrounds.

2.1.3 Children in Need of Care

It was only in the last century when it was recognized that if children are offered proper guidance and training towards rehabilitation, they would slowly but surely develop into socially normal individuals. This realization came a little late in most of the civilized countries of the world but they did start working towards achieving the task as soon as possible. Separate courts for the hearing and trials of juvenile offenders were the first step that was taken in a long line of initiatives. The assumption that treatment or some sort of remedial program was called for instead of punishment was the most important one.

The signs that a child may be heading towards delinquency may appear at any stage of life including as early as pre school, to pre teen and teenage years. Such predictors include but are not restricted to:

- a. Slow development of basic skills such as speech
- b. Chronic inclination towards rule violation
- c. Continual aggression towards teacher or peers or staff

The care that such juveniles require could be provided directly or indirectly in a varied number of forms which include the following:

- a. **Substance abuse treatment:** Sudden withdrawal is risky and it needs to be done in a co-ordinated manner so as to ensure minimum risk of consequent relapses.
- b. **Family counselling:** Some families need to be given adequate parenting education on how to deal with their children. While some parents feel that nobody knows better for their children than them, the truth may actually be far from it.
- c. **Individual counselling:** This is the most direct form of dealing with juvenile delinquents but it is often found that not every individual has the access to resources to afford therapy for long periods of time.

Actor Mark Wahlberg whose most recent release with Tom Holland, "Uncharted" became a Hollywood blockbuster was actually a juvenile delinquent. He had been under the radar of many law enforcing agencies since the early age of 14 as he had joined a gang. In fact, he has also been charged with drug dealing, assault, attempted murder and was locked up at the tender age of 16. But his story of transformation into one of the most popular actors gives hope for millions of kids who also need

the care that he received post his discharge from the correctional facilities.

One of the major concerns regarding juvenile delinquency is regarding lowering the age limit for the juvenile delinquents. The Delhi gang rape case where a juvenile of 17 year old was involved in the most heinous of crimes sent chills down the spines of most Indians. Do such criminals actually need care? As per the Juvenile Justice Act, only a maximum of three years of jail can be given to such individuals and that too in reformatory homes. Is this justice for the victims of the crime, in this case for example, Nirbhaya? The debate has raged for a decade now but there has been no clear-cut answer.

Some argue that a system which allows an individual who brutalized a girl until her death walking free after three years is absurd and irrational. Such proponents cite the case of James Bulger in Britain who was tortured and murdered by two kids aged 10 years. The criminals: Robert Thompson & Jon Venables were treated as adults, and it makes every sense that they should be.

The point that they make is mild punishment would encourage other criminally minded juveniles to do crimes without fear because they would rest assured that they will definitely walk free after three years. Therefore, they place much emphasis on deterrence. Such proponents also make the valid point that there is a vast difference between the era that used to exist earlier and the times that we live in. The mental maturity of individuals today comes much earlier than it used to because of multiple influences such as the internet.

On the other side of the table, some argue that all is not lost despite this steady attrition in human values. One incident is not sufficient to justify a policy change in a particular direction. A law is made on the basis of generality and not on the basis of exceptions. Laws cannot be made to uphold general public sentiment based on exaggerated media reports. Juveniles do need to be pampered with sympathy so that they can be dragged away from the evil.

Children under 18 aren't allowed franchise rights because they are considered too gullible to choose a candidate of their own. How can such adolescents be treated as adults and punished? 'Mens rea' or malice and mala fide intention are ingredients of crime which are absent in childish activities. The principle 'ignorance of the law' is no excuse shouldn't apply to juveniles as the environment which surrounds them determines their moral conduct.

It is thus our ethical and legal responsibility to make provisions for the safe and secure care of treatment of such children who have lost their way. A handful of juveniles who commit serious offences should not lead us to believe that the judicial system does not provide enough prospects for changing behaviour. Though every single child cannot be rehabilitated, it would be unwise to abandon the effort altogether. Transferring the few juveniles who have poor prospects of rehabilitation to adult courts would be a wiser course of action than dismantling the entire system.

2.1.4 Causes of Juvenile Delinquency

The resultant behavior of any individual is the product of multiple, complex and inter related factors. They cannot possibly be reduced to one single factor. Thus, there is no conclusive evidence which definitely leads to delinquent behavior in all instances. In general, a delinquent child doesn't usually have only one or two problems but rather a combination of more than six to seven factors.

It is in fact even possible for a child to look beyond immediate problems such as poverty or poor health. But what happens when a child has an unemployed father, lives in a degenerate neighborhood and has to work in factories under serious conditions for the majority of the day after dropping out from school? Such children despite their talent, mental fortitude and hard work are more or less led into a criminal form of lifestyle. The risk factors or life circumstances that make it increasingly likely for a child to become a juvenile delinquent include:

1. Neglectful Parenting

A lack of monitoring over the activities of the child in the formative stages of his life could be detrimental to his/her character development. Lack of serious consequences despite bad behavior may make a child prone to further such behavior. Thus, a forever lenient attitude will be troublesome. Glueck (1968) found evidence that the parents of adolescent offenders rarely talked to their children and always focused solely on physical punishment.

Therefore, on the other hand, authoritarian parenting could also lead to disastrous consequences. Strict discipline without any justification for the harsh actions or the 'because I said so' behavior is not the best kind of parenting to say the least. Further, lack of consistency in the punitive

measures that they undertake as per their whims and fancies is also a contributory factor towards adolescents becoming more delinquent.

Family disorganization in general ensures that the familial control over the individual is now found to be lacking. All individuals are less self restrained and pursue individualistic goals.

Most young and adolescent children no longer respect their elders during the pursuit of a carefree, unrestricted life. One of the main causes of sexual crimes is the lack of self restraint over sexual behavior: adultery, prostitution and rapes by juvenile delinquents have been on the rise.

2. Broken Homes

A normal family is considered as one when both parents are alive and both functionally complete their roles: economically as well as morally. Glueck & Glueck (1968) found evidence that 50% of adolescent offenders were raised by one parent. Monahan (1957), Slocum & Stone (1965) and Browning (1960) also confirmed that a large of adolescent criminals were from non functional homes. Andry (1960) established that offenders had received less love from their parents both in terms of quality and quantity and Jenkins (1957) pointed out the role of parental rejection in the creation of juvenile delinquents.

3. Lack of Social control

In the earlier days it was difficult for crimes to be concealed because it was a closely knit society. Thus, the fear of punishment was larger: extermination from the village was not uncommon. The increase in the most comfortable forms of transport ensures that juvenile delinquents can abscond from one village/town to another. Earlier, this was unheard of. It is not unimaginable that in most large cities, people barely know their neighbors. It is easy for most juveniles to commit a crime and conceal their identities if they find the backing of a support group. The Cultural Transmission theory by Shaw and McKay provides evidence for this particular cause: lack of effective social control indeed does lead to an increased rate of juvenile offenders in modern day towns and cities.

Poverty

There are numerous instances of extreme poverty in India. And there are in fact juvenile delinquents who immediately commit a crime after their release so as to be taken care of again with assurance of full

time meals. The major cause of female juvenile delinquents turning to prostitution is also poverty. Poverty makes juvenile delinquents desperate: they resort to pick pocketing and robbery to ensure a bare minimum standard of living.

While it was thought that industrialization would do wonders, it is unfortunate that even after 75 years of independence we have unable to demolish the social evil of child labor. This is only because there are families that live in abject poverty and are forced suffer and work for more than ten to twelve hours. But eventually there comes a time when resistance starts brewing within the family, and arguments over how hardwork has served anyone's cause leads to a change of pattern into criminal activities. In poor families, there is a lack of space, a lack of privacy and children are often witness to occurrences that are never suitable for their ages.

4. Peer Rejection or Peer Association

A child may engage in anti-social behavior if it is in line with the majority of his peer group. On the other end of the cycle, a child may find it hard to get along in the society if he doesn't actually have a bare minimum number of friends. Absence of healthy recreation centers in many areas results in gambling dens, indecent theatres and spurious recreation. As per the Illinois Crime Survey conducted in 1928, 6000 boys who committed various types of crimes were studied. It was concluded that in 90% cases, at least two boys were involved in the offences committed.

The Lower Class structure theory by Walter Miller talks about how a lower class culture is formed as a result of the troika of migration, mobility and immigration. He argues that the person who are left behind usually form this lower class. However, it is hard to provide evidence for this line of thought in this era of rapid globalization where lower class structure cannot be found in a pristine form at least not because of being left behind.

5. Defective Education

Modern education in India has led to an increase in competitive spirit no doubt. But what cost has this competition come at? There has been a severe rise in selfishness. Ethical and moral education is rarely found in our education system. Moreover, even after completing proper education, an individual doesn't become capable of earning his livelihood and well-educated people remain unemployed for years. What would be the outlook of the children of such individuals?

Pessimistic no doubt, they would more often than not drool at the fact that the society is indeed an unfair place and doesn't ideally provide equal and fair chances to all. This could aggravate criminal activity due to various reasons: the simplest one being the co relation between unemployment and alcoholism. The child would be subjected or a viewer of drunken behavior at a very early stage in life.

6. **Truancy**

Elliot &Merill rightly point out that 'Truancy' is one of the most 'predisposing factors to other forms of delinquency and has also been called the kindergarten of crime'.

RN Khanna conducted a study of 225 students in a middle class school. RN Khanna found out that a total of 54 students: or in other words, 24% of the total number of enrolled students were truants. This is quite a high number indeed. The delinquency showcased by such children varied from stealing money from home/school to stealing pencil boxes and other academic items of value. In the worst cases, they spent their entire school fees instead of paying it, and some even sold away their books and stationery.

Truancy in itself was the result of a combination of multiple factors:

- a. Unsuitable conditions at home
- b. Truants attempt to copy behavior of senior companions
- c. Attempt to escape from school punishment
- d. Inability to cope with the tasks provided at school

7. **Vagrancy**

Neglected, ill cared and wandering children are known as waifs. SS Srivastava's study onwaifs shows that almost 40% vagrant children resorted to drinking and other anti social activities like stealing and quarrelling. All of the waifs were smokers. During the evening hours, they kept themselves busy in kite flying, gambling and other such activities. It was at such places that they found new associates to take part in gang activities.

8. **Psychological factors or mental disorders**

They may not necessarily be brought on by circumstances but could be inherent in the child. Sometimes due to some deficiencies, a child finds it difficult to distinguish between the right and the wrong. Such kinds

of individuals are easily taken advantage of. However, some disorders like the attention deficit hyperactivity disorder could be brought on due to the environment that the child is brought up in. Absence of reliable statistics makes it difficult to say to what extent the causes of juvenile delinquency are psychological.

9. Cinema & social media

As per **Blumen and Hansen**, cinemas directly influence juvenile delinquents. While it may serve just as a mode of entertainment for the vast majority, cinema does tend to educate some who are looking to learn criminal techniques. Cinema often elaborates on the ways and means of appropriating wealth illegally and arouses profound sexual urges. While usage of alcohol and cigarettes is shown with disclaimers, it is not untrue that there are large number of crimes which are committed under the influence of alcohol.

Further, the role of cyber bullying, harassment and victimization across social media handles is something that happens on an everyday basis. Anyone can hide behind a computer or a tablet screen and say mean and hurtful things for months without revealing their identity.

To conclude, in today's multi-dimensional world, food, clothing and shelter are no longer the ever-present troika which lead multiple individuals to do things they may not have wanted to. Nevertheless, irrespective of the causes or the contributing factors towards juvenile delinquency, a child is never responsible for becoming a delinquent. It is us, the larger society who are the reason behind it and therefore all the countries in the world should take a step towards addressing and tackling the causes as soon as possible to erase this malaise from our society.

2.1.5 Types of Juvenile Delinquency

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) points out that the peak age for juvenile offenders falls between the age of 15 to 19 years. 52-57% of juvenile delinquents continue committing criminal offences into their mid-20s. However, the only good news that comes out of this report is that by the age of 30, only 16-19% of juvenile delinquents continue to commit criminal offences. Moreover, the statistics also point it out that if a child starts committing crimes before the age of 12, he is very likely to continue doing so for the major part of his adulthood.

The behavior that a delinquent shows during adolescence serves as a good indicator of what she/he may become once they reach adulthood. There are two main types of juvenile delinquents: persistent offenders and age specific offenders.

a. **Persistent offenders**

They are also known as repeat offenders or life-course offenders. While signs of anti-social behavior may be shown at a more aggressive rate during a particular age of the life span, such delinquents continue to showcase aggressive and criminal behavior throughout their lifetimes without any subsequent improvement.

b. **Age specific offenders**

The criminal activities of such a delinquent often ceases to exist before the minor becomes an adult. Moreover, in most cases, the criminal indulgence is a one-off case. Such delinquents despite leaving their criminal attitude behind do however suffer from other problems including mental lapses, persistent drug abuse and often have financial troubles for the major part of their adulthood.

Hirsh (1937) classifies juvenile delinquents into six categories based on the types of crimes committed by them:

- a. Incurability (disobedience)
- b. Truancy (missing school)
- c. Larceny (burglary, robbery, etc.)
- d. Property destruction
- e. Violence (where weapons are involved)
- f. Sexual crimes

Polk & Eaton (1969) have divided delinquency into five categories:

- a. minor violations
- b. major violations
- c. property violations
- d. addiction (drug/alcohol)
- e. bodily harm

Trojanowicz has also divided juvenile offenders into six types. **Howard**

Becker (1966) has classified juvenile offenders into four types:

- a. **Individual delinquents:** This occurs primarily because of psychological problems or due to problems in the interaction patterns of families. **Bronner & Healy (1936)** confirmed that kids become delinquents to attract the attention of their parents. **Walters and Bandura** emphasized on the fact that the relationship of the delinquents with their fathers and not so much their relationship with their mother is a major contributor to their present condition. The theory of the Self by George Herbert Mead also explains why only few individuals in the entire world become juvenile delinquents while the majority do not: because of their psychological dispositions.
- b. **Group delinquents:** They commit offences in association with others. This was also put forward by Sutherland in his theory of differential association. The Gang theory by Fredrick Thrasher supports this line of thought.
- c. **Organized delinquents:** These types of delinquents become so due to the presence of what is known as the 'delinquent sub culture'. Albert Cohen (1960), Cloward & Ohlin (1960) and many others supported this point of view that a set of values and norms encourage the delinquents to commit offences and guide their behavior.
- d. **Situational delinquents:** Such adolescents do not have a particular pre defined reason for committing a crime. They are more impulsive, and are unable to restrain themselves. Matza (1964) supports this theory.

The fact that is most important is that India has the highest population of children across the world, and thus it is most vulnerable to juvenile delinquency. The state of mind is very unstable during the adolescent period and feelings of jealousy and insecurity are common. We need to undertake preventive steps towards stopping the same.

2.1.6 Preventive Measures

As per the UN report on Juvenile Delinquency, the "weakest link in the entire chain of diagnosis, prevention, and treatment of juvenile delinquency is the preventive aspect". The fact is that the juvenile is not exactly the most important contributor to his delinquency but rather his social environment which creates a pre disposition towards delinquency.

Hence, the preventive measures need not be applied towards the juvenile himself, but rather towards the prevention of cruelty to juveniles or crime towards juveniles and towards the punishment of adults who victimize juveniles. Moreover, the bare truth is that there is hardly a single diagnostic tool available which can identify any sort of a problematic personality which leads to juvenile delinquency.

To be precise, there are two approaches to preventing delinquency. We will follow the classification led down by Trojanowicz (1973). Lejins (1967) classified the approaches differently, i.e. into punitive, corrective and mechanical prevention. As per Trojanowicz, the two methods to be used are:

1. Preventive measures
2. Rehabilitative or curative measures

In the former case, factors which lead to delinquency are studied and tried to be taken care of as soon as possible. In the latter one however, it is attempted to ensure that those who have already committed acts that can be construed as criminal do not repeat the same. Rather, it is envisioned that they become fully integrated into the society as normal citizens.

The preventive measures can further be divided under the following categories:

a. Team of Private & Public agencies

Public & private agencies devoted towards the goal of delinquency prevention is a must. These could include schools, parent teacher associations, youth organizations, social worker, probation officers. In an ideal scenario, if all such members work together and assist guardians, early symptoms of delinquency could be recognized. It would thus be easier in reducing conflict, unhappiness and insecurity along with maladjustment to the society as a whole.

The training of staff of all such organizations is essential in order to enable them to recognize the danger that delinquents could be in and hence, put them in adequate contact with the agency.

b. Establishment of recreational agencies

Playgrounds, community centres, concerts, drama groups, puppet shows, painting groups, debate centres could provide viable meeting halls. Such youth groups could make substantial gains in our society which is biased towards education where there

is barely one recreational class per week which may be delayed or denied as deemed necessary.

While this might sound hurtful to certain sections of the society, it is indeed true that while India competes with the world in terms of educational opportunities, it falls way behind in recreational ones. How many rock climbing opportunities do we see in semi urban or rural areas where most of India resides? How many Disney world or amusement parks come up in such regions and how many are affordable for such sections of the society? Some serious thought needs to be given to this.

c. Education for family

Counselling of parents is something that can bring a huge change in the overall mindset of the succeeding generations. In the Indian society however, counselling is usually considered a farce and is never given the adequate importance that it deserves. Changing a mental state of the mind is considered as a taboo, but this needs to change and the change has to be brought soon.

Constant infighting within the family could also ensure that the child isolates himself by his own to stay away from the noise. As emphasized earlier, families have to be functional and avoid this.

Something very important to remember here is that primary and secondary school teachers should never discriminate between different types of children. Such discrimination goes a long way into building the psyche of children and is difficult to get rid of in later stages of life despite several attempts.

Inferiority complex sets in, and such children will be ready to go stage to prove that their teachers were wrong. Such mutual hostility should never arise: teachers have to know better and be better. Lack of encouragement is always counter-productive, and the thin line between motivating and demotivating children needs to be treaded carefully.

d. Social media

In the tech savvy world of today, OTT channels, social media websites and celebrities can play a huge role by sharing and spreading honest reports about juvenile delinquency rather than stressing on scandals which serve no decent purpose. The same could also be done via the newspapers and the TV which though have seen a decline in mass urban areas yet serve an important role.

Thus, good family environment, better education systems & recreational facilities at school and home play a very important part in mitigating this evil. Juvenile Police units in certain states have helped in reducing the suspicion between police and the adolescents, and they should be continued. The setting up of special institutions or workhouses can also help the cause.

Education is the single most important contributor to reducing juvenile delinquency because it promotes social cohesion and helps children of all ages to make good choices while exercising restraint in life. The importance of initiating community programs in this regard can never be downplayed.

One of the most important **rehabilitative measures** includes psychotherapy so as to treat the emotional problems being faced by the juvenile delinquent. The relationship established between the patient and the therapist makes the adolescent more comfortable with sharing private information which had been subdued until then. This satisfactory sharing or communication is vital for acting as a solution to past conflicts which have been unresolved within the family or peer groups.

Therapy is often accompanied by positive and negative reinforcements so that the new learning can be retained thoroughly. Therapy could also be based via activities. Certain delinquents find it difficult to share what they feel in words. For such individuals, the sharing of what they truly feel can be expressed via multiple forms of activities, for example, art. This helps for the appropriate release of pent up emotions from sadness or guilt to aggression and hostility.

It is not always necessary that therapy is always provided via a doctor in a highly over populated country like India. Sometimes, social case workers with the requisite expertise also take up the job. Vocational counselling regarding future career choices also forms a part of such psychotherapy.

2.1.7 Juvenile Justice System

As far back as 1790 BC, the Hammurabi Code provided for differential treatment for children. Similarly, India since time immemorial has treated children convicts differently from adult criminals. Before independence, Lord Cornwallis in 1843 established 'Ragged schools' for

children. The following initiatives had also been taken with regards to juvenile delinquency:

- a. **Apprentices Act, 1850:** The idea behind this act was to ensure that child convicts got vocational training in some field to obtain their livelihood later.
- b. **Whipping Act, 1864:** The only intention behind having whipping as a punishment for children was to ensure that they never committed the same offences again.
- c. **Reformatory Schools Act, 1897:** The child convicts usually stayed for a period of 3-7 years but never beyond the age of 18 years.
- d. **Children Acts:** They had been passed in multiple states of India as long back as 1920 (Tamil Nadu). Such acts had the provision of Junior certified schools for children below the age of 12 years and Senior certified schools for children above the age of 12 years but up to the age of 16 years. But there was no uniformity in the passage of such regulations.
- e. **Juvenile Justice Act, 1986:** This was the first act Post independence which had the provision of Juvenile Welfare Boards as opposed to the Juvenile Justice Boards that exist today.
- f. **Juvenile Delinquency Law and Juvenile Justice (Care & Protection of Child) Act, 2000:** This Act faced several amendments in 2006, 2010, 2011 but the motivation was always to ensure that India stood firm with regards to the international standards laid down to serve the best interests of children.

It also focused on the children who are in need of protection and care and this included the victims of wars as well as natural calamities along with addicted to drugs.

The 2006 amendment introduced the need for Juvenile Justice Boards. The Act also provided for many different types of institutions such as children homes, special homes, observation homes and after care organizations. The maximum period of detention provided for under the Act was 3 years.

- g. **Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Act, 2015:** It was last amended in 2021. Under the act, Child Welfare Committees are set up in each district. The Juvenile Justice Boards are given the power to decide whether a child can be tried as an adult (when

there are instances of heinous crimes) in light of the Nirbhaya gang rape case.

Under Section 2 (13) of the Juvenile Justice Act 2015, the definition of children in conflict with law has been provided. Such juveniles who are accused of committing an offence are brought before the Juvenile Justice Board in India. A Juvenile Justice Board consists of a first-class magistrate and two social workers usually. Of these two social workers, at least one has to be a woman. The timeline within which JJBs are expected to dispose off cases is four months.

The total number of crimes committed by juvenile delinquents as a proportion of total crimes in India was 0.5% just before the turn of the century. In 2001, it saw a jump to 0.9% which was mainly because of the fact that the new Act brought about an increase in the age of boys from 16 years to 18 years. Post that, it has remained constant at around 1-1.1% and hovered around the same % for the next decade.

Over the years, there has been a decrease in juvenile delinquency in terms of dacoity whereas the increase has been observed in kidnapping of the opposite gender, and the involvement in dowry deaths which is a cause of concern. Going by the National Crime Records Bureau data 2020, Madhya Pradesh with 4819 instances is the leader in terms of incidents committed by juvenile delinquents. However, if we calculate delinquency in terms of share to total crimes committed, Chhattisgarh assumes rank number 1 as per the NCRB 2020 data.

It is appropriate to give a brief account of the different types of institutions associated with the juvenile justice system. Legal measures are necessary yes, but the ultimate aim is the complete reformation of the child so that she/he can feel as a member of the society once again. Such institutions play a primal role in this.

1. **Borstal schools** are corrective institutions wherein adolescent offenders are given industrial training and other instructions. They are given moral and disciplinary influences so as to prevent further criminal offences, and reform them. It is in no doubt that the period of adolescence is the most critical in an individual's life and it is of utmost importance to prevent criminal habits being formed in this nascent stage.

The name Borstal is derived from the fact that the first such

institution was taken up in Borstal village in England. (1902) Borstal schools came into being because it was considered undesirable to bring young offenders in contact with hardened adult prisoners. Such schools not only help in individual training of the inmates but also ensure the conditional release of those who deserve it so that they can make a living.

The period of detention is generally 2-3 years but any inmate can be discharged after completing a minimum of six months of detention if his conduct has been good and there is a certain probability that the inmate will abstain from crime and lead a useful life. Nine Indian states including Tamil Nadu, Jharkhand, Rajasthan, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Punjab, Telangana, Maharashtra & Kerala have Borstal schools today with Tamil Nadu having the most.

There are two types of Borstal institutions: open and close. Open Borstals are buildings with no surrounding walls. Closed Borstals are converted prison buildings where maximum security can be afforded. There are also grading systems in such institutions: Inmates are released in some schools when they achieve the special star grade. However, at some institutes, the adolescents are allowed to leave for home for 10-15 days in a year.

The work in both types is intentionally arduous with physical exercise followed by education so as to deter them from crime again.

The training varies as per the age, record, character and gender of the inmate. For example, training is given in making leather items, in agricultural production and in the making of toys. The daily routine is a combination of 1-2 hours of education which is followed by 5-6 hours of vocational practice.

2. The state government often establishes **Juvenile courts** to hear charges against children of young persons. When there is no separate court, the court should sit either in a building or room different from its ordinary sittings or on different dates or at different times from those fixed for its ordinary sittings. This should be followed in all cases except when the child is being jointly tried with an adult. No child should be handcuffed and police officers conducting them shall be in plain clothes. There are 701 Juvenile justice boards in

India today with the highest number in Uttar Pradesh (75) followed by Madhya Pradesh (51) & Bihar (38).

3. **Remand homes** are places where the child is brought into when the investigations starts. If cleared as innocent, she/he is released post the disposal of the case. If found guilty, the offender stays until cleared by the Probation officer. In addition to being a place of safety, it has become a place where the important function of observation can be performed while the investigation takes its due course.

It is also noteworthy that remand homes are not only for juvenile delinquents. Homeless children also stay at such homes, and in fact, they form the majority of the population whereas the offenders only account for 15-20%. Such homes could be run by private agencies or government or public agencies. There are a total of 1195 remand homes in India with the maximum number in Tamil Nadu (243) followed by Odisha (134) and Andhra Pradesh (105).

The fact is that most institutions are very overcrowded, and they function under very limited budgets. The SD Gokhale study (1968) and the one made by MS Bedi (1975-76) reaffirmed the same apart from also pointing out that the quality of vocational training in such institutions was not up to the mark. The space constraints lead both to the conclusion that there is a great need for restructuring such schools/homes.

The problems faced by developed and developing countries are much alike and there's barely any difference in the pace that the problem is growing with across regions. Preventive and rehabilitative measures that are undertaken in such institutions can go a long way in building the future generations of youth and they need to be taken more seriously than they are currently.

2.1.8 Summary

The chapter was started with an attempt to give concise definitions of juvenile delinquency including those given by Cyril Burt and William H Sheldon. Under the sub heading of Children in conflict with law, the difference between an adult criminal and a juvenile delinquent was made. The points that need to be considered by an officer before pressing charges were elaborated on in sequence. The judge then makes the final call and has a variety of options available before him: plea agreement, diversion,

probation or trial. The general statistics regarding juvenile delinquency were also presented. This fact finding helped in busting some of the myths that the general public usually believes in.

It was emphasized that children are in need of care. The signs of a child who needs our special attention is available from the early stages of his/her life. The role of individual and family counselling along with treatment for substance abuse is considered immaterial and the examples of delinquents who later went on to become stars provided evidence for the same. The debate regarding lowering the age of juvenile delinquents was then taken up: though some argued in favor of lowering the age because of the brutality of crimes occurred, it was concluded that exceptions are not enough to consider a change in the direction of a policy. Laws should be based on generality and the entire (current) system should never be dismantled because it provides enough scope for improvement of the delinquents.

The causes of juvenile delinquency were then taken up. There was no single factor which was solely important but rather there was varying contribution from co-existing factors. Some of the causes that can be attributed to juvenile delinquency include: neglectful parenting, broken homes, lack of social control, poverty, peer association, defective education, truancy, vagrancy, psychological pre disposition, and cinema.

The types of juvenile delinquency were then taken into consideration. The difference between persistent offenders and age specific offenders was highlighted. Classifications by Hirsh (1937), Polk and Eaton (1969), Trojanowicz were taken into account but the one by Howard Becker (1966) stood out: individual delinquents, group delinquents, organized delinquents and situational delinquents. Supporting theories for each type of delinquency were also presented.

Last but not the least, the preventive measures needed to be talked about. Here, Trojanowicz's approach was adopted: thus, dividing the approaches in two ways. The two ways are preventive (before delinquency) and rehabilitative (post delinquency). The preventive measures included but were not restricted to the training of teams of private and public agencies, establishment of recreational centers, education for family, responsible use of social media, community programs, etc. The single most important rehabilitative measure that was emphasized on was psychotherapy.

When we talk of rehabilitative measures, the institutional means available in India needed to be elaborated on. Juvenile Justice Boards, Juvenile Courts, Borstal schools and remand homes were the stand out performers but the conclusion drawn was that they were in need of certain changes too.

2.1.9 Keywords

➤ Crime

A form of anti social behavior that has violated public sentiment to an extent which is forbidden by law

➤ Arraignment

This process is used for criminal cases only for the purpose of calling someone to court to read out the charges that he has been accused of.

➤ Hearing

The term is usually different from the term trial. These two are often confused. Hearing only refers to an instance where an issue is heard, evidence is presented and a final decision is made.

➤ Trial

This is a formal presentation before a jury to ascertain whether an individual/ group is guilty or innocent in a criminal case or a civil matter

➤ Offender

A violator of a law or a rule that is laid down. Such offence is often illegal and uncalled for. The laws that are violated could be moral or civil or criminal in nature

➤ Restitution

It is the process of returning something to the original state that it was in or the restoration of the rights which had previously been taken away or surrendered. It also refers to the lump sum money paid as compensation for any loss or wrong doing or injury that may have been caused

2.1.10 Self Assessment Questions

Answer the following questions within 125-150 words:

1. What is juvenile delinquency?
2. Quote at least 7 contributing factors towards juvenile delinquency.
3. Which are the two most common types of institutions for the rehabilitation of juvenile delinquents in India?
4. Elaborate on how Borstal Schools serve in remedying the problem of juvenile delinquency.
5. Identify the different types of preventive measures that can be undertaken by the society to resolve delinquency in adolescents.

The following are a few statements based on what has been entailed in the chapter so far.

Fill in the blanks with suitable words.

1. The criminal incidents reported by juvenile offenders as having being committed by the ----- are much more in number and magnitude than the -----
2. Most juvenile delinquents come from families where they live with their -----
3. A law is made on the basis of ----- and not on the basis of exceptions
4. Lack of ----- in the punitive measures undertaken by parents as per their whims and fancies is a contributory factor towards juvenile delinquency
5. The ----- theory by Shaw and McKay suggests that lack of effective social control leads to an increased rate of juvenile offenders in modern day towns and cities
6. ----- point out that 'Truancy' is one of the most 'predisposing factors to other forms of delinquency and has also been called the kindergarten of crime'.
7. ----- continue to showcase aggressive and criminal behavior throughout their lifetimes without any subsequent improvement
8. Howard Becker classified juvenile offenders into four types:

individual, group, organized & ----- delinquents

9. One of the most important rehabilitative measures includes -----

10. The name Borstal is derived from the fact that the first such institution was taken up in Borstal village in -----

Answers:

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Boys, girls | 6. Elliot & Merrill |
| 2. Guardians/Parents | 7. Persistent Offenders |
| 3. Generality | 8. Situational |
| 4. Consistency | 9. Psychotherapy |
| 5. Cultural Transmission | 10. England |

2.1.11 References

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UNIT - III**Lesson 3.1 - Alcoholism And Drug Addiction****Structure**

- 3.1 Drug Addiction
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3.1 Drug Addiction

Drug abuse, drug addiction, drug trafficking, becoming victims of drug addiction - etc. have been the tragedies of the 20th century. They have been passed on with no less vigour to the 21st century. Intoxicating drugs such as brown sugar, opium, heroin, alcohol, marijuana, ganja, bhang, cocaine, charas, morphine, L.S.D and such other things are even known to the street children in big cities. Some of them take a chance to taste them.

Each year we are adding to more and more such harmful compounds to the already existing ones. What is more distressing today is the abuse of drugs. The abuse of drugs adversely affects the user's mind and

body. The victims of the abuse of drugs are also increasing in number not only in India but all over the world. The phenomenon of drug addiction has become a colossal one in a developing nation like India.

3.1.1 learning objectives:

- Understanding the concept of Drugs as well as drug abuse
- Better understanding the concept of addiction
- The signs of drug dependence
- Different types of drugs available in today's day and age
- Causes of addiction
- Influence of family
- Influence of peer groups
- Consequences of addiction
- Measures for control of addiction

3.1.2 Meaning of Drugs and Drug Abuse

Any substance (usually chemical) which influences our bodies or emotions when consumed may be called a drug, i.e., it is a chemical substance, that, when put into your body can change the way the body works and the mind thinks. These substances may be medicinal i.e., prescribed by a doctor for reducing minor ailments or problems, e.g., lack of sleep, headache, tension, etc. but are also sometimes:

- i) used without medical advice,
- ii) used for an excessively long period of time,
- iii) used for reason other than medical ones.

The use of such drugs in such a manner is usually illegal.

Some drugs may directly be nonmedicinal in nature. Their use is illegal e.g., heroin. Another group of drugs are those that are legal, but are harmful for the person if consumed in excess, regularly, e.g., alcohol. There are other substances like cigarettes, coffee, tea etc. which can be termed as socially accepted legal drugs. But these are not seen as harmful. Some drugs like alcohol, brown sugar, etc. are dangerous and addictive.

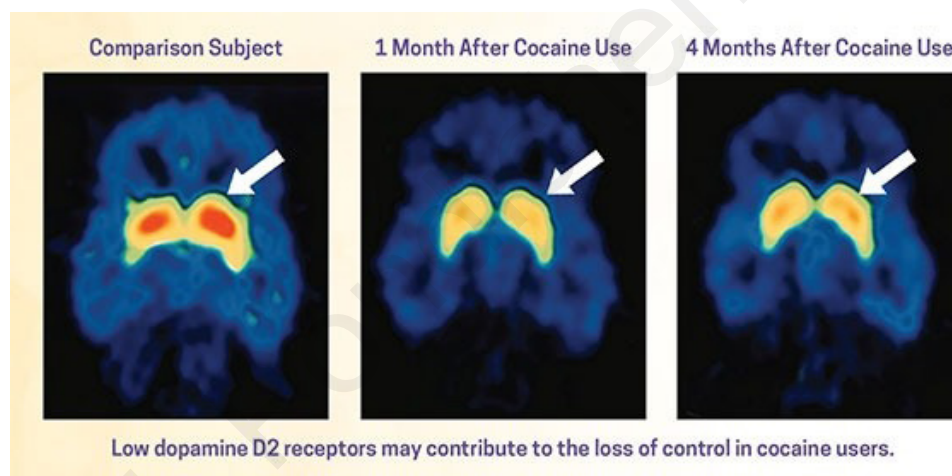
Joseph Julian states that drug is “any chemical substance which affects bodily function, mood perception or consciousness which has potential for misuse and which may be harmful to the individual or the society”.

Using drugs to cure or prevent an illness or improve one's health may be called drug 'use'. Using drugs (medicinal/non-medicinal) in quantity, strength, frequency or manner that damages the physical or mental functioning of an individual, is termed as drug abuse. This means that even taking medicines in excess or too often or too long or for the wrong reasons or in the wrong combination implies drug 'abuse'.

Paul Fuqua refers to 'drug abuse' as - "the use of a substance in such a way that it leads to such personal and/ or social consequences as impaired physical or mental health, impaired maturation, loss of productivity, and involvement in socially disruptive or illegal activities.

3.1.3 Meaning of Addiction

Addiction is defined as a chronic, relapsing disorder characterized by compulsive drug seeking and use despite adverse consequences. It is considered a brain disorder, because it involves functional changes to brain circuits involved in reward, stress, and self-control.



The American Society of Addiction Medicine defines addiction as "a treatable, chronic medical disease involving complex interactions among brain circuits, genetics, the environment, and an individual's life experiences. People with addiction use substances or engage in behaviours that become compulsive and often continue despite harmful consequences."

The World Health Organisation defines Drug addiction as "Repeated use of a psychoactive substance or substances, to the extent that the user (referred to as an addict) is periodically or chronically intoxicated, shows a compulsion to take the preferred substance (or substances), has great difficulty in voluntarily ceasing or modifying substance use, and

exhibits determination to obtain psychoactive substances by almost any means.”

The Report of the Departmental Committee on Morphin and Heroin Addiction to the British Ministry of Health defines addiction: “A person who, not requiring the continued use of a drug for the relief of the symptoms of organic disease, has acquired as a result of repeated administration an overwhelming desire for its continuance, and in whom withdrawal of the drug leads to definite symptoms of mental or physical distress or disorder.”

The Advisory Council on the Misuse of Drugs in the United Kingdom defined the problem as drug use with serious negative consequences of a physical, psychological, social and interpersonal, financial or legal nature for users and those around them.

Addiction is a disease characterised by compulsion, loss of control, and continued use in spite of adverse consequences (Coombs, 1997; Smith & Seymour, 2001). The primary elements of addictive disease are three Cs:

- 1) Compulsive use: an irresistible impulse; repetitive ritualized acts and intrusive, ego-dystonic (i.e., ego alien) thoughts e.g., the person cannot start the day without a cigarette and/or a cup of coffee. Evening means a ritual martini, or two, or three. However, compulsive use doesn't automatically mean addiction.
- 2) Loss of control: the inability to limit or resist inner urges; once begun it is very difficult to quit, if not impossible, without outside help. This is the pivotal point in addiction. The individual swears that there will be no more episodes, that he or she will go to the party and have two beers.

Instead, the person drinks until he or she experiences a blackout and swears the next morning to never do it again; only to repeat the behaviour the following night. The individual may be able to stop for a period of time, or control use for a period of time, but will always return to compulsive, out-of-control use.

- 3) Continued use despite adverse consequences: use of the substance continues in spite of increasing problems that may include declining health, such as liver impairment in the alcohol addict; embarrassment, humiliation, shame; or increasing family, financial, and legal problems.

3.1.4 Signs of Drug Dependence

As pointed out by C.B. Mamoria, drug dependence on the part of the drug addicts reveals certain signs among which the following may be noted:

1. Persons experiencing a static panic and exhibiting anxiety reactions.
2. Impaired judgement and distorted perceptions of space or time.
3. Excessive suspicion of others [or attitudes of paranoia]
4. Occasional convulsions
5. Mental confusion, loss of contact with reality and lapses of memory.
6. Unhealthy physical appearance because of poor diet and personal neglect.
7. Severe drowsiness and finding oneself in sleepy mood.
8. Indifferent, apathetic and sometimes compulsive behaviour.
9. Dilated pupils, a flushed face, and a feeling of being chilly.
10. A deterioration of values.

What is to be borne in mind is that all individuals who suffer from drug dependence need not necessarily exhibit all the above-mentioned symptoms. Symptoms also vary with the stage of addiction and the type of the drug used, as well as with the experience of the drug user.

3.1.5 Types of Drugs

Drugs can be categorised by the way in which they affect our bodies:

- Depressants – These slow down the function of the central nervous system
- Hallucinogens – affect your senses and change the way you see, hear, taste, smell or feel things
- Stimulants – speed up the function of the central nervous system.

Some drugs affect the body in many ways and can fall into more than one category. For example, cannabis appears in all 3 categories. Now, we will further discuss them in details:

1. Depressants

Depressants slow down the messages between the brain and the body — they don't necessarily make you feel depressed. The slower messages affect:

- your concentration and coordination
- your ability to respond to what's happening around you.

Small doses of depressants can make you feel relaxed, calm and less inhibited. Larger doses can cause sleepiness, vomiting and nausea, unconsciousness and even death.

Examples include:

- Alcohol
- Benzodiazepines (minor tranquillisers such as Valium)
- Cannabis
- GHB (gamma-hydroxybutyrate)
- Ketamine
- Opioids (heroin, morphine, codeine).

2. Hallucinogens

Hallucinogens change your sense of reality – you can have hallucinations. Your senses are distorted and the way you see, hear, taste, smell or feel things is different. For example, you may see or hear things that are not really there, or you may have unusual thoughts or feelings.

Small doses can cause a feeling of floating, numbness, confusion, disorientation, or dizziness. Larger doses may cause hallucinations, memory loss, distress, anxiety, increased heart rate, paranoia, panic and aggression.

Examples include:

- Cannabis
- Ketamine
- LSD (lysergic acid diethylamide)
- Psilocybin (magic mushrooms)
- PCP (phencyclidine).

3. Analgesics

Analgesics – or painkillers – relieve the symptoms of pain. Some people take more than the recommended dose to get high, or to self-harm. They can also be overused by people who have chronic pain.

Some are available easily over the counter, such as:

- Aspirin
- Paracetamol
- Ibuprofen

Others require a prescription from a doctor, such as:

- Codeine and paracetamol combination products
- Fentanyl
- Morphine
- Oxycodone
- Pethidine.

4. Inhalants

Inhalants are substances that you breathe in through the nose (sniffing) or mouth. They are absorbed into the bloodstream very quickly, giving the user an immediate high.

There are 4 main types of inhalants:

- Volatile solvents – These are liquids that turn into a gas at room temperatures — for example, paint thinners and removers, glues, petrol and correction fluid (liquid paper).
- Aerosol sprays – For example, spray paints, deodorants and hairsprays, fly sprays and vegetable oil sprays
- Gases – For example, nitrous oxide (laughing gas), propane, butane (cigarette lighters), helium
- Nitrites – For example, room deodorisers and leather cleaners.

Most of these are depressants, except for nitrites.

5. Opioids

Opioids are a type of painkiller that can be made from poppy plants (heroin) or produced synthetically (fentanyl). Also called opiates or narcotics, they are addictive as they can give you a feeling of wellbeing or euphoria.

Examples include:

- Codeine
- Heroin
- Methadone
- Oxycodone.

6. Party drugs

Party drugs are a group of stimulants and hallucinogens. They are often used by young people in an attempt to enhance a party, festival or concert experience.

The most common party drug is ecstasy (MDMA), but the pills/tablets/capsules are of variable purity or don't actually contain any MDMA and may contain a wide range of other substances. You cannot be sure what you're taking and the risks to your health are high.

3.1.6 Causes of Addiction

Addiction is a complex phenomenon that research indicates is likely to be caused by a variety of factors rather than a single one. It was earlier believed that people who were of a certain type, viz. deviant were more likely to become addicted. There is no fixed type of personality which is addiction prone. Some factors may however, create a favourable environment or the development of addiction, while some factors may make it more difficult to give up addiction.

Every one knows that drug abuse or addiction has become one of the grave problems of the modern society. The socio-economic conditions of the modern society seem to be favourable for the growth of drug abuse. The questions such as:

Q. Why people become drug addicts?

Q. Why drug abuse is found in the society?

Q. What are the motivations that provoke people to become addicts?

seem to be tantalising. These questions are to be addressed in order to have a clear picture of the way in which people become the victims of drug abuse.

According to Ram Ahuja, the causes of drug abuse may be classified under the following four main heads:

1. **Psychological Causes:** Psychological factors such as getting 'kicks' and thrills, relieving tension, removing inhibitions, avoiding boredom, easing depression, satisfying curiosity, feeling high and confident and intensifying perception, etc. may motivate individuals for drug abuse.

2. Physiological Factors like removing pain, getting sleep, heightening sexual experiences, staying awake, getting more physical strength, etc. also induce people to become drug addicts.
3. Social Causes that favour drug abuse are becoming acceptable to friends, the desire to join “high society”, facilitating social experiences, challenging social values, setting new social trends, etc.
4. Miscellaneous Causes backing the ugly practice of drug abuse include sharpening religious insight or to get new spiritual light, improving study, solving personal problems, deepening self-understanding, increasing efficiency, to refresh the mind, and so on.

Some specific causes that have been highlighted by other sociologists include:

1. Using Drugs for ‘Kicks’ or “Thrills”:

Sizeable number of street children, educated men are initiated to its use in the beginning only for fun, or for a thrill or ‘kick’. When such experiences are repeated, they find it impossible to come out of the drug trap into which they have already fallen.

2. Peer Group Influence:

Peer group influence seems to be very powerful in initiating a person to drug-taking habit. To get recognition in the company, to satisfy other members of the group, to feel superior in the presence of a boyfriend or girlfriend, to avoid ridicule at the hands of fellow-members and due to such other factors, young people become victims of drug abuse

3. Feeling of Alienation and Lack of Motivation:

The conditions of modern society are such that they may push some mentally, weak or delicate persons towards loneliness. Such persons though they live in the midst of people tend to feel that they are alone in the world for they do not have any companions. They are devoid of love, affection, companionship and fellowship.

Life becomes monotonous and boring for them. Some of them become introverts by turning increasingly inward. In order to find a fuller meaning in life, some of them resort to drugs.

Lack of motivation is another important factor. Many young people fail to get good guidance for setting their aims and missions in life. They find no one to inspire them, correct them, pat them on their back and provide them a model to emulate. They very often experience frustration, disgust and disappointment. To avoid such discouraging things of life, some resort to drugs.

4. To Escape from the Pressures and Conflicts of Life:

Our living conditions also impose various pressures, conflicts, tensions and dangers in our life. One requires courage and a realistic approach to face such challenges of life. All are not mentally equipped to face successfully such realities of life. Mentally timid, intellectually average and physically weak individuals may harbour in their mind all negative thinking particularly when they feel that they are incapable of meeting the immediate challenges before them.

Some such persons become mentally depressed while a few others exhibit suicidal tendencies. There are also persons of that nature resorting to drugs. Now, we will discuss the physiological, psychological or social causes in detail.

1. Physiological Causes:

It has been found that if both parents of a child are addicted, the child has greater chances of developing addiction. While this does not mean that children of all addicts will become addicts, it suggests a greater possibility. Alcoholism, in particular, tends to run in the family, suggesting that the predisposition to be an addict may be inherited. However, several other factors may also affect the development of the problem, viz.

- i) amount of drug taken and frequency
- ii) the route of intake (injected drugs are more addicting)
- iii) the availability, access and price
- iv) the influences in one's environment, other than familial.

Several other physiological factors are believed to contribute towards the development of addiction, e.g., in the case of alcoholism, nutritional deficiency, dysfunction of different body system, e.g., endocrine system, etc. However, none of these have been conclusively proved.

2. Psychological Causes:

For several years, addiction has been viewed as a mental abnormality, caused by individual problems. Studies have indicated that addicts are insecure people. Many addicts report symptoms that range from mild to severe mental disturbance. However, it is not clear whether mental disturbance causes addiction or addiction causes mental problems.

Whatever the relationship, there is enough evidence to indicate that addicts suffer from deep personality problems, feelings of inadequacy, dependency, powerlessness, isolation and low sense of self-respect. Childhood-related problems are observed among addicts as well as current stresses before the setting in of addiction.

It is also argued that addiction is the result of learning. After taking drugs initially, there is a pleasurable feeling or experience. This acts as a reward, and may lead to a continuous increase in the intake. Thus, initial experience, if pleasant, may lead to addiction. However, the generally believed theory is that some personalities are more prone to addiction than others.

3. Social Causes:

Several theories are offered today which claim that addiction has sociocultural origins. People in societies that view that consumption of drugs and/or alcohol as acceptable, and where drugs are easily and cheaply available are likely to have high consumption of drugs/alcohol. In some tribal societies, the consumption of alcohol is a part of religious rituals and ceremonies. Such regular consumption may cause some people to become addicted. This does not mean that only availability and acceptance encourages addiction.

In societies where this consumption is not accepted, some people turn to drugs/alcohol because they suffer normlessness. Youth often take drugs as a rebellion against adult norms and values. The cultural defiance theory thus, indicates that drug addiction develops because of these emotional and social ties, with a nonconventional group.

To add to this is the factor of social acceptance of alcohol and milder forms of drugs in certain sections of society. In India, tradition has accepted the use of alcohol, bhang, ganja on certain religious and social occasions like marriage, death, celebrations, etc. and more so among certain sociocultural groups.

Today, the social consumption of alcohol in particular has risen in all sociocultural groups and it is considered to be a sign of social prestige to drink. In certain Western countries, taking alcohol is socially the norm and taking pills to reduce pain or improve performance, in the regular practice.

The legal status of the addicting substance is also an important factor in determining the incidence of addiction. Whether a culture accepts the consumption of a drug or punishes it, is also believed to be closely related to the extent of addiction in that culture. Thus, both legal and cultural approval of drugs are believed to increase rates of addiction.

However, if milder forms of drugs are legally permitted, the number of persons addicted to “hard” drugs will reduce. Such persons hold that classifying all drugs into one broad category has had a negative impact on attempts at preventing addiction.

Among young people, growing up is a stage of proving oneself to one's peers, i.e., those in the same age group, who help to shape one's sense of identity. Since ability to tolerate alcohol is equated with one's manhood, boys often begin to consume alcohol and at times drugs at a young age, due to peer pressure.

As in the case of age and cultural background, occupation too has been found to be related to addiction. Persons in jobs that create stress—physical and/or mental are known to become addicted. Those prone to addiction thus include:

- i) persons in conservancy jobs, morticians and morgue workers, ragpickers, etc. whose job is associated with unpleasant activities,
- ii) those performing excessively exhausting, monotonous, laborious work, e.g., load-carriers and porters, drivers, etc.
- iii) persons in competitive target-oriented jobs, where many deals may be struck around alcohol, like marketing and sales, etc.

Different cultures provide diverse means to their members of gaining satisfaction and of handling tensions. If a culture provides many healthy ways of reducing tensions, and of gaining pleasure, e.g., sports, creative arts, rituals and ceremonies, etc., especially to young people and those under physical or mental stress, they are less likely to turn to alcohol or other drugs and thus be less prone to addiction.

Sociological theorists offer other explanations as well. The theory of strain holds that people turn to drugs and alcohol because social conditions in their environment do not provide them adequate opportunity for achievement. This is particularly so for lower socio-economic groups and other socially disadvantaged groups.

It is also believed that people, because of their consumption of alcohol and other drugs and life-style become labelled as “deviants”, tend to become dependent on drugs and/or alcohol, as these become the most important aspects of their lives. It, therefore, is clear that several sociocultural, psychological and physical factors can contribute towards alcoholism, often in combination, rather than singly.

3.1.7 Family Influence

Family influence is believed to be another important environmental factor in addiction. Imitation may occur if the family has an adult addict. Other factors that operate are:

- i) the aggravating of stress by the family at periods of transition, e.g., adolescence,
- ii) the absence of reasonable parental control.
- iii) a disunited and dysfunctional family.

The assumption that the home environment influences the behaviour of youths is widely accepted. But while experts agree that family life is an important factor in precluding or promoting drug abuse, they disagree on the way in which it influences behaviour.

Some have argued that poor parent-child attachments lead to a lack of commitment to conventional activities, and that this is sufficient to produce conditions fostering use. According to this perspective, programs that produce parent-child bonds of attachment would appear likely to reduce drug misuse.

In contrast, Edwin H Sutherland and Donald R Cressey have argued that drug abuse is learned; that lack of attachment leads to abuse only when peers or parents provide models of illicit behaviours. Both perspectives acknowledge that the quality of family life is related to drug consumption, but adherents of the latter view argue that family relationships are significant only in the presence of pro-drug values.

Followers of the former perspective assert that inadequate bonding alone is a sufficient cause of drug abuse. The lack of a stake in conformity and commitment to conventional lines of action leave youths vulnerable to group and situational inducements. From this point of view outright subscription to pro-drug values is not necessary because drug misuse arises naturally in the absence of family, school, and peer-group social controls.

Though this disagreement over the importance of pro-drug values remains unresolved, most investigators acknowledge that family life has a direct effect on the behaviour of young children and an increasingly derivative effect on the behaviour of adolescents and young adults. In general, the family relationships of high and low drug users are quite different.

In a survey Denise Kandel reported that drug use by peers exerted a greater influence on adolescent marijuana use than parental use of drugs. She also found that “parents and best friends both have an independent effect on use.” Tim Brennan et al. reported that the families of youths who regularly use alcohol, tobacco, marijuana, and other illicit drugs were characterized by greater normlessness and disaffection.

Youths tended to feel isolated in their families and labelled as bad or sick. Moreover, youths were less involved in family activities and less committed to family aspirations. Parents of children in high drug-using groups did not appear to disapprove of delinquent behaviour as strongly as parents of youths who used no or few drugs.

Caring and involvement in home life appear to reduce the odds of drug dependence. Studies have found that age, parent-child attachment, and consistent discipline are more important than number of parents in the home. This suggests that qualitative aspects of family life are better predictors of social adjustment than marital status, number of divorces, or the notion of “broken home.”

Gary Jensen reported that when peer involvement and beliefs about drug use were controlled, the relationship between parental supervision and delinquency did not diminish. Irrespective of the presence of pro-drug values, the child who is disaffected from his parents and whose parents (or parent) lack the means to provide consistent discipline appears more likely to abuse drugs when compared to a child from a home environment characterized by affection, supervision, and support.

Kandel et al., Jessor and Jessor, and Jessor et al. investigated marijuana and alcohol use among high school students and developed peer-influence models of behaviour. However, Kandel noted that impaired socialization plays a large part in the movement to more debilitating stages of drug dependence: “progression to other more serious illicit drugs appears to express personal dissatisfaction and maladjustment rather than the desire to belong to a counterculture.”

Therefore, it is clear that child-rearing practices affect children's behaviours. The importance of parental values, parent-child attachment, and consistent discipline within families emerges in both recent and older studies of drug abuse. But the way in which family variables influence drug use is much debated.

Some sociologists argue that attachment is followed by an internalization of values, which produces a healthy, success-oriented self-concept that inoculates youth against drug problems. Others suggest that multiple conventional attachments lead to a “social bond” to society and to a “stake” in conformity that prevent drug misuse.

Recent studies down play parental influence and argue that the “direct cause of drug abuse is bonding to deviant peers and the effects of strain (in the home and school) and conventional bonding (to parents and teachers) are almost totally indirect.” The research is not definitive in this area. Other reports argue that parents are influential in youths' initiation to the use of hard liquor and illicit drugs, and that their influence is diminished only in the case of marijuana use.

3.1.8 Peer Group Influence

Peer group influence in initiating drug abuse and encouraging it to the point of addiction is even more decisive, as mentioned earlier. Socialisation determines the extent to which people choose to conform to the larger social norms or to break the social bonds and choose deviance, living a life of addiction.

Robert Merton argued that drug addiction is retreatist, asocial behaviour, but there is a growing body of evidence that suggests that drug use is both socially induced and socially controlled by the peer group. Recent research describes drug use as largely a “sociogenic” phenomenon that depends entirely on the nature of one's social network of friends.”

Many sociologists disagree, however, arguing that family and school factors create controls that mediate peer influence by increasing or decreasing the odds of involvement in a drug-using subculture. There is probably no type of drug abuse that is totally independent of family, school, or peer influences, although the proportional influence of interactions in each of these spheres may vary.

The peer-influence view has recently been extended by Zinberg and Harding, who suggest that the peer group exerts its own form of control over drug abusing behaviour by establishing a regulatory system that specifies user, setting, and drug-type limits. The most salient point about peer involvement and the one that elicits broad-scale agreement is that drug misuse is positively associated with attachment to peers who misuse drugs.

This relationship remains strong when sex and family relationships are controlled. In studies of drug use, the use of drugs by friends is frequently the highest correlate; Kandel reports, however, that its strength decreases significantly for opiate and polydrug abuse. Merton's description of drug abuse as isolationist, retreatist behavior is not supported in these data.

3.1.9 Consequences

Drug addiction is one of the grave social evils of the modern complex society. Unfortunately, it is becoming more and more widespread in the economically and educationally advanced societies. It is indeed becoming a growing threat to humanity. Some of the disastrous effects of drug abuse may be noted here.

1. Physical and Mental Decline:

Individuals who become the victims of drug addiction soon deteriorate mentally and physically. Though the consumption of drug gives them thrill or kick in the beginning, its continuous use makes them to become its slave and they get emaciated soon.

2. The Tragic Dependence on Drugs:

Frequent use of drug makes a person to become dependent on it. In the beginning, he will be intensely aspiring and craving to get it. This is a stage of "Psychological dependence". Consistent use of a drug at this stage slowly pushes him to the next worst stage of "physical

dependence". At this stage, the individual's body gets so adjusted to the drug that without the drug, the body suffers pain, illness, pain, shivering and total discomfort. This is the stage of addiction.

3. Great Damage to Health:

Drug habit at its height is dangerous for health. If the habit becomes a permanent habit, then it makes the person to become the victim of many types of diseases and health upsets such as nervous weakness, bodily weakness, loss of body weight, indigestion, peptic ulcer, liver complaint, sleepiness, higher B.P., and so on.

4. Moral Degradation:

Drug addiction leads to moral degeneration also. The drug addict gives no respect to moral values and ideals. He does not obey the rules. He is interested in only one thing in life and that is drug. For obtaining it, he is prepared to do anything including the criminal acts such as cheating, stealing, killing, and so on.

5. Blackmailing the Drug Addicts for Criminal Purposes:

Drug addicts are increasing in number. Huge amount of money is wasted by these drugs addicts for purchasing drugs worth more than Rs. 100 billion dollars every year for their consumption. Further, anti-social elements and criminals make use of the drug addicts for their criminal activities. They exploit the weakness of the drug addicts and even blackmail them to get their things done.

6. Other Harmful Effects of Drug Addiction:

- Drug addiction causes waste of huge amount of money on drugs.
- It damages family relations, leads to an increase in divorce, desertion and family disorganisation.
- It spoils human potentiality and prevents a large number of people from utilizing their talents and abilities for their own betterment and for the betterment of the society.

7. Social consequences

When the young and adolescent population of the country indulge themselves into drug or substance use, they lose their power of decision making and end up making choices that can cost them a great fortune. The younger generation using drugs will increase the crime rate at a great pace; they might want to steal money for buying more drugs, they will not be able to judge their own decisions.

Their family members may face difficulties with society and also with handling the drug abuser in a way to make them sober again. The mental trauma felt by them is tremendous. This can also cost them their education by letting them waste their academic opportunities. The drugs once consumed tends to fail the capacity of risk analysis of a person which leads them to commit serious crimes such as violence, car accidents, assaults, STDs while they exchange injections in that case, rape etc. It also costs the person his development, learning or social relations. It is beyond our criminal justice system to understand such crimes.

8. Economic Consequences

They are least capable of becoming a human resource adding up to the GDP or the development or growth of the country. They lead the country to bear losses which could have been a productive addition to the growth. Moreover, the government has to bear the costs of channelizing their funds for establishing the rehabilitation centres for them to sober up, and this not only affects the government but it also levers an economic liability on the shoulders of the family as they have to bear the cost for their admission in the rehabilitation centres. Beyond the social and economic consequences, there are also legal, psychological, and traumatic consequences that not only affect the person consuming the drugs but their family and the society and in turn the entire country.

3.1.10 Drug Abuse Control

Problem of drug addiction has become one of the serious and pressing social problems of the civilized societies. The problem has to be tackled effectively and the drug addicts are to be persuaded to give up their deadly habits. The programme of prevention of drug abuse/addiction should have realistic aims. Over ambitious hopes of eradicating the drug problem in a short time are likely to lead to policies that are unrealistic and self-discrediting. Changes in cultural attitudes and alteration in relevant aspects of the environment can be brought about only slowly.

1. Effective coordination among enforcement agencies:

Coordination in illicit drug control is the function of the Narcotics Control Bureau, Department of Revenue. The licensing functions for medicinal and scientific purposes are performed by narcotics commissioner at the Centre and drug controllers in the states.

The state police organisations, the Narcotics Control Bureau and other central police organisations have enforcement powers under Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances Act, 1985, and PIT-NDPS Act 1988. The health treatment and rehabilitation of addicts are the responsibility of Department of Health and Family Welfare of the states. Meaningful interaction between these agencies would help in better enforcement of anti-drug abuse laws.

2. Sharing of intelligence:

Many state and central agencies work in isolation. The state police generally catch distributors and peddlers, whereas central agencies focus on apprehending big-time smugglers. There is an urgent need to develop a system for sharing of information which would help the enforcement agencies connect the distributors to source of supply.

3. Focus on source of supply:

Generally, investigation officers obtain information and catch peddlers and distributors of illegal and narcotic drugs. Many a times, they fail to locate the source of supply. The link between the distributor, transporter and supplier is missing most of the time. The network of narcotic smugglers is very strong and dangerous. Exposing a drug traffic network requires years of planning, intelligence collection and sustained efforts to bust the network. Enforcement agencies should focus mainly on tracking the network deeply and prosecuting producers and suppliers.

4. Special skills, dedicated units:

Investigation of illegal drug trafficking is a specialised task. There is a need to develop special skills within state police organisations dealing with drugs. Officers must be trained on investigation techniques to track organised crime syndicates. They need to be briefed on the latest case laws so that they can investigate as per the requirement of evidences for conviction.

5. Enhancement of punishment under Illegal Drug Control Act:

Punishments under NDPS and other laws should be commensurate with the quantity of contraband recovered. The law should distinguish between trafficking of drugs done by smugglers and that by small-time sellers who are generally street peddlers. Smugglers, suppliers and members of drug syndicates should be awarded enhanced punishments.

6. The Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances Act- 1985:

The Central Government introduced this Act in the year 1985 to combat trafficking in drugs. It was amended in 1987 to make the legislation still more stringent. The Act provides for a minimum punishment of 10 years rigorous imprisonment for its violation, and it could be extended to 20 years with a fine of 1 to 2 lakh rupees. The courts are also empowered to impose still heavier amount of fines.

The Act also lays down imprisonment of one year or fine or both for illegal possession of any narcotic drug or psychotropic substance in small quantity for personal consumption. The Act makes provision for the establishment of as many centres as the government thinks fit for identification, treatment, education, after care, rehabilitation and social reintegration of addicts.

7. Creating awareness among citizens:

Many times, students and young people may not be aware of the harmful effects of illicit drugs. Youth, especially, suffer from insecurity and depression and fall prey to drug peddlers. In order to create awareness, police organisations should join hands with Education Department, Health and Family Welfare Department and other agencies to educate students and youngsters through lectures, films and through providing literature about harmful effects of drug abuse. Effective co-ordination with Non-Government Organisations will also help in creating awareness among youth.

8. Establishment of de-addiction centres and camps:

There are many NGOs which run de-addiction camps where people are helped to come out of drug addiction. Some of these centres are very expensive. Therefore, the government agencies can establish district wise de-addiction centres and camps to help the affected youth. Rehabilitation and post care counselling can save many lives.

9. Role of Teachers:

Teachers can play a vital role in the prevention of drug abuse. They need to talk openly and freely with the students and can discuss the dangers of drug abuse. They can come to know about their students' interests and activities.

They can talk about the problem of adolescence and guide students how to solve them. They can encourage their students to talk freely

about their personal problems [in relation to parents, peer groups, money, etc.] and give proper suggestion and advice. Teachers can help the students in selecting career options and setting goals.

10. Role of Parents:

Parents' role is no less significant. Drug abuse, at times, may have its roots in parental neglect, over-hostility, rejection, marital disharmony, etc. It is thus necessary that parents have to take more care in keeping the family environment congenial and harmonious. No one becomes an addict overnight. It involves a process of evolution of losing interest in studies, activities and hobbies, indulging in irresponsible behaviour, irritability, impulsive conduct, etc. If the parents are alert and responsible, they can locate these early signs and take proper precaution in protecting their children.

Parents can do a lot in the prevention of drug abuse. They could talk to their children openly and affectionately, listen to their problems patiently and suggest them how to handle the problems effectively. Parents need to spare much time to know the activities of their children, their circle of friends, their hobbies, etc. Parents themselves must set a good model for the children by not taking drugs or alcohol. Parents must keep themselves informed about the modern drugs, the drug lobbies, their style of operation, etc. in order to keep their children away from such influence.

3.2 Alcoholism

Alcoholism is a disease caused by chronic, compulsive drinking. A purely pharmacological-physiological definition of alcoholism classifies it as a drug addiction that requires imbibing increasing doses to produce desired effects and that causes a withdrawal syndrome when drinking is stopped. Behavioural in nature, alcoholism is a disorder in which alcohol assumes marked salience in the individual's life and in which the individual experiences a loss of control over its desired use. In this definition, alcoholism may or may not involve physiological dependence, but invariably it is characterized by alcohol consumption that is sufficiently great to cause regret and repeated physical, mental, social, economic, or legal difficulties.

In this unit, we will focus on the following learning objectives:

- Causes of alcoholism
- Effects of alcoholism
- Stages of alcoholism
- Treatment of alcoholism

3.2.1 Causes of Alcoholism

The causes of alcoholism include but are not limited to the following:

1. Heredity:
Studies of twins and adoptees have confirmed the common belief that alcoholism can be inherited. This genetic component is not inexorable, but reflects a predisposition that renders some people significantly more vulnerable to alcoholism than others. Another hereditary factor causes young women (but not young men) to break down less alcohol in the stomach prior to absorption through the digestive system. Young women therefore experience higher blood-alcohol levels from a given dose of alcohol.
2. peer influence, Peer social networks (friends, clubs, or spouses) that include heavy drinkers and alcohol abusers increase the individual's risk of alcoholism
3. Cultural attitudes and informal rules for drinking are also important:
Cultures that permit the use of low-proof alcoholic beverages with food or religious ritual, but have well-established taboos against drunkenness (as in Israel and Italy), enjoy low alcoholism rates. Cultures that do not have traditions of consuming alcohol with food or ritual, yet are tolerant of heavy drinking (as in the United States and Ireland), experience high alcoholism rates.
4. Certain psychiatric conditions also increase the risk of alcoholism:
They include attention deficit disorder, panic disorder, schizophrenia, and, especially, antisocial disorder. Easy availability also increases risk. Communities or nations that have low alcohol taxes, cheap alcohol with extensive advertising, and limited societal control over sales suffer high rates of alcoholism

5. Occupation:

Persons who are unemployed or who have occupations with irregular working hours (e.g., writers) or close sustained contact with alcohol (e.g., diplomats and bartenders) may be prone to the development of alcoholism.

6. Psychological:

Personality studies of alcoholics show that they are emotionally immature, they need a lot of praise, appreciation and attention from others and they are very much hurt and disturbed by failures and frustrations. They feel very insecure and inferior and have low frustration tolerance.

Many young men take to heavy drinking to prove their masculinity and to achieve feelings of adequacy and competency. According to the psychological theories alcohol takes the person away from the burdens, responsibilities, heart aches, sorrows and distresses, worries and anxieties of modern life. Alcohol is a vehicle to escape from conflicts, business worries and inferiority complexes. It gives courage to the coward, confidence to the timid, pleasure to the unhappy and success to failure that is what those who take alcoholics say.

7. Familial problems:

Marital problems pose many crises for the individual. It not only hurts him, but brings in self devaluation. Divorce, separation, untimely death of children or spouse add to the extra marital relationship of one of the partners, constant quarrel and conflict between husband and wife, poverty and disease may lead to habitual drinking. Alcohol problems are also correlated with a history of school difficulty, High School dropouts and persons with records of antisocial activity and delinquency appear to be at particularly high risk for alcoholism.

8. Socio cultural factors:

Drinking has been considered as a social act. This socio-cultural trend encourages many to drink in clubs, parties and in many other social get together.

Greater the insecurity level and stress in a culture, greater is the need for taking alcohol to the level of becoming an alcoholic. The following factors are important:

- (a) The degree of stress and inner tension produced by that culture.
- (b) The attitude towards drinking fostered by that culture.
- (c) The degree to which the culture provides the substitute means of satisfaction and other ways of coping with tension and anxiety.

To add to this, the effects of rapid social change and social disintegration in a particular culture, with which people are not able to cope, lead to further stress and anxiety

3.2.2 Effects of Alcoholism

There are many types of alcohol. Only one can be consumed, viz. ethyl alcohol (which is used in beer, wine, toddy, whisky, brandy, rum, arrack or locally prepared liquor). When alcohol enters the blood-stream, it circulates all over the body. Its effects depend on the quantity taken. They vary depending on the speed at which a person drinks. His/her weight and the presence of food in the stomach also make a difference. The parentage of alcohol in the drink and to some extent, some psychological factors like who one is drinking with are also important. Past experience of drinking and attitude to drinking is another pair of important variables.

Alcoholism is a chronic disease in which a person craves drinks that contain alcohol and is unable to control his or her drinking. It occurs when you drink so much that your body eventually becomes dependent on or addicted to alcohol. When this happens, alcohol becomes the most important thing in your life. People with alcohol use disorder will continue to drink even when drinking causes negative consequences.

Alcohol affects the brain directly slowing down its activities as well as those of the spinal cord. It acts as a depressant, i.e., it slows down responses. It gives the false impression of being a stimulant because it lowers inhibition and makes people lively. Contrary to popular conceptions, alcohol contains only empty calories, without any nutritive value. Alcohol leads to dependence in the case of several people. This

causes serious difficulties in occupational and family life. It also causes problems in financial areas, social interaction and physical and mental health of the addict and his/ her family.

The short-term effects of alcohol consumption in small quantity can lead to a lowering of inhibition. It also leads to increased anger, forgetting of unpleasant events and a feeling of relaxation. Regular, frequent, excessive and inappropriate use of alcohol leads to moodiness and loss of judgment. It leads to lack of control over body movements, and absence of alertness. It also creates loss of clarity of speech, absence of judgment and even chronic illness and death.

Alcohol intoxication results as the amount of alcohol in your bloodstream increases. The higher the blood alcohol concentration is, the more likely you are to have bad effects. Alcohol intoxication causes behavior problems and mental changes. These may include inappropriate behavior, unstable moods, poor judgment, slurred speech, problems with attention or memory, and poor coordination. You can also have periods called “blackouts,” where you don’t remember events. Very high blood alcohol levels can lead to coma, permanent brain damage or even death.

Alcohol use disorder can severely damage your liver. It can also lead to other health complications, including:

- bleeding in the gastrointestinal (GI) tract
- damage to brain cells
- cancer in the GI tract
- dementia
- depression
- high blood pressure
- pancreatitis (inflammation of the pancreas)
- nerve damage
- changes in mental status,

People with alcohol use disorder may engage in the following behaviors:

- drinking alone
- drinking more to feel the effects of alcohol (having a high tolerance)
- becoming violent or angry when asked about their drinking habits
- not eating or eating poorly

- neglecting personal hygiene
- missing work or school because of drinking
- being unable to control alcohol intake
- making excuses to drink
- continuing to drink even when legal, social, or economic problems develop
- giving up important social, occupational, or recreational activities because of alcohol use

Other health problems associated with alcohol abuse include higher rates of cancer of the larynx, oral cavity, liver, and esophagus. It is unclear whether the lack of adequate nutrition often associated with alcohol abuse increase susceptibility to the effects of alcohol or whether the alcohol individuals with cancer have lower survival rates and a greater susceptibility for, developing another primary tumor compared to nonalcoholic with the same type of cancer.

People at greatest risk for lung and oesophageal cancer are those who combine heavy alcohol intake with heavy smoking. The risk of esophageal cancer is 44 times greater for those who consume more than six drinks and one or more packs of cigarettes daily.

Small amounts of alcohol induce sleep, whereas larger amounts interfere with sleep. Societal Health Problems by shortening the period of rapid eye movement (REM) sleep. Alcohol consumption does not affect tactile sensation but does decrease sensitivity to pain, resulting in an increased incidence of burns, cuts, scrapes, and bruises among problem drinkers. Nutritional deficiencies, especially deficits of the B vitamins lead to a variety of alcohol-related neurological disorders.

These deficiencies are the result of decreased taste for food, decreased appetite (since alcohol is high in calories) and faulty absorption of nutrients because of irritation to the lining of the stomach and small intestine. Peripheral polyneuropathy subsequent to nutritional deficiency is characterized by weakness, numbness, partial paralysis of extremities, pain in the legs, and impaired sensory reactions and motor reflexes. This condition is reversible with adequate diet and supplemental B vitamins.

However, if untreated, polyneuropathy can progress to Wernicke's encephalopathy, which is serious although reversible. Wernicke's encephalopathy is characterized by ophthalmoplegia, nystagmus, ataxia,

apathy, drowsiness and confusion, as well as the inability to concentrate. Without treatment this disease can be fatal.

Alcohol is an irritant to the gastrointestinal system; it can damage the mucous and result in esophagitis and gastritis. Increased capillary fragility can result in gastric bleeding and ulcers often result. Excessive alcohol intake can cause weight gain because of the concentrated sugar and calorie content. Alcohol also significantly affects the cardiovascular system. By causing vasodilatation of peripheral vessels, alcohol produces flushing, heat loss, and a sense of warmth, while simultaneously causing vasoconstriction of the great vessels, producing resistance and increasing the work of the heart.

Prolonged alcohol use has been associated with enlargement of the liver, probably because of an accumulation of triglycerides in the hepatic cells. This fatty liver condition tends to be reversible with abstinence from alcohol and the assumption of a nutritious diet.

Two serious alcohol related hepatic diseases are: hepatitis and cirrhosis. Pancreatitis is another condition resulting from prolonged alcohol consumption, with symptoms ranging from gastritis-like sensations to severe pain with nausea, vomiting and rigidity of the abdomen. Usually, abstinence from alcohol and consumption of adequate food and fluids relieve the symptoms.

3.2.3 Stages of Alcoholism

As a progressive disease, it goes through various phases. The signs of these phases are described below:

- i) Early Phase
 - a) Need for more alcohol for the same effects, as earlier
 - b) Avoid talk about alcohol due to guilt
 - c) 'Blackouts', i.e., forgetting all that one did under the influence of alcohol
 - d) Preoccupation with drinks, i.e., thinking of how, when and where one can get the next drink
- ii) Middle Phase
 - a) Loss of control over the quantity, time and place of consumption

- b) Giving excuses for one's drinking to others and self
- c) Grandiose behaviour, i.e., doing things beyond one's capacity, e.g., spending too much or showing off
- d) Aggression through words and action
- e) Guilt and regret
- f) Temporary periods of giving up drink
- g) Changing the drinking pattern, e.g., changing the type of drink, the time/place of drinking, etc, to limit one's drinking, which does not give any positive results
- h) Problems in social relationships and increase of problems in family, job and financial matters. i) Morning drinking in some cases in order to handle the hangover i.e., the feeling of illness and unpleasant physical symptoms the morning after an evening of heavy drinking
- j) At times, the alcoholic may seek help for alcoholism at this stage
- iii) Chronic Phase
 - a) Decreased tolerance i.e., now get 'drunk' even with a very small quantity
 - b) Physical complaints
 - c) Binge drinking, i.e., continuous drinking for days together
 - d) Keeping a constant watch over the quota of one's drinks, due to fear of being without a drink e) Criminal behaviour to get alcohol and ethical breakdown, i.e., unable to live up to social values
 - f) Paranoia or suspicious feelings that everybody is against him/her
 - g) Loss of sexual desire/functioning in men which increases their suspicion about their wife's fidelity
 - h) Fears of simple things, e.g., being alone
 - i) Lack of motor coordination, i.e., shakes and tremors, prevent

him from performing simple acts.

- j) Hallucinations, e.g., imagining voices speaking, seeking what does not exist, or feeling sensations in the absence of external stimuli
- k) If alcohol is discontinued, severe physical discomfort and pain follows
- l) Either death or mental illness at the final stage.

3.2.4 Treatment for Alcoholism

Treatment for alcohol use disorder varies, but each method is meant to help you stop drinking altogether. This is called abstinence. Treatment may occur in stages and can include the following:

- detoxification or withdrawal to rid your body of alcohol
- rehabilitation to learn new coping skills and behaviors
- counseling to address emotional problems that may cause you to drink
- support groups, including 12-step programs such as Alcoholics Anonymous (AA)
- medical treatment for health problems associated with alcohol use disorder
- medications to help control addiction

There are a couple of different medications that may help with alcohol use disorder:

- Naltrexone (ReVia) is used only after someone has detoxed from alcohol. This type of drug works by blocking certain receptors in the brain that are associated with alcoholism. This type of drug, in combination with counseling, may help decrease a person's craving for alcohol.
- Acamprosate is a medication that can help re-establish the brain's original chemical state before alcohol dependence. This drug should also be combined with therapy.
- Disulfiram (Antabuse) is a drug that causes physical discomfort (such as nausea, vomiting, and headaches) any time the person consumes alcohol.

You may need to seek treatment at an inpatient facility if your addiction to alcohol is severe. These facilities will provide you with 24-hour care as you withdraw from alcohol and recover from your addiction. Once you're well enough to leave, you'll need to continue to receive treatment on an outpatient basis.

Various methods and resources are being used for the above phases. Physical management may be organised in hospitals (special/general), special centers or even at homes, under guidance. Psychological help is provided in:

- i) professionally run places like hospitals, general hospitals, mental hospitals, private hospitals, or units specially meant for de-addiction, i.e., moving away from addiction
- ii) institutions (day-care or residential) run by recovering addicts and/or professionals by Alcoholics Anonymous/Narcotics Anonymous. Such addicts that help others and self to stay sober and to help others to achieve and retain sobriety or to remain 'dry' i.e., stay away from the addicting substance.

To sum up, the goals of rehabilitation may be defined as follows:

- i) total abstinence
- ii) improving one's physical condition
- iii) taking up responsibility for one's behaviour
- iv) developing faith in oneself, others, and a higher spiritual power
- v) learning to develop a healthy self concept and understanding oneself
- vi) developing socially acceptable and meaningful goals in life
- vii) developing internal control
- viii) resuming one's education, job and social roles
- xi) re-entering the family.

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UNIT - IV**Lesson 4.1 - Problems of Weaker Sections****Structure**

- 4.1 Scheduled Tribes
 - 4.1.1 Constitutional Safeguards
 - 4.1.2 Problems Faced
 - 4.1.3 Welfare Measures
 - 4.1.4 Self-assessment Questions

Learning Objectives

The improvement of the most underprivileged sections of India should be the most important aims of a government which is committed to democracy. The underprivileged section is divided into three categories:

- a. The Scheduled Tribes (STs)
- b. The Scheduled Castes (SCs)
- c. The Other Backward Classes (OBCs)

The first two groups are enumerated in the constitution while the third group is vaguely defined and unlisted. In this chapter, we will attempt an understanding of:

- Who are the STs, SCs, OBCs?
- What are the major problems faced by such communities?
- What are constitutional safeguards that have been provided for them?
- Have these constitutional safeguards been sufficient?
- What other welfare measures need to be introduced?
- A detailed overview of the Mandal commission report and its implementation which has been instrumental for the OBCs
- In-depth summary of the two major problem that hurt the underprivileged communities the most: casteism & untouchability
- The causes, consequences and remedial measures for casteism
- The origin of untouchability

- The role of BR Ambedkar and Mahatma Gandhi in removing the malaise of untouchability

4.1 Scheduled Tribes

Scheduled tribes are the oldest genealogical categories of our population and they are often also referred to as the *adivasis* (adi- original, vasi- inhabitant). A standard scientific definition for the identification of scheduled tribes has so far eluded us. Even our Constitution doesn't give any specific criterion for distinguishing one tribal community from another. Mostly, they are conceived as semi civilized people.

DN Majumdar defines Scheduled tribes as a "collection of families or groups of families bearing a common name, members which occupy the same territory, speak the same language and observe certain taboos regarding marriage, profession or occupation and have developed as well as assessed system of reciprocity and mutuality of obligations".

There are more than 700 ethnic groups in India who form 8.6% of the Indian population. Most of them live in rural areas of India. India alone is home to almost 50% of the world's tribal population with 100m such inhabitants. The UT which has the highest proportion of STs is Lakshadweep with 94.8% while the state with the highest proportion is Mizoram with 94.4%.

In India, tribals are found in NE where they resemble the languages of the Austral family. Such tribes include Kukis, Nagas, Mikirs, etc. The class of Central aboriginals has the highest population in India which includes Gonds (MP), Bhils (Rajasthan), Santhals, Hoes, Khonds, Kharias (Odisha) and Mundas.

Lastly, the tribes of South India include Todas of Nilgiri, Chenchus of Hyderabad, and the Kanikars and Kurovans of Travancore. Southern tribes mostly have matriarchial social organization and matrilineal types of family.

4.1.1 Constitutional Safeguards (STs)

Article 342 of the Indian Constitution describes Scheduled Tribes in the following way: "tribes or tribal communities or parts or groups within tribes or tribal communities which the President of India may by notification specify for the purposes of the Constitution."

Article 244 of the Constitution enumerates that the Governors of respective states should work towards the betterment of administration in the 'Scheduled Areas' which are secluded and under developed regions with a high concentration of tribals. Financial help for the states to reach these objectives is granted under Article 275.

Article 164 makes it mandatory for states having the largest populations of STs to appoint a Minister for Tribal Affairs. Under Article 46, the State is advised to promote the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections with special emphasis on the STs & the SCs.

The list of Scheduled Tribes detailed by the Constitution has come up from the list of 'primitive tribes' which was framed during the 1931 Census, the list of "Backward Tribes" created under the Government of India Act of the year 1935 and the views forwarded by the governments of the respective states. This list of Scheduled Tribes has been changed via acts of Parliament as per the advice of the Backward Classes Commission as well as to accommodate the territorial changes that occurred when the states were reorganized.

The government has continuously been involved in working towards the betterment of the STs. The Shilu Ao Committee had been set up by the Planning Commission for reviewing the Tribal Development Program and submitted its report in 1969. During the 6th plan period, 3.46m families were enabled to cross the poverty line as against the target of 2.70m families.

The Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission chaired by UN Dhebar had also been set up in 1960-61. The Modified Area Development Approach (MADA) was framed during the 6th 5-year plan. Regional and district councils have also been built to specify laws relating to marriage, social customs and administer justice as per the legal provisions.

The 1st Backward Classes Commission had concluded that the, "Scheduled Tribes generally live apart in the hills, and even when they live on the plains, they lead a separate secluded existence and are not fully assimilated in the main body of the people. Scheduled Tribes may belong to any religion. They are listed as Scheduled Tribes because of the kind of life led by them".

More recent official stance considers the main criterion as a "distinctive social organization and mode of life". Only 2.6% of the

Scheduled Tribes live in urban areas. The Scheduled Tribes still largely rely on barter system and spend most of their money on social and religious ceremonies. Most of them are illiterate.

To protect against oppression, the Indian Constitution also gives the powers to the Governors of states to make exceptional laws for overseeing the land and money transfers in the Scheduled Areas. As per Article 338 of the Indian Constitution, a commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is mandated to investigate and periodically present to the President a report on the whether the Constitutional safeguards that have been provided for the Scheduled Tribes such as the reservation in the Legislative seats and reservation in educational institutions and public services are functioning efficiently.

While earlier there used to be a single National commission, two separate commissions now exist for Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes. The government realized very late that the problems of the STs differ from the SCs. They are completely separate cultural entities as well. For this very reason, a new Ministry of Tribal Affairs was also created in October 1999. The separate commission for Scheduled Tribes was set up in February 2004 to look after explicit complaints that concerned the withholding of rights of the STs.

4.1.2 Problems Faced By STs

Initially, they lived in forests and rarely had any contact with the so-called civilized world. But when the British arrived, their aspirations made it necessary for them to open up all parts of the nation for better administration and maximum exploitation. Annual taxes were doubled/trebled which could not be possibly paid by the tribals.

Credit facilities soon arrived but most of these were exploitative. Indifference and lack of sympathy from the administrators started from those days. Harsh laws were passed against the use of forests which had been until then owned by the tribals.

In the first decade post-independence, the governmental approach towards the problems of the Scheduled Tribes were more or less ad hoc. However, since then, policies and approaches towards tribal welfare have been continuously reviewed. The general consensus is that the Scheduled

Tribes cannot stay in isolation, and have to march ahead along with the rest of the nation.

The living standards of the Scheduled Tribes have to be raised to that of a common man. However, it must not be forgotten meanwhile that adequate attention has to be paid to their traditional arts and culture. Even the administrative development of tribal areas should be done in accordance with their wishes.

All in all, most problems faced by the scheduled tribes are of two types: ones which are exclusive to the tribals and the others which are faced by the common men as well. We will attempt an understanding of the former first.

a. Livelihood:

The main sources through which the tribals earn their livelihood are agriculture and forest produce. Soil erosion, primitive methods of cultivation and global warming has now led to low agricultural yields year after year. Forests have been exploited by contractors and forest produce is no longer controlled by them. Forests used to provide them fuel, medicines, fruits, etc. and now they have to find a sudden substitute for all of these.

Not to forget the emotional and physical attachment they have with respect to the forests. A very small population of the STs work in the secondary or tertiary sectors, and thus rarely have any chances of earning decent living.

b. Standard of Life:

Educational facilities are yet to reach every nook and corner of the tribal areas. The fact is that they have little faith in formal educational organization. They barely feel the appetite to educate their children. Since most of the tribals are extremely poor, education feels like an extravagance for them.

The existing curriculum doesn't suit the tribal people. The medium of instruction is another hindrance to education among the scheduled tribes. Most tribal languages lack a script for their language or dialect. Thus, if they are interested in studying they have to do so in a language which is foreign for them.

Banking facilities are inadequate as well along with lack of communication facilities in isolated hills. PS Lokanathan has commented that “income, consumption and saving levels of tribal people are very low along with high indebtedness and low health standards”. The few places where they are employed take maximum advantage of tribals in return for minimum money.

c. Government Policy outcomes:

There is a lack of interest from the political elite to solve any real issues. Most of the contact of scheduled tribes with government officials has been unsatisfactory, and this has led to mistrust even with the best of welfare measures. Most Government officials do not prefer to be work in isolated tribal areas which lack modern amenities. Lack of sensitive and trained management is thus a regular problem. Very few voluntary organizations willingly take up work in tribal areas, and the few that do find it hard to recruit capable workers.

d. Cultural problems:

Due to the influence of Hindu/Christian religion, the tribals have also been divided into several sects based on religion. Mass and forced conversion by Christian missionaries have been reported across several parts of India.

The youth have also taken to imitation of Western modes of living which has led to decaying of the tribal arts such as dance, music and crafts. This has affected their economic system as they have forgotten their ancient crafts.

e. Separatist tendencies

The demand for separate states has led to continued insurgency across the entire North East. While tribal struggles happened due to exploitation and economic deprivation as well from as far back as 1853 (Santhals), 1889 (Mundas), the ones due to separatist tendencies have received more attention due to the violence associated with them. The Naga revolution and the Mizo movements are the most prominent ones which ended with the creation of new states. But we must understand that the main reason behind such attitude is oppression and continued neglect towards such sections of the society.

Everyone will not always choose the path of exchanging and negotiating with the government because it takes a long while to be heard using pressure tactics. Developing military capability or fighting power presents a more immediate threat to the government.

f. Crimes against STs

Crimes continue unabated against the Scheduled tribes despite legislations. The crime rate against STs was highest in the state of Kerala (26.8) as per the NCRB Report of 2020. This was closely followed by Rajasthan with 20.3%.

g. Smuggling

The foreign infiltrators take undue advantage of the innocence of tribals and use them as pawns in the tribal areas to continue their smuggling activities. Whenever the law enforcement agencies turn up to take serious measures, the tribals become the first point of attack for them. Since they are used as the transit humans, prohibited drugs and unlicensed weapons are sometimes found with them. As such, some tribals also become the victims of drug addiction. Hence, most media present tribal border areas as sensitive regions.

4.1.3 Welfare Measures

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his introduction to Verrier Elwin's "The Philosophy for NEFA" (1957) had cited the principles for the tribal 'panchsheel' which is still relevant in today's day and age:

1. We should avoid imposing anything and try to encourage their own way of life.
2. We should respect their rights over the land and the forests.
3. We should allow them to carry on their own administration without many outsiders.
4. We should never over administer tribal areas or bring in a multiplicity of schemes.
5. We should judge the efficacy of schemes by the quality of human character evolved and not in terms of money spent.

Following are a list of measures which could possibly help in improving the lives of the tribal people while sticking to the tribal panchsheel:

a. Forest use:

The tribal people should be able to utilize the forests in which they live. The MHA had set up 43 multi-purpose tribal blocks. A committee was set up in 1960 to examine the programs of these blocks under the chairmanship of Verrier Elwin. The committee was also in favor of simplification of forest laws so as to permit tribals to procure items they need.

b. Marketing of goods:

Government should ensure proper technical help and education so that tribals can contribute to the improvement of the condition of tribal crafts. Provision should be made for marketing of the goods produced by them. For marketing of tribal produce so far, TRIFED: Tribal Cooperative Marketing Development Federation of India has been created.

c. Credit facilities:

Co-operative credit societies should provide money for small scale industrial entrepreneurship efforts undertaken by tribals. To loosen the grip of moneylenders, the government has also organized Large Area Multi-Purpose Societies. (LAMPS)

LAMPS give loans and also help in the sale of surplus produce along with purchasing the necessities of life for the tribal people.

d. Illiteracy:

Education should be given primary consideration. But the language should be their own. Religious dogmatism and superstitions can be gotten rid of through scientific education. Without a doubt, the thousands of scholarships that have been provided have helped many youths qualify even the toughest of examinations including the Civil Services yet the job is far from done. The Tribal Research Institutes present in 18 states for the training of the tribals should be appreciated.

e. Health:

Provision of medicines, clean water and nutritive food should be given due consideration. More hospitals should be opened which can provide free medicines and checkups in times of epidemics such as the Covid-19. In this regard, Rajasthan recently passed the Right to Health bill in 2023.

f. Social Problems:

The evil customs of bride price, magic and ritualism, child marriage, prostitution should be removed. The Bonded Labor System (Abolition) Act passed in 1976 was a good step in this regard. They are victims of superstitious beliefs: sometimes meaningless practices transform into harmful habits. New roads should be built and old roads repaired for the purpose of improved communication.

To conclude, DN Majumdar rightly said that there is no single solution for all the problems faced by the Tribals, and there is no common platform to demand it. Different tribes have different patterns of life. In any scheme for rehabilitation of the tribes, their attitudes and plans must be taken into consideration. What works for one region might never augur well for another otherwise.

4.1.4 Self Assessment Questions

The following are a few statements based on what has been entailed in the chapter so far. **Fill in the blanks with suitable words.** 3 options/choices have been given in brackets

1. Article ----- makes it mandatory for states having the largest populations of STs to appoint a Minister for Tribal Affairs. (164/244/342)
2. A new Ministry of Tribal Affairs in India was created in October ----- (1989/1999/2009)
3. ----- had given the concept of tribal 'panchsheel' (PS Lokanathan/Pandit Nehru/ Verrier Elwin)
4. ----- recently passed the Right to Health bill in 2023. (Rajasthan/Madhya Pradesh/Bihar)

Answer the following questions strictly within the suggested word limit:

- Q1. How has the livelihood of the tribals been impacted in the modern day and age? (75-100 words)
- Q2. Provide two examples of separatist tribal movements that took place in India post-independence. (30-50 words)

Answers:

1. 164 3. Pandit Nehru
2. 1999 4. Rajasthan

Lesson 4.2 - Scheduled Castes

Structure

- 4.2.1 Problems Faced
- 4.2.2 Constitutional Safeguards
- 4.2.3 Present Condition
- 4.2.4 Self-assessment Questions

The Vedic Literature consisting of the Vedas, Brahmanas, Aranyakas, and the Upanishads fail to provide any evidence that the Shudras or the Scheduled Castes existed in the early periods. The Rig Veda only refers to the 3 castes: Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas as part of the Aryan community. The origin of Shudras remains an unsolved mystery in the history of India.

Shudras are given the lowest position, and could not perform sacrifices or yajnas. They were often described as, 'despised, unholy and impure creatures.' Shudras rarely possessed any cattle or wealth and mostly worked as landless laborers or domestic servants. Thus, they earned their livelihood by serving the higher castes. Even today, most of the SCs live in rural areas and derive from sustenance from agriculture.

The Hindu religion gives primary importance to salvation via karma and dharma. This was a convenient ideology for keeping the lower castes satisfied with their present condition. What was engrained in their minds was that they only had to suffer for this life but by doing their dharma, they would ensure that they get the benefits in the next birth. This ensured that the Shudras were subservient and passive.

The term 'Scheduled Caste' was first used by the Simon Commission in 1935 for the untouchables. The British also referred to them as the 'depressed classes' or the 'exterior castes' (1931 Census). Gandhiji designated these classes as Harijans or the children of God. They were also alternatively known as the 'adi-Dravidas' or the 'dalits' or even Chandalas, Panchamas, etc.

As per the 2011 Census, the Scheduled Castes make up 16.63% of the population in India: there are more than 1200 such castes in India. The

highest population in a particular state in India is in Uttar Pradesh with 20.5% while the top state in terms of proportion of SC population to total population of that State is Punjab with 31.9% as per the 2011 Census.

Thus, the makers of the Constitution adopted the terminology from the Simon Commission. The Simon Commission used 13 tests to decide whether a caste could be included in the scheduled list some of which include:

- a. Whether the caste pollutes high castes by touch
- b. Whether the caste is denied temple entry
- c. Whether the caste is disallowed from using public places like schools/wells
- d. Whether the caste is served by purohits
- e. Whether the caste can be served by tailors, barbers, washermen, etc.

The Government of India Act, 1935 listed 429 Scheduled castes.

4.2.1 Problems Faced by Scheduled Castes

Kautilya in the Mauryan period suggested all other castes to avoid the Shudras as they were very low. In places like Pune, Madras, Mysore, etc., they were not allowed to enter post sunset because their shadows were considered polluting. As late as the 2nd quarter of the 20th century, they were barely allowed in temples and had to draw water from separate wells.

Even today, SC women are victims of sexual crimes including exploitation and rape by upper caste men. The SC men are forced to give up their lands and work for low wages via bonded labor. In most villages, they also suffer from residential segregation. They have little scope for interaction with other castes. The problems could be classified into the following categories:

- a. Religious disabilities

They were disallowed from entering Hindu temples and places of pilgrimage. Their presence was considered being polluting for the Gods & Goddesses. They were also debarred from reading religious books such as the Vedas or performing any religious ceremonies. The Vedic mantras were pure and could not be listened to or chanted by them. They were further prevented from taking baths

in sacred water or using the same sites for cremation even and were not served by the Brahmins.

b. Social disabilities

They were debarred from using main public roads and were to ensure that they spit into pots suspended from their necks and not on the highways. They should rather die of thirst than drawing water from public wells. The higher caste people did not accept any food from them either. The Shudras were not permitted to ride horses or use palanquins even at the times of their marriage. Restrictions were also imposed on the mode of construction of houses and on the milking of cows. The exact distance between upper caste men and Dalits were also specified.

In general, they were not allowed to wear ornaments made of gold and silver. The males were banned from wearing clothes below the knees or above the hips. They were also advised to not cut their hair and use anything other than earthen ware in their homes. Many women were prevented from covering the upper parts of their body or use flowers/mehendi. The men were also barred from using umbrella in times of excessive heat or rain, and using sandals.

Sometimes, the children of the SCs were prevented from going to schools. They were forbidden to receive education as education was considered unnecessary for them. Sanskrit education was outright denied for them. If the untouchables wanted to study, (and if they were not chased away) they could outside in the scorching heat or the piercing cold depending on the seasons.

c. Economic disabilities

Their sources of earning bread and butter were limited. The Dalits were never allowed to possess any land or property of their own or amass wealth by running businesses in the same locality as other caste people. As such, they lived below the poverty line and were overburdened with debt. Since good food was rarely available to them, their physicality was weak and thin and they were more prone to diseases.

d. Political disabilities

Most Dalits rarely ever held any political offices. They did not have the rights to exercise their franchise and also lacked the rights to

hold public offices. They were not allowed to enter meetings or assembly halls where other members of the locality sat down to discuss the polity of the neighborhood. The popular notion that prevailed was that Dalits were incompetent and would serve no purpose by attending the meetings.

4.2.2 Constitutional Safeguards & Welfare Measures

Article 17 of the Indian Constitution puts a complete ban on untouchability and abolishes its practice in any way. Article 15(4) makes special provisions in educational institutions for the scheduled castes via reservations. Articles 320 (1), 332 & 334 provide for special representations of Scheduled Castes in Lok Sabha and State Assemblies. Article 341 (1) gives the President the power to deem castes as Scheduled. One of the earliest instances that showed that the government was serious about improving the status of the SCs was when a committee had been formed by the Government of India in 1965 which was led by L Elayaperumal, MP for submitting a report on, "Untouchability: Economic and Educational Development of the Scheduled Castes".

The National Commission for Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes works as an advisory body on policy decisions related to the development of the Scheduled Castes (given constitutional status in 1992). The Commission consists of one chairman and eleven members which includes experts from the field of social anthropology, social work as well as other social sciences. They focus on studying the extent of ramifications of untouchability and social discrimination as well as the effectiveness of the measures undertaken by the government in tackling them.

The State departments have also set up bodies to look after the welfare of the SCs but the administration of such bodies varies from state to state. Voluntary organizations in numbers have also worked for promoting the welfare of these classes. Coaching and training for the purpose of various competitive examinations have also been undertaken to improve the representation of such classes in various services including the IAS, IPS, etc. Under the 6th 5-year plan, Special Component Plans and Special Central Assistance for Special Component Plans was introduced. The Scheduled Caste Development Corporations (SCDCs) helped in the provision of loan assistance to families. Post matric scholarships which provide financial assistance have also been granted so as to enable them

to continue with higher education. Special courts have been set up for ensuring quick disposal of the cases pertaining to the Scheduled Castes. Special SC cells have also been created in Police to ensure immediate registration of crimes against SC followed by prompt investigation and efficient prosecution.

Apart from the reservation that has been granted in recruitments, there are also reservations in promotions. This was done against the recommendations of the Supreme Court by passing the 86th Constitutional Amendment Bill in May 1995 for ensuring reservation in promotions in government employment. Further, there are many concessions which have been granted such as the relaxation of age limit and relaxation of the qualifications necessary for the posts. The question that arises most frequently is whether the measures have contributed to real upliftment of the classes.

Some argue that the majority of reservations have been hogged by the more dominant among the depressed classes. Some others point out that it interferes with the maintenance of efficiency in administration. One of the judges had also previously pointed out that reservation has led to a spirit of competition to be behind so as to enjoy the privileges from the same. For example, the Bedars of Karnataka started calling themselves Nayakas in the late 1970s and got included in the ST list in 1981. This is how the ST population of Karnataka increased nine-fold in 1981 as compared to 1971. MN Srinivas could also be quoted in this regard when he said that the backward groups show reluctance to give up the privileges of backwardness.

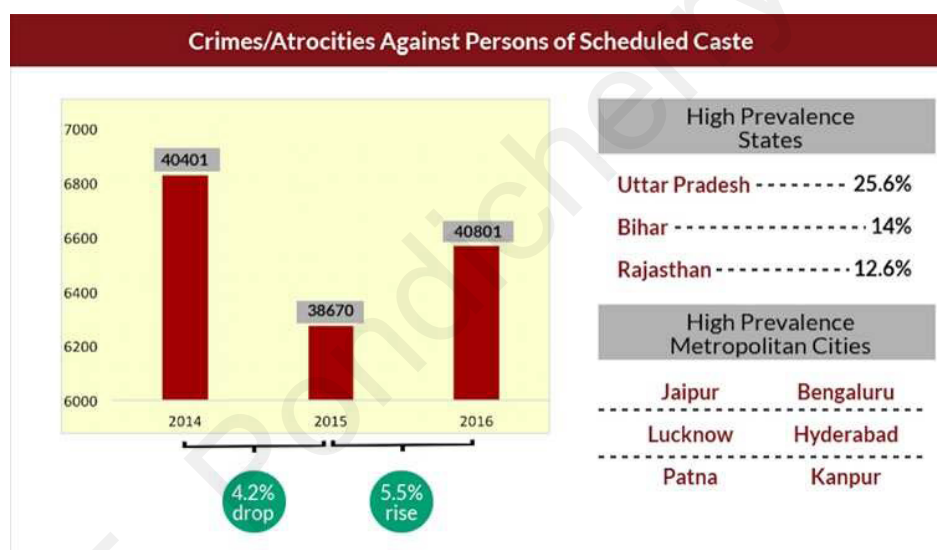
The truth is that the reservation policy has not delivered the results that it intended to, and at the same time, has created more conflict and tension. One of the biggest examples of this was when the state of Uttarakhand was created. The OBCs in the hill regions constituted merely 2% of the population whereas 27% quota was announced for them. The state government disagreed to have a separate law for a separate part of the state, and agitation was started in September 1994.

But at the same time, it must not be forgotten that it has given many a fair chance to live with honor and self-respect. Whatever the theoretical arguments are in favor of or against reservation, we must come to terms with the fact that it will continue in practice for many more decades because it serves more as a political tool for electoral advantage

rather than a policy tool. Vote banks will forever be important for our leaders rather than the future of the country. The youth should raise the need for amendments in the reservation policy and put forward their interests against that of the political leaders instead of making this a forward vs backward caste/class issue. Some of these amendments could include actually limiting the reservation to 50% without any exceptions, restricting reservation for one generation only and removing the provision of reservation from promotions.

4.2.3 Present Condition

DN Majumdar has made a valid point: The depressed classes are not depressed equally in all areas. The exact same caste may be depressed in one region but at the same time may not suffer from social disabilities in other regions. The disabilities are harsher where the population of the depressed classes is smaller, and the disabilities are relaxed when the depressed classes are numerically larger in number.

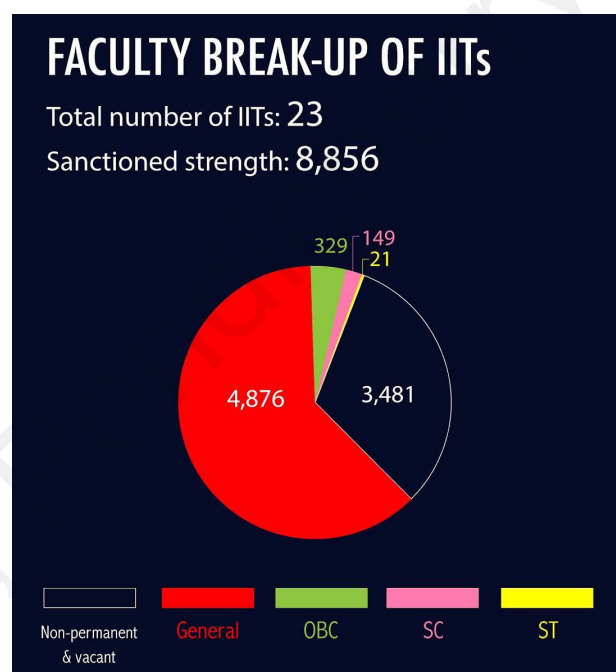


Some argue that the fate of the Scheduled Castes has improved little in the last seven decades. Even when schools admit the depressed classes, they are made to sit separately in corners of the classroom away from the rest of the pupils. This is why drop out rates for the pupils at school and college levels have assumed alarming proportions. The drop out rates for SCs from centrally funded technical institutions stood at over 31% for the four years from 2016-2020.

Most students remain absent from classrooms and the quality of their education is thus poor. This is evident from their performance in

entrance tests where the minimum eligibility marks have to successfully lowered to fill up the quota posts. Over 25000 backlog posts have been lying vacant in 73 government departments and bodies as per data from the last decade. At the highest level of governmental bureaucracy, there were a total of 0 SC candidates from a total of 149 secretary level officers. If we have a look at the faculty members of IITs below, SCs, STs and OBCs combined make up only 9% of the total faculty strength.

What all of this shows is that the members from the SCs have failed to make adequate use of the opportunities available for them in education and employment. This may be due to a number of reasons, the foremost among them being the reluctance of parents to send their children to school. They are instead used as workers to increase the family income for bare minimum subsistence. They have resorted themselves to the fact that education has barely been useful in bettering their economic prospects and they might never get themselves out of their miserable condition.



When lunch or food is organized for all at departments or institutions, the SC employees are fed first and sent away because the upper castes wish to avoid being served food by the SCs. This state of affairs might sound terrible but it is nothing in comparison to the treatment given to SC laborers in fields and elsewhere in the villages. Sometimes, massacres are reported on the basis of caste lines. There are also instances where a well is intentionally poisoned to hurt the entire society.

To conclude, new and renewed efforts need to be made for improving the verbal and non-verbal skills and learning as a pre-condition to the academic and overall success of the Scheduled Castes. The active cooperation of people is a necessity. The method of gradual elimination of creamy layer phase by phase will provide evidence to many that privileges are not permanent. The minimum standard of living needs to be looked after by increasing the wages. The grievances need to be addressed in the legislatures at the forefront of politics and more matrimonial and business alliances need to be welcome.

4.2.4 Self Assessment Questions

The following are a few statements based on what has been entailed in the chapter so far. **Fill in the blanks with suitable words.** 3 options/choices have been given in brackets

1. The term 'Scheduled Caste' was first used by/in ----- for the untouchables. (1931 Census, 1935 GOI Act, 1935 Simon Commission)
2. Article ----- of the Indian Constitution abolishes untouchability and forbids its practice in any form (15, 17, 341)
3. ----- said that the backward groups show reluctance to give up the privileges of backwardness. (L Elayaperumal, DN Majumdar, MN Srinivas)
4. The method of gradual elimination of ----- layer phase by phase will provide evidence to many that privileges are not permanent. (criminal/eligibility/creamy)

Answer the following questions strictly within the suggested word limit:

- Q1. Give a brief insight into the disabilities faced by the Scheduled Castes across different dimensions. (150-200 words)
- Q2. Elaborate with one example as to how the reservation policy has brought about conflict and tension between the different sections of the society. (50-100 words)

Answers:

1. 1935 Simon Commission
2. 17
3. MN Srinivas
4. Creamy

Lesson 4.3 - Other Backward Classes

Structure

4.3.1 Reservation Conundrum: Mandal Commission

4.3.2 Self-assessment Questions

4.3.1 Reservation Conundrum

As early as 1916, there was self-awareness among the OBCs that they had to limit Brahmin monopoly in the fields of education and appointment to government posts. In 1916, the South Indian Liberation Federation was formed by the non-Brahmin leaders in Madras to protect the interests of the non-Brahmins. The federation later became the Justice Party. This was the beginning of the fight for the OBCs.

Following this, the self-respect movement was started by EV Ramaswamy. In 1945, Ramaswamy Naicker founded the Dravida Kazhagam. In 1949, his disciple CN Annadurai started the Dravida MunneraKazhagam which was instrumental in wiping out the domination of Brahmins in the political circles of the south and especially in Tamil Nadu.

In accordance with Article 340 of the Indian Constitution, 1st Backward Classes Commission was appointed in 1953 under the chairmanship of Kaka Kalelkar for the betterment of the OBCs. The committee found that OBCs had low social position in the traditional caste hierarchy, inadequate representation in the field of industry, inadequate (close to no) representation in government service and lack of education in major sections of the community.

While little action was taken over this, the Janata Party set up the 2nd Backward Classes Commission under BP Mandal in January, 1979 as it promised to end caste inequalities in its election manifesto. While the reservation for SCs/STs was provided for in the Constitution, the one for the OBCs was brought about by the Janata Dal in 1990s. As many as 27% of seats were reserved in accordance with the Mandal Commission's report which had been submitted on December 31st, 1980.

What was the criteria that had been used by the Mandal Commission to identify the specific castes as 'backward'? The commission had used

three indicators which were social, educational and economic which were further broken down. All in all, there were a total of 11 indicators which were given varying weightage points which came down to a total of 22 points. Castes which secured a score of 50% or above (11 points) were listed as backward.

There was a huge outcry at the sudden announcement of acceptance of recommendations of the Mandal Commission. A large number of students took to poison and self-immolation in public as well as in private. There were 17 attempts at self-immolation in twenty-six days in the national capital. In almost all of the cases, the victims came from lower middle-class families. No elite were injured or arrested in the protests.

A sense of frustration crept in at the entire system. Narasimha Rao's government attempted to give preference to the poor sections by reserving 10% of OBC posts for economically backward sections but this was struck down by the Supreme Court. So, we must attempt an understanding of the arguments in favor of and in opposition of the Mandal commission.

We will start with the former as it is our moral and social duty to ensure that the suppressed people can stand toe to toe with the most affluent people in the society. The Mandal commission counted the OBC population to be 52% of the national population. The % of reserved seats makes sense if this is taken into account.

Anti reservationists often argue about merit but their inherent assumption that merit lies with the upper castes because they have always been meritorious is wrong. When one section of the society is downtrodden and walked upon, how can they ever be fighting on the basis of merit?

The arguments against the Mandal Commission report include the fact that 'backwardness' was only defined on the basis of caste while the Commission had been appointed to look for class. This would have ideally included the poor but instead the report sought to perpetuate the discriminatory caste system by giving it primary importance.

The implementation of the report was erratic, whimsical, hasty and politically motivated. The chairman of the Mandal Commission was himself a member of a backward caste, and had been infamous for vague and biased statements during his entire political career.

The report was not based on a rigorous scientific method: early marriage as a social indicator doesn't prove anything, it was common to

all castes. Per capita family income had been surprisingly left out of the economic indicators. Out of the 22 points, only 4 points stood for economic criteria's which is complete disregard for economic backwardness.

There was no set limit on the number of members who could benefit from reservation from one single family. Families with income above certain levels should have been made exempt from applying for the reserved posts.

The Mandal commission identified 3742 classes as backward while the 1st Backward Classes Commission identified the number as 2000 odd. What this means is that there had been an urgent run among many to incorrectly identify themselves as backward classes. The number also varied from the state estimates. The Kerala government had identified only 79 castes as backward while the Mandal Commission recommended 208.

Most importantly, the report was lying around for a decade. After ten years, it is hard to believe that the needs had not altered and the statistics had not changed: the report needed to be re-evaluated. Thus, all in all, the report and its implementation was arbitrary, subjective and covered with many loopholes and fallacies. This is not to suggest that reservation was not required for the OBCs but that it could have been in several better ways.

Following are some other measures that have been undertaken for the Backward classes apart from the already discussed reservation: The National Backward Classes Commission was constituted on the 14th of August in 1993. The National Backward Classes Finance and Development Corporation was set up on 13th June, 1992 to help BPL OBC members with loans.

What still holds true today is that the role of the spread of equalitarian ideology, and increasing political and social mobilization cannot be downplayed. Fundamental changes have taken place but this doesn't mean that the stratification system has become one that is open: it is still in the process of continual transformation.

4.3.2 Self Assessment Questions

The following are a few statements based on what has been entailed in the chapter so far. **Fill in the blanks with suitable words.** 3 options/choices have been given in brackets:

1. In accordance with Article 340 of the Indian Constitution, 1ST Backward Classes Commission was appointed in 1953 under the chairmanship of ----- for the betterment of the OBCs. (Kaka Kalelkar, BP Mandal, KM Pannikar)
2. ----- of seats were reserved in accordance with the Mandal Commission's report which had been submitted on December 31st, 1980. (7.5%, 15%, 27%)
3. Castes which secured a score of 50% or above ----- points were listed as backward. (11, 22, 33)
4. ----- government attempted to give preference to the poor sections by reserving 10% of OBC posts for economically backward sections but this was struck down by the Supreme Court. (VP Singh, Chandrashekhar, Narasimha Rao)
5. The Mandal commission identified ----- classes as backward. (209, 2399, 3742)

Answer the following question in 200-250 words:

Q1. Point out 5 discrepancies in the Mandal commission report and its subsequent implementation.

Answers:

1. Kaka Kalelkar
2. 27%
3. 11
4. Narasimha Rao
5. 3742

Lesson 4.4 - Casteism

Structure

4.4.1 Causes

4.4.1.1 Consequence

4.4.1.2 Eradication

4.4.1.3 Self-assessment Questions

4.4.2 Untouchability

4.4.3 Summary

4.4.4 References

The Indian social system has been characterized by the caste system since time immemorial. As per Risley, caste is a “collection of families or group of families bearing a common name which usually denotes or is associated with specific occupation, claiming common descent from a mythical ancestor, human or divine, professing to follow the same professional calling and are regarded by those who are competent to give an opinion as forming a single and homogeneous community”.

Casteism is a grave social evil which has spread its roots and branches into various walks of socio economic and political life. It is a menace for national integration as it has zero contribution to the healthy development of the nation. Casteism basically creates loyalty to fellow caste men. At the same time, other caste groups are discriminated against regardless of the demerits.

As per Kaka Kalelkar, “Casteism is over riding blind and supreme group loyalty that ignores the healthy social standards of justice, fair play, equity and universal brotherhood.”

KM Panikkar interprets casteism as, “It matters little if the members of the other castes are irreparably harmed as long as it does not cause any concern to the caste one represents.”

Gandhiji compared casteism with the appendix in the human body. It doesn't serve any useful purpose as a vestigial organ and it should be thrown out of the body or removed from the society in the case of casteism. Because when it becomes unhealthy, it causes a great deal of trouble.

While casteism may be found more in the rural society, it cannot be said that it is not found in urban societies in India. Casteism is both anti-democratic and anti-constitutional. It was expected that post-independence, we will be able to deal with it in a better manner but certain electoral practices have strengthened it instead. We discuss this below.

It is sad but true that political leaders today use caste links when the time for elections comes. Most candidates are put up in electoral constituencies based on the number of people that belong to a particular caste in that area. It is not uncommon that many of the ministers at the state as well as the national level are leaders of their caste groups.

While commenting on the state of affairs in Mysore, MN Srinivas had pointed out that back then even the secretaries were chosen on the basis of caste. In fact, their promotions or lack of promotions also used to be on the basis of caste.

Today, certain percentage of seats in government schools, colleges, universities and jobs are reserved on the basis of caste. This was done to counter the discrimination against the backward castes in the matter of eating, drinking, marriage and social interaction which made them feel aggrieved. Earlier, the life chances and life opportunities given to a man were determined by birth in a particular caste: this needed to be negated.

4.4.1 Causes of Casteism

What then are the reasons behind casteism?

a. **Caste Prestige:**

The most important one is the feeling of caste prestige. In a society where caste holds so much value, an individual often assumes that his status is linked with the status of the caste that he represents. He is willing and ready to do all sorts of things, fair or foul, so as to ensure that the prestige of his caste improves even at the cost of other caste groups. It is also seen that the other caste members provide such members with all sorts of encouragements.

b. **Economic Interests:**

When a particular caste is placed at a high position, why would they ever want to lose that position? In a society where economic interests are of paramount importance; it is natural that even casteism runs by such interests.

c. Lack of education:

Those who are illiterate do not have a progressive outlook: they are often guided by narrow considerations and parochial interests. Uneducated men are more prone to falling prey to religious dogmas and blind beliefs. Lack of education makes them discourage following others occupations and believe that it is their sacred duty to carry out the job that has traditionally been followed by their community.

4.4.1.1 Consequences

We will now attempt to have a look at the consequences of casteism.

a. Obstacle to nationalism:

There is no nation in the world which has made progress without people who are patriotic and have love for their nation. However, narrow groups such as castes often come into conflict with each other and disturb the national unity.

b. Hindrance to democracy:

Democracy is based on consent, and accommodating the view points of other individuals. But if we are affected by casteism, we can never look sympathetically at anyone else's view point. Democracy and caste are totally in opposition of each other. One stands for equality while the other stands for inequality based on birth. One is based on the principles of social inclusion while the other is based on the principle of social exclusion.

When people are narrow minded, they do not vote for deserving or competent persons. As such many wrong people are elected to legislatures around the nation. Such people never care about the welfare of people at large, and this retards the normal growth of the nation.

c. Promotes nepotism and corruption:

Casteism places justice and fair play the lowest rungs of its ladder. As such it takes improper and immoral ways to promote mutually beneficial people without any regards for merit. As such, most of the times incapable individuals are recruited in the personnel to a great extent.

d. Stops scientific and technological development:

When people can go ahead in life without merit, they no longer work on their education and never equip themselves with technical knowledge. This demotivates the hard working and competent individuals who never get an opportunity to showcase their talent. Later on, such instances eventually lead to our nation lagging behind other industrially advanced countries.

4.4.1.2 Eradication

Casteism has deep roots in the soil of India: it has become pervasive. It cannot be easily uprooted overnight. Casteism in its most extreme form can give rise to untouchability as well. Therefore, it is an impediment to progress and needs to be addressed. The intelligentsia of the country have been working over this problem for years now but to no avail. Different scholars have however made different suggestions for its eradication which are detailed below:

a. MN Srinivas

Srinivas suggests both short-term and long-term remedial measures. The short-term measures include rapid industrialization, urbanization along with co-education and inter caste marriages. On a long-term basis, he believes that the government should focus on increasing literacy and higher education among the lower castes and making them aware of their legal rights.

In institutions, when people from different caste groups read together, they need to be made understood that a Brahmin boy is no different from a Sudra boy.

b. GS Ghurye

Ghurye offers a two-point strategy for the elimination of caste: more inter-caste marriages and co-education. The provision for co-education is expected to bring more boys and girls in contact who could marry across caste divisions. It is noteworthy that endogamy is one of the pillars of casteism, and without it, casteism would suffer vastly.

Marriages bring about strong emotional ties not only between the individuals that get married but also between their families. They forget all of their differences when they live under the same roof,

lead a common life and share each other's sorrows and sufferings. Extra incentives and rewards should be brought about for those who choose to marry outside their caste. The modern world where men and women not only study in co-ed schools but also work together offers many such opportunities at marriage which need to be capitalized on.

c. PNH Prabhu

Prabhu highlights the role of cinema and social media which can work towards the reduction of casteist attitudes. Caste journals, magazines and other publications often incite casteism, and this is one of the areas we could actually focus on to prevent a stronger feeling of casteism.

d. BR Agarwal

Agarwal calls for the disgruntlement of the joint family system because he believes that it encourages casteism.

e. Irawati Karve

She holds the view that casteism can be brought to an end by creating economic and cultural equality between the castes. If such economic and cultural differences are removed, each caste will stand on equal footing and they will no longer need to think in terms of the interest or welfare of the members of their own caste group.

Other scholars have also suggested that we drop use the caste altogether in every sphere of life. People need not inform or be informed about their castes, and should not be asked for the same whether it's for admission to institutions or job interviews. Such scholars also stand for dropping the use of surnames altogether to avoid caste identification.

Some others also point out the necessity of banning the political leaders who fight in the name of caste. They should be severely punished in the court of law. Special governmental reservation should not be provided on the basis of caste but rather on the basis of economic background of a man. Constant, continuous and consistent efforts are required to get rid of this malaise faced by the society.

4.4.1.3 Self Assessment Questions

The following are a few statements based on what has been entailed in the chapter so far. **Fill in the blanks with suitable words.** 3 options/choices have been given in brackets:

6. Casteism basically creates ----- to fellow caste men (menace, loyalty, discrimination)
7. Gandhiji compared casteism with the ----- in the human body (pancreas, gall bladder, appendix)
8. ----- highlights the role of cinema and social media which can work towards the reduction of casteist attitudes. (MN Srinivas, GS Ghurye, PNH Prabhu)
9. ----- calls for the dispruntlement of the joint family system because she/he believes that it encourages casteism. (KM Kapadia, Irawati Karve, BR Agarwal)

Answers:

1. Loyalty
2. Appendix
3. PNH Prabhu
4. BR Agarwal

Answer the following questions within 150-200 words:

Q1. Enumerate three vital reasons behind casteism.

Q2. Enumerate three vital consequences of casteism.

4.4.2 Untouchability

The problem of untouchability has been a serious problem in the Indian society. The evil of untouchability has been brought in existence due to the conceptions of pollution and defilement in the Hindu society. The phenomenon of exploitation of backward sections has been common to all civilizations across the world but the situation of untouchables in India is perhaps unparalleled to any other in human history. The untouchables are subject to disabilities in every walk of life whether it is social, religious, political or economic. Their position was worse than the slaves though the nature and content of maltreatment varied from place to place.

While theoretically, the untouchables fall outside the chaturvarna system of the Hindu social order; from the practical point of view, the Shudras placed at the 4th place or bottom of the caste hierarchy have also been treated as untouchables. It is not that untouchables were treated as such because they had no role to play in the Indian society. In fact, the presence of untouchables was a must for the Hindus because they performed various activities like manual scavenging and removal of the dead which no body else was willing to.

What could be the reason behind the origin of untouchability?

Dr Majumdar opines that untouchability started because of cultural and racial differentiation between the Aryans and the aboriginals. Nesfield however believed that untouchability started because of the different occupations that man took. Kuppu Swamy argues that untouchables became so because of their habit of eating beef which was the most heinous crime for the caste Hindus. Hutton states that the origin of the position of the untouchables was partly racial, partly religious and partly matter of social customs.

KM Kapadia concluded that untouchability was the result of marriage of a higher caste girl with a lower caste boy, i.e., pratiloma marriage. The off springs from such marriages became aloof from the society eventually taking up the role of untouchables in society. This is actually taken from the teachings of Manu who also believed that Chandalas were the off springs born out of the marriage of a Brahmin female and Shudra male.

The harmful effects of untouchability are unlimited in character. It divides the Hindu society into two groups who dislike each other. The social distance often turns into hostility and enmity. Because of untouchability, we see large scale conversions into other religions. Lastly but most importantly, the nation is deprived of the opportunity for making use of the talent and ability of a great number of people and progress is halted.

How has the government worked towards remedying this problem? The Untouchability Offences Act, 1955 was brought in to prevent offences on the ground of untouchability. It penalized any person preventing another from entering places of public worship, sacred water bodies, public restaurants or public places of entertainment, etc. The Act was

later renamed in 1976 as the Protection of Civil Rights Act. Both fine and imprisonment were increased along with the name change.

Voluntary organizations like the Harijan Sevak Sangh also made maximum efforts in this direction. They provided the students with financial assistance and scholarships and opened training institutions for imparting technical knowledge. The financial assistance was given even for the purchase of seeds, animals, agricultural equipment, fertilizers, etc. The Sangh also set up schools, dispensaries, etc. Other movements launched against untouchability include Sri Ramakrishna Mission by Swami Vivekananda, Brahma Samaj of Raja Rammohan Roy, Swami Dayanand Saraswati's Arya Samaj, Dr Annie Besant's Theosophical Society, Sri Narayana Guru's SNDP Yogam, Dr Br Ambedkar's All India Scheduled Caste Federation and so on.

Any study of untouchability is incomplete without understanding the role of BR Ambedkar in alleviating their problems. Born in a Mahar family, Bhim Rao was the undisputed spokesman of the untouchables. He wanted to instill in their minds the ideas of self dignity, self-confidence and self-respect. This could be done by following the three principles of, "education, agitation and organization". He felt that until and unless the downtrodden came forward to fight their own battle, no one else could alleviate their grievances.

No one else could know better than them about their own state of affairs. He gave them a new identity of the 'sons of the soil'. He inspired the millions of downtrodden masses to battle for their human rights. Ambedkar received several letters of filthy abuse and dire threats to his life for pronouncing that Hindu sacred books are fraudulent in nature and contain fabrications.

He was not afraid of any form of imprecations and quoted Dr Johnson "I am not going to be deterred from catching a cheat by the menaces of a ruffian". He took it upon himself to criticize the mad dogs of orthodoxy, and argues that the doctrines of the sacred books are responsible for the decline of our country. As per him, there can be no efficiency in a harmful economic organization where neither men's heart nor their minds are in their work. He reaffirmed that caste is a disease of mind, and the teachings of the Hindu religion are the root cause of this disease. Caste and untouchability do not let Hindus act together as one community is what he posited.

Additionally, he believed that there cannot be a more degrading form of social organization than the caste system because it promotes graded inequalities. This system deadens, paralyses and cripples the people from helpful activity. He wanted the system to be completely destroyed and dismantled ('Annihilation of Caste') because absolutely nothing can be built on a foundation with so many cracks. He had no hesitation in saying that a religion that discriminates against its own people must be destroyed. Therefore, in the last years of his life, he embraced Buddhism with his followers.

The 'Modern Manu' went on to become the chairman of the drafting committee later on, and was also awarded the Bharat Ratna title posthumously. It would not be unfair to say that Ambedkar is, therefore, more relevant today, not only in India but at a global level too, to provide us clear directions and sensitivity about holistic and humanitarian development.

The role of Mahatma Gandhi while remembered in many other fields is often downplayed when it comes to his dealing with untouchables but we must give credit where it is due. Gandhiji regarded untouchability as a blot on Hinduism. He also served in the Harijan Sevak Sangha which was founded by Thakar Bappa.

As a result of the efforts of both of these legends, the Removal of the Civil Disabilities Act was passed in 1938 by the Madras legislature and many temples including ones at Malabar and Madurai opened their doors to the untouchables. We must however not forget that untouchability has not yet become 'a thing of the past', and there is much that needs to be done.

4.4.3 Summary

The first lesson was about the Scheduled tribes. It started with the statistical facts about the scheduled tribes and the various regions of India in which they are found. The constitutional safeguards for the Scheduled tribes were then elaborated upon with relevant mentions of the detailed articles from Article 164 to Article 338. The different commissions that have been set up for the scheduled tribes were also looked into.

The next approach was towards addressing the issues faced by the STs which ranged from their livelihood, standard of living, to the crimes

against them along with the policy of governmental outcomes. The welfare measures undertaken for the STs were then detailed, the foremost of which was the Panchsheel principle laid down by Nehru.

The Scheduled Castes were taken up for discussion in the second lesson of the chapter. The terminology of how the Scheduled castes came into being was focused upon. The religious, social, political and economic disabilities faced by the scheduled castes were briefly mentioned. The constitutional measures for the Scheduled castes were then emphasized on and reservation came to the forefront. The pros and cons of reservation were elaborately discussed. Finally, we moved onto the present condition of the Scheduled castes where it was concluded that there is a large room for improvement from drop-out rates to faculty recruitment.

The third lesson was about the other backward classes who started their own movement, and eventually found reservation via the implementation of the Mandal commission report. A thorough and in-depth understanding of the Mandal commission report was undertaken which included the various discrepancies as well as the benefits associated with the report.

The fourth lesson casteism was started with definitions of casteism. The causes and consequences of casteism were further focused on. The lesson concluded with the ideas for eradication of casteism given by the different scholars. The final lesson of the chapter focused on the malaise of untouchability, its origins as predicted by different scholars and the role played by BR Ambedkar and Gandhiji to alleviate the same.

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UNIT - V**Lesson 5.1 - Female Feticide And Infanticide****Structure**

- 5.1.1 Learning Objectives
- 5.1.2 Female Feticide
- 5.1.3 Causes of Female Feticide
- 5.1.4 Consequences of Female Feticide
- 5.1.5 Possible Solutions
- 5.1.6 Summary
- 5.1.7 Self-assessment Questions

5.1.1 Learning Objectives

Modern science has brought about solutions for a vast number of diseases across the world. But this same scientific progress has been misused in the cases of female infanticide and feticide. The instances of both of these occurrences have been increasing at an alarming rate in India. While some might argue about it, female infanticide and feticide are among the harshest of crimes that taken place against womanhood in totality because they stand against the right to life.

Female feticide and infanticide did not always exist at least in India. Children here are often considered as the 'Gift of God' and since we hold this belief, we have had a huge population explosion with the improvement in means of science and technology. Earlier, 5-6 children were produced in families but most very unable to live beyond a certain age due to health issues but this changed post-independence.

Hindu religious scripture also condemns the killing of infants. In fact, not just Hindu, but the Islamic, Buddhist and Jain religions also stand against infanticide. So how did female feticide and infanticide come about to be? We will address this doubt in this lesson.

Secondly, why is it so important to study the instances of female infanticide and feticide? This is because they are increasing in number, and the same could have disastrous consequences on the society as a whole.

They also violate the Article 3 of the Universal Declaration of Human rights which stands for the Right to Life.

In this chapter, we will attempt a better understanding of:

- a. The concept of female feticide
- b. The causes of female feticide
- c. The consequences of female feticide
- d. The possible solutions to female feticide

5.1.2 Female Feticide

While the protection of human rights of women has received increasing attention in the past few decades, new and improved forms of violence have also come to the forefront at the same time. We must first understand what female feticide actually means. Female feticide includes those cases when a child is aborted post determination of her sex.

It barely matters if the families are illiterate or highly educated, rich or poor, urban or rural: female feticide cuts across all these barriers. The persons caught responsible for such a heinous crime do not have a homogeneous identity nor do they belong to specific age group or other such criteria. In fact, targeting an improvement in the literacy rates or even sustained economic growth would not help us get rid of this problem.

As per data published in the International Journal of Criminology and Sociological Theory (Patel: 2013), the instances of female feticide were seen at a much higher level among mothers who had education of more than 10 years. This is an eye opener that shows that even wealthy and highly educated families suffer from the malaise of female feticide. What rather can be concluded is that the easy access to technology has had an adverse impact on the deaths of girls before they are born.

The first ever world-wide report on female infanticide was released in 2016: the findings were an eye opener. Except South Korea, no other country had a sex ratio which was skewed towards the females. India in fact was ranked No.4 in the world in the list of countries that have a sex ratio skewed towards males. This shows how female infanticide and feticide across the world has had a debilitating impact.

5.1.3 Causes of Female Feticide

The causes behind female feticide could be many but the following ones are the most important ones:

1. Patriarchy

One of the major causes behind female feticide is a narrow, conservative and patriarchal mindset. The egalitarian social order that we attempt to achieve has so far been a myth. The mad preference for sons had led to this situation. This practice is based on religious myths: that only a son can help his parents obtain moksha by lighting their funeral pyre. As such, the parents wish for at least a single son to be born to them for this purpose. In an attempt to pursue a proper funeral pyre, such inhuman parents are becoming the funeral pyre on which the nation burns.

Care, affection, education and nutrition was already being given in lesser quantities to the girls. These are facts that have been confirmed by scholarly studies including those made by Kynch and Sen (1983). Now, even their birth is a dream for some. A complex set of tradition, religion and culture is a malicious web which cannot be easily escaped from.

2. The eventuality of girls being sent away to households

Things have changed for the better now but one of the important causes as to why the practice of female feticide started was that men were supposed to be more dependable than females for the old parents in terms of financial stability. This is true not only in India but throughout Asia as well. Girls get married and move away from their families of birth or orientation to their families of procreation whereas the males create their family of procreation in their original home, and thus take care of their family.

Women were rarely recruited in high paying jobs, and this ensured a preference for male progeny in the hope for a better standard of life in the later days of their life. The same is also true in the case of families owning businesses: they often look towards a male child to carry on the business for them as against a female head.

Similarly, the practice of dowry has lessened to some extent now but it is still widely prevalent in most rural pockets of India. Needless to remind, around 69% of the Indian population resides in rural

India as per the last Census of 2011. A girl is often considered as a burden on the family who needs to be paid for: for the very same reason, the spending on their education is often cut. On the other hand, a boy is considered as one who brings a substantial income into the family during marriage and is thus looked at differently.

Such instances have changed due to a modern lifestyle where the concept of nuclear family has taken priority. Both the males as well as females move away from their families of birth to set up a separate home but this concept has yet to influence India in the manner that it has done in the West. These were the important socio-cultural causes behind the evil of female feticide. Now, we will focus on the technological and legislative ones below.

3. Difficulty to charge culprit

One of the major issues with female feticide is to decide who to charge with once they are caught. The doctor conducting the ultrasonography may not be aware of the fact that the parents intentionally intend to abort the child if it is a girl. Moreover, the doctor may inform the parents violating his/her ethical obligations in an under the table business which are very difficult to find out and legally punish.

The mother of the child may not be the one who wishes to abort her little daughter. The reality is that the mother will never accept in a court of law if a particular family member has forced her to abort the child. So even if the police increase patrolling near nursing homes and private hospitals, it is very difficult to diagnose these problems and find out a culprit for the same. Since it is very difficult to find out the culprit, the criminals think that they will easily get away with this crime.

Now why does the mother never easily accept who is to be blamed? This is because of the stigma associated with divorcees in our society. Once the husband's family decides to break it up, a forced relationship cannot be continued. At the same time, the divorcee will not be treated with respect in the society. The worst case however is the continuation of the relationship with the intention to abuse and harm the wife after she gives birth to the daughter. The same treatment and the same violence are also meted out to the daughter a generation later.

4. Technological Misuse

Medical inventions like amniocentesis and ultrasonography are the ones that are helping these leeches in the process of sex selection. While the machines were introduced with the purpose of helping parents to find generational abnormalities, they are mostly used for sex selection techniques. If there is a lack of machines that can conduct these processes, it would not be wrong to say that the child sex ratio would be in a much better condition than it is today.

A study was conducted by Diaz in Mumbai in the year 1988: the results were astonishing. Around 16000 abortions had been performed in the entirety of the year of 1984-85 post performing sex determination tests. It was found out that a total of 100% of these fetuses were that of girls. A study undertaken by Gangrade in the year 1988 also reconfirmed these findings. Six hospitals of Mumbai were studied where 8000 fetuses had been aborted: 7,999 of these were those of females.

Some scholars also argue that the introduction of technology in the field of agriculture has also brought about the marginalization of women since men have better adapted to the growing needs for acquaintance with the technological inventions. This has ensured that women are being sidelined from the one job they had never lost on even during the times of the World Wars.

5. Inadequate implementation of the laws

Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act, 1971 was actually introduced by the Parliament to ensure that the rights of the females are protected: wherein the female has been subjected to a forceful pregnancy via rape, or where is significant threat to the life of the woman if she delivers the child or when it is guaranteed that the child could be born with certain health issues or deformities. But instead, this Act has been severely misused for the purpose of abortions.

Pre Natal diagnostic techniques (Regulation and Prevention of Misuse) Act, 1994 was also brought in to prevent the use of machines for sex selection. While registration of hospitals and clinics, etc. having access to such machines was made mandatory, they have barely been able put a stop to the inhuman practice. It may be noted here that government policies sometimes have a detrimental

impact on female feticide as well. For example, the government in China introduced the one child policy. Now, as discussed before, the parents prefer a male child to a female. So, what conclusion does this lead us to?

5.1.4 Consequences of Female Feticide

The first, and the most important consequence of female feticide is a **skewed sex ratio** where more males are born than the females. The child sex ratio as per the data from the last Census of 2011 shows that there are 914 females per 1000 males. Child sex ratio is counted for kids below the age of 7 years, i.e., from the age of zero to the age of six years. The child sex ratio of 914 in 2011 was the worst India has seen since independence. It was a huge 13-point drop from the ratio of 927 as per the 2001 Census. The number of girls who had to face abortion went up from barely 0-2 million in the 1980s to above 3 million and up to 6 million in the early 2000s.

Table No.1:

INDIA (State Level)

Child Sex Ratio (0-6 Years)

| Name | (0-6 Years Population) | | Child Sex Ratio | Name | (0-6 Years Population) | | Child Sex Ratio |
|------------------|------------------------|----------|-----------------|-------------------|------------------------|---------|-----------------|
| | Males | Females | | | Males | Females | |
| Haryana | 1843109 | 1537612 | 834 | Odisha | 2716497 | 2556697 | 941 |
| Punjab | 1665994 | 1410225 | 846 | Goa | 74460 | 70151 | 942 |
| Jammu & Kashmir | 1084355 | 934550 | 862 | Nagaland | 149785 | 141286 | 943 |
| NCT of Delhi | 1075440 | 937014 | 871 | Tamil Nadu | 3820276 | 3603556 | 943 |
| Chandigarh | 63536 | 55898 | 880 | Jharkhand | 2767147 | 2622348 | 948 |
| Rajasthan | 5639176 | 5010328 | 888 | Karnataka | 3675291 | 3485742 | 948 |
| Uttarakhand | 717199 | 638615 | 890 | West Bengal | 5410396 | 5171070 | 956 |
| Gujarat | 4115384 | 3661878 | 890 | Sikkim | 32761 | 31350 | 957 |
| Maharashtra | 7035391 | 6291126 | 894 | Tripura | 234008 | 224006 | 957 |
| Uttar Pradesh | 16185581 | 14605750 | 902 | Assam | 2363485 | 2274645 | 962 |
| Daman & Diu | 14144 | 12790 | 904 | Kerala | 1768244 | 1704711 | 964 |
| Himachal Pradesh | 407459 | 370439 | 909 | Puducherry | 67527 | 65331 | 967 |
| Lakshadweep | 3797 | 3458 | 911 | A & N Is. | 20770 | 20108 | 968 |
| Madhya Pradesh | 5636172 | 5173223 | 918 | Chhattisgarh | 1859935 | 1801754 | 969 |
| D & N Haveli | 26431 | 24464 | 926 | Mizoram | 85561 | 82970 | 970 |
| Bihar | 9887239 | 9246725 | 935 | Meghalaya | 288646 | 279890 | 970 |
| Manipur | 174700 | 163554 | 936 | Arunachal Pradesh | 107624 | 104564 | 972 |
| Andhra Pradesh | 4714950 | 4427852 | 939 | | | | |

>= 950

900 to 949

800 to 899

700 to 799

< 700

Data Source: Census 2011

As per the Ministry of women and child development, the child sex ratio had improved by 19 points if the years 2014-15 and 2020-21 are taken into account. The child sex ratio in the year 2014-15 was barely 918 females per 1000 males. This increased to 937 females per 1000 males in the year

2020-21. While this can and should be considered an improvement, there is still a huge way to go.

Now this unbalanced sex ratio leads us to the second problem of **'missing girls' or 'missing women'**. What then happens is that multiple men have to be married to the same girl in areas where the options for marrying girls are limited. This breaks down the system on which family has been based for centuries now and leads to an increase in social crimes out of discontent and jealousy. Thus, we have started from the demographical impacts of female feticide and we will slowly move onto how it affects the social institutions.

Thirdly men do not always prefer to share wives outside or even within marriages. What this means is that they wait or delay their marriage so that they can marry the next generation of females. This occurrence is often referred to as the **"marriage squeeze"**. This phenomenon is often seen in India as well where there is an age gap between the male and the female, and the male is almost always elder to the female at least by 3 to 5 years.

Society often gives the frivolous argument that this is because women attain maturity at an early age, and that is also why the minimum marriageable age for women is 18 years while that for males is 21 years in India. But all of this is done to account for the skewed sex ratio in favor of males.

Fourthly, since men are higher in number than females, they are leftover at one age while all the females from that batch become married. They then can marry into the next batch which already has lesser number of females. This eventually leads to a **huge decline in fertility** because women are forced to reproduce at an age that is different from the one that is optimum from them. Not to forget, men reproduce after they are way past their optimum age.

We must also understand here that thus men in their 20s have to face competition from men who are more successful, better settled and with higher financial avenues. Year after year, if men keep on marrying women from next batches, the cumulative result is that some men will have to skip marrying altogether because the surplus will become huge.

Fifthly, these men unfortunately are the ones who have less access to finance or those from poor socio- economic backgrounds because they

cannot adequately compete. Without any familial responsibilities, they often resort to **anti-social or criminal activities** after feeling depressed and lonely in life. Further, lack of sexual activity could also mean that there is an increase in the field of prostitution. This eventually leads to higher cases of HIV/AIDS. There are of course individuals who are single by choice but this does not constitute a very large group.

Or the other thing that could happen is that women need to be bought from other areas to make up for the lack of women in one area and this leads to **human trafficking** and forced marriages. We would assume that if women are not available in numbers, their bride price should at least go up but even this is not the case and they are sold at dirt cheap prices.

Another very important thing that we must understand here is that most of India's population doesn't have access to health insurance. Plus, abortions to kill the child are not legal in most cases. So, what this means is that illegal and under paid abortions are often performed by underqualified quacks and women risk losing their lives as a result of this. By the nation's own health ministry count, **ten women die every day** due to unsafe abortions in unhygienic conditions. Many a times women are given harmful chemicals by gangs and also resort to dangerous home remedies which end up proving damaging to their life in general.

Lastly, skewed sex ratios could also lead to an increased sexual violence against women in the longer run. Though the government often rejects such reports, India has also been ranked as one of the most unsafe countries in the world for women. Thus, the role of female feticide can never be sidelined in affecting the society in multiple and nefarious ways where it eventually leads to an increase in other criminal activities through various means apart from affecting the sex ratio, the marital institution as well as family.

5.1.5 Possible Solutions

The patriarchal mindset has to change: if a mother decides that it is her choice to give birth to her child, her parents need to fully support her decision and the society needs to let go of the unnecessary stigmatization. We have to strike at the root causes of patriarchy: women should become financially independent. Here, the right to self-determination and the right to lead a human life with dignity of the fetus cannot be ignored either.

The implementation of providing free primary education for girls needs to be quick and resolute. This will at least ensure that spending based on income is not one of the reasons behind why families do not send their daughters to schools. People need to be made understood the ethical responsibilities they carry and the harm that they do to the society when they kill a girl either before or after birth.

Advertisements and social media are used to intrude into our personal spaces, and spam us with unnecessary content and information on most days of the week. Can better use of them not be made for the purposes of awareness? Each woman must know her legal rights and the way out from an early stage in her life.

Who knows what might go wrong with her? At the same time, families must be made aware of the consequences of meddling in criminal activities such as feticide. Print media, social media as well as the news channels should devote more time to addressing this issue on a weekly or monthly basis.

Without any significant changes in mentality, there will be barely be any light for us to see at the end of the tunnel. People need to get together, work together and do the needful. Girls should no longer be treated as future mothers only; they have a right to life of their own and the evil practice of dowry must be brought to an end so that no family feels it necessary to save up anything by cutting on the expenses of education for a family.

The young children and the youth need to be sensitized from a very young age on treating women in a better way. This will bring about a long-lasting impression on the minds of individuals and on the society at large. Why should the wife always take the husband's last name? It is one of the prime reasons why sons are preferred over daughters because sons are expected to carry forward the family line as the girl loses her family name. If this can be addressed, a vast decrease in female feticide could be seen.

At the same time, the role of collaboration between the different agencies and departments of the government as well as social organizations such as non-governmental organizations should not be downplayed under any circumstances. The steps taken by some state governments including those such as Tamil Nadu must be applauded.

The government creates a fixed deposit of different amounts on the birth of a girl child which is handed over to her when she becomes 18 years of age and has completed education up to the 10th standard at least. A cash component of Rs 1800/- is also handed over to the girl from the starting from the 6th year of deposit with the intention of funding her education. These steps could be game changers and looked at by various agencies.

However, they can never be continued forever and can only work for short periods of time. Rules, regulations, and laws have been unable to bring about any significant change with respect to this problem. More new legislations will barely help anyone. No law enforcement or outside agencies can single handedly bulldoze this job of eradication of female feticide. The important thing to note here is not that the laws are lacking, but that the implementation is lacking. Introducing new legislations is not the best way to deal with it, but rather to ensure proper implementation of the ones that are already at hand and accessible to us.

5.1.6 Summary

While children are considered as the 'Gift of God' and most religious scriptures outright stand against the crime of female feticide and infanticide, we noted that it has somehow crept into the society. We started with an understanding of the concept of female feticide. We then noted how the perpetrators of this crime do not belong to any particular homogeneous group, and have residences throughout the world where they have had an impact.

The next phase of the chapter focused on the causes of female feticide: the first and the most important one was the burden that patriarchy has placed on the entire society. Dowry, lack of equal pay and marriage systems in India and elsewhere have also led to women being treated as second class citizens. The difficulty in identifying the actual perpetrator and recurrent technological misuses apart from inadequate implementation of laws were also identified as causes behind female feticide.

The consequences of female feticide were then taken up. The skewed child sex ratio and sex ratio were seen as factors causing instability in the entire social system. The concepts of 'missing girls' and 'marriage

squeeze' were elaborated upon. The other consequences of female feticide also included a huge decline in fertility as well as an inclination towards anti-social and criminal activities.

The possible solutions were then enumerated starting from the grant of free education to putting a stop on the practice of dowry. Some governmental initiatives were also applauded and the better use of advertisement and media was suggested. All in all, it was concluded that only a change or introduction of new legislations could not bring about any substantial effect but rather the focus has to be on changing the mentality of people. To achieve this change in mentality, the people themselves need to be involved along with governmental and non-governmental agencies.

5.1.7 Self Assessment Questions

The following are a few statements based on what has been entailed in the chapter so far. **Fill in the blanks with suitable words.** 3 options/ choices have been given:

1. The first ever world-wide report on female infanticide was released in 2016: Except -----, no other country had a sex ratio which was skewed towards the females.
 - a. Australia
 - b. South Korea
 - c. Oman
2. Girls get married and move away from their families of -----
 - a. Orientation
 - b. Procreation
 - c. Marriage
3. Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act was actually introduced by the Parliament in the year -----
 - a. 1771
 - b. 1871
 - c. 1971
4. The child sex ratio as per the data from the last Census of 2011 shows that there are ----- females per 1000 males
 - a. 914
 - b. 924

c. 934

5. The state with the lowest child sex ratio in India is:

- a. Uttar Pradesh
- b. Haryana
- c. Arunachal Pradesh

Answer the following questions strictly within the suggested word limit:

Q1. Is the misuse of technology one of the causes behind female feticide? Substantiate. (100-150 words)

Q2. List two causes behind female feticide, and give justification for the same. (150-200 words)

Q3. Give an instance when the introduction of a governmental policy led to increased feticide. (50 words)

Q4. Define the process of what is referred to as the 'marriage squeeze'. (75-100 words)

Q5. Enumerate three serious consequences of the malaise of female feticide. (150-200 words)

Q6. How can social media and advertisements help in the fight against female feticide? (75-100 words)

Q7. Give an example of a favorable policy introduced by a state government to better the odds of reducing female feticide. (75-100 words)

Answers:

- 1. South Korea
- 2. Orientation
- 3. 1971
- 4. 914
- 5. Haryana

Lesson 5.2. - Female Infanticide

Structure

- 5.2.1 History of Female Infanticide
- 5.2.2 Causes of female Infanticide
- 5.2.3 Types of female Infanticide
- 5.2.4 Preventive Measures
- 5.2.5 Summary
- 5.2.6 Self-assessment Questions
- 5.2.7 Keywords
- 5.2.8 References

Female infanticide is also commonly referred to as gendercide. This name has been given owing to the fact that a selective gender is singled out and murdered for specific reasons. While women are exploited and harassed irrespective of the areas or the period that they are born in or the religions that they follow or the professions that they work in, female infanticide is one of the most heinous crimes that is forced against the female community.

While the northern parts of India are separated from the South by many issues including language, this criminal occurrence brings them together. It should ideally bring all of us to shame and the way that India treats its women is one of the primary reasons behind why the nation is looked down upon from certain sections of the West.

Much like female feticide, the sex ratio is severely affected in the areas where infanticide happens: the sex ratio fell below 940 females per 1000 males. In comparison, the villages that did not conduct this evil practice of infanticide had a much higher ratio of about 1020 females per 1000 males. (George, 1997) We have already discussed the details of what a disastrous impact skewed sex ratio has in both the shorter as well as in the longer run in the portion of consequences of female feticide.

In this chapter, we will attempt an understanding of the following:

- a. The concept of female infanticide
- b. The history of female infanticide

- c. The causes of female infanticide
- d. The types of female infanticide
- e. Legal provisions and preventive measures

5.2.1 History of Infanticide In India

The first few instances of female infanticide were recorded in the era of the British but it is more or less a post-independence reality. Jonathan Duncan from Banaras was instrumental in bringing to light the first instance of female infanticide in India in the year 1789 in a Rajput family. In the 1820s, Elphinstone who was the then Governor of Bombay brought about an Infanticide Fund.

The money that was collected in the fund was given away to those who helped in the prevention of the practice. The money came from the rulers of the areas who were unable to control this heinous crime under their reigns. Infanticide Regulation Act or the Female Infanticide Bill was introduced by the British in the year 1870 to ensure that the police took an active part in the maintenance of birth and death registers. Further, a decade later, a special Census was also undertaken to find out instances of female infanticide in the Western regions of India.

There are conflicting sources of data that prove varied viewpoints. Some argue that it is majorly prevalent among the higher castes and had started among the higher castes in the state of Bihar. A local NGO from the state of Bihar named Adithi also presented evidence for supporting the same argument: that infanticide first began among the Rajput clan and then spread to other caste/clan groups across India.

Other scholars often argue that female infanticide in India majorly started as a North Western phenomenon but eventually spread to all parts of India including the South where it appeared only post-independence. Others point out that in states such as Tamil Nadu, the occurrence of female infanticide is found across all social groups without any particular common characteristic.

In fact, it was almost four decades after independence when female infanticide from the Southern regions first grabbed media attention. The caste group that was at the forefront of this attention was PramalaiKallar. It was later found that this disease had even spread across to certain tribes including the Toda in Tamil Nadu.

5.2.2 Causes of Female Infanticide

We did read about the possible causes for female feticide where the large number of easily accessible medical facilities was a problem. In the case of infanticide, it is the exact opposite. Thus, we will now focus on the causes of female infanticide where to begin with we will start with the lack of access to medical facilities:

a. Lack of access to medical facilities

The lack of medical facilities makes it difficult and almost impossible to determine the gender of the child before birth. In such cases, the child is often killed post birth leading to infanticide. A researcher by the name of Soma Wadhwa insisted on this very same point that those who kills the girls post their birth simply do not have the requisite medical access or the money to pull it off while the infant is in the mother's womb in the form of a fetus.

b. Intervention of the dowry system

It is believed that female infanticide did not have an ancient origin. It was not any particular religion or sect which promoted any such practice. It just came to be in the modern era very recently. If women were to find suitable husbands of a caste which was the same as them or higher to theirs, they had to make huge contributions via dowry payments.

The payments do not or mostly never have to be in cash. Since the incoming of laws prohibiting this devious practice, cash has now been translated into kind. The wife is expected to carry a lot of furniture or electrical appliances along with her into the house of husband. Now, obviously everyone does not have this kind of capacity to offer such luxuries.

To avoid this practice, families started avoiding having more daughters. It must not be forgotten that the dowry system was also not always a corrupted practice but came to be so. The intersection of the corrupted dowry system and the obsession with caste supremacy thus brought about one of the greatest falls that mankind has ever seen.

Some retards thus started considering the birth of daughters as liabilities for which they have to pay a heavy price at some point in life. It was common in the Bollywood movies of the 90s era to

project this kind of prejudice as well where the daughter was only borrowed for a few years by her own father to be eventually sent away into a separate family post marriage.

c. Social support

One of the main reasons as to why it is very difficult to stop this malaise is that the families internally support such decisions. What is seen that there is barely any remorse or regret over the fact that the life of a human being was taken away. In the best-case scenarios, the mothers grieve for a while before accepting the status quo which their families have put in place since generations.

The findings by NGO Adithi as well as Navin (1995) point out the same fact that women are more or less unwilling participants. The research by NGO Adithi goes so far as to say that it is almost always the men who commit the act while the women are reluctant.

There are certain exceptions but they are the rarest of the rare cases. George (1997) elucidates an instance where the mother killed the child because her husband died as well. This was to ensure that she could get remarried again without any worries but these are one in a million cases if not more.

d. Fear inherent in women

While this cause may not sound very convincing, it is also one of the plausible causes behind female infanticide. Some mothers are fed up with the behavior that is meted out to them in their families. They realize and fear the egregious violence that a woman has to face throughout her life.

So, in some cases, when they find out that they have had a girl themselves, they do not wish for their daughter to live in the same world as them where they will barely be able to protect their daughters. These are not made-up stories but responses given by mothers who despite trying their best eventually give up at some point in life.

e. Poverty

Harris White (1997) argued that one of the major causes behind female infanticide was poverty and that the phenomenon was much more common among the lower strata of the society but such findings have been negated by many other studies. What this shows

is that while dowry maybe a good reason behind infanticides, they are not the only reason. Why else would well off and rich families also indulge in this heinous practice?

However, data does present evidence that unlike feticide, infanticide occurs more in families who are less educated and in less developed regions of the nation. A possible cause behind this could be as discussed earlier that most uneducated people do not have the requisite knowledge or resources to kill a child in the womb of the mother, and therefore do it post birth.

f. Superstition

There have also been reports where in girls are intentionally killed because the particular caste or tribal groups believe that it increases the likelihood of a boy being born into the family. While superstitions such as these may appear very surprising for a normal middle-class person from urban areas of India, it is hardly difficult to believe in most rural and backward districts of the same nation.

g. Order of birth

The order of birth of the kids is also very important with respect to the instances of female infanticide. In fact, if the first child born was a girl, then, the instances of selective abortion of the female child go up. There is no such co relation if the first-born child is a son. The same also happens in the case of female infanticide. If there is a consecutive girl born in the family, there are higher chances of the occurrence of infanticide. In fact, it is very likely that the third child if born as a girl after two girls is very likely to be troubled by either feticide or infanticide. Though the instances of the last scenario have come to happen less in India with the awareness of the population explosion that we are currently embroiled in.

5.2.3 Types of Female Infanticide

Infanticides are always intentional but they could be direct or indirect. However, what is confirmed is that they are and always should be treated as murder or homicide. Let us first take up the case of direct infanticides:

a. Direct infanticides

A study conducted by Chukanth (1997) shows that the mortality

rates of female infants are much higher when compared to the male infants. A study was also conducted by Sabu George, Rajaratnam Abel and B.D.Miller in Tamil Nadu. The study was started in the latter half of the year 1986 and an attempt was made to cover almost 12 villages. Due to time spent on building rapport with the families, their team was aware of almost all the pregnancies that were there in those areas. The interesting finding of their study was that out of all the deaths of female infants, almost 50% were direct infanticides or murders.

There were 33 deaths of daughters in the first three years, and out of this 33, 19 were direct deaths. What is the common conclusion across many study groups in India is that in cases of direct infanticides, most infants are murdered in the first week or especially in the first three days after the birth. If the daughters survive beyond the first week, it is most likely that they lead a healthy life into their adulthood.

b. Indirect infanticides

However, in some cases, the child may not be killed immediately after birth. Rather, she has to go through a slow and painful death. She is not taken to a hospital in times of illness leading to a weak immune system. Medicines are not given to her nor is she attended to in such times. Nutritionally deficient food is offered to her as she is not 'the man' of the house and doesn't need to work physically hard to pull through as per the twisted patriarchal mentality. In all of these cases, the child is neglected and barely any resources are spent on her. If they are spent on her, it is done with an extreme delay and with a very intentional purpose to harm her.

5.2.4 Legal Provisions and Preventive Measures

Before we start elaborating on what kind of preventive measures can be taken, we must acknowledge the reasons why it is difficult to take any sort of measures in the first place. It is very difficult and almost impossible to find out data on female infanticide using primary sources for obvious reasons. No family or mother will ever boast about the fact that they have killed a fetus or an infant irrespective of whatever the causes are. This is especially so because the acts have now been criminalized. Therefore, field trips are almost a waste of time, energy and efforts.

Let us first focus on the role of midwives in assisting us in taking preventive measures, and then move onto the other requisite information that can help us in preventing this evil:

a. Midwives

It should be important to note here that all deliveries in India do not happen in hospitals whether private or public, especially so in the rural parts of India. In such cases, it will be difficult to ascertain as to whether or not the child becomes a victim of female infanticide. The role of midwives is very important in this regard: they could either be silent watchers who standby such crimes or ones that take offence to it and walk away. Either way, they need to be brought to the forefront of our efforts to stop these crimes.

The study conducted by the local NGO from Bihar (Adithi) also noted that midwives were involved in the infanticides of more than three daughters per month. This is something that should be very obvious at the outset: they have the requisite medical knowledge to carry out the homicide and can also make it look like a natural death to other concerned agencies as a non-interested third party. However, in some instances, the reality is that they are paid to perform such kinds of jobs.

b. Hospital records

Hospital records form an important component of the reason as to why it can be estimated that a case of infanticide has taken place, and therefore we need to pay more attention to them. Once we start charging these criminals, immediate and regular punishment will deter others from committing such crimes.

Post delivery, a number of daughters are perfectly healthy and fine when they are discharged from the hospitals to go back to their homes. But immediately after a few days, when the report comes in that the girl has suddenly died due to mysterious causes, it naturally generates suspicion. A daughter who never had any health complications, further, who was never admitted or taken to a doctor for any problems suddenly dies.

These causes should be taken much more seriously and as a matter of grave concern. Proper investigations must be done but at the same time it must be insured that in the rarest of rare exceptions, where

the girl actually dies due to natural causes, the already traumatized family must not be decimated and harassed any further.

c. Local superstitions

Negi (1997) from her study also concluded that if a case of infanticide has occurred anywhere in Tamil Nadu, the family usually foregoes a ritual that is otherwise necessary in times of death. Such important local indicators need to be brought to the notice of the law enforcement agencies so that proper action can be taken.

d. Sudden disappearance

Sometimes it is also noticed that both the parents and the child often leave the hospital or the delivery facilities without any prior intimation in case they plan on letting go of the child for some reasons. The study conducted by Sabu George, Rajaratnam Abel and B.D. Miller in Tamil Nadu also came to this same conclusion. 80% of the parents who immediately left the facilities with any intimation were involved in infanticide of their daughter.

It is very clear that in such cases, law enforcement agencies must be immediately alerted and they may be able to prevent a homicide from occurring. But in all of these cases including the last one, we are almost too late to solve the issue. Even if we save the daughter, it is clear that we can no longer let her live with her parents and need to find a new home for her.

While in some cases, adopted children are treated well: in most cases, they aren't. We have to understand that the preventive measures we need to take have to start with the proper education of families, to be parents and the society in general. As such our job will not only be to save a few girls or deter other criminals, but bring about an improvement in the sex ratio in the country.

Coming to the legal provisions: under the Indian Penal Code, starting from section 312 until section 318, the exact penalties for female infanticide are mentioned.

- **Section 312:** *Without analyzing the threat to the life of women*
- **Section 313:** *Without the consent of the women*
- **Section 314:** *Trying to cause miscarriage and thereby causing death*
- **Section 315:** *An act done to prevent a child from being born/ or born alive concealing the birth of a child*
- **Section 316:** *Act resulting in death of an unborn child*
- **Section 317:** *Mother or father abandoning the child*
- **Section 318:** *Secretly disposing body of child/ intentionally*

Community support, community will and community ostracism are the three pillars which form the Magna Carta towards the solving of the problem of female infanticide. Without them, we would be fighting a war without weapons. Law is a useful weapon but it cannot always bring about social change by itself. The attitude and behavior of people needs to start changing with each succeeding generation for the hope of any immediate effect to take place with respect to the disease of female infanticide.

5.2.5 Summary

The phenomenon of gendercide was our focus of study in this chapter. The history of female infanticide was considered as a starting point and the role of Jonathan Duncan was paid attention to. It was debated upon how the phenomenon of female infanticide came into being, and how it spread across India. Consensus was more or less that it started somewhere in the higher castes of the north/north western regions and only later entered into the Southern parts of India.

The causes behind the increased incidence of female infanticide were then addressed: lack of access to medical facilities, poverty, the role played by the dowry system, the supporting social sanctions, the inherent fear in women, superstitions and last but not the least, the order of birth.

The types of female infanticide were broadly divided into two categories: direct and indirect. While direct takes place within a few days or weeks of the birth, indirect infanticide can stretch on into the later stages of life.

The difficulty in taking any preventive measures against female infanticide was first addressed before taking up the possible preventive measures. The measures included a more informed outlook towards the role of midwives, hospital records and local cultures as well as sudden disappearance of the parents from the clinics.

The legal measures provided by the Indian Penal Code along with the relevant sections were also briefly discussed before concluding the chapter with the three pillars necessary to fight the evil malaise of female infanticide in its present form.

5.2.6 Self Assessment Questions

The following are a few statements based on what has been entailed in the chapter so far.

Fill in the blanks with suitable words.

3 options/choices have been given:

1. The way that India ----- is one of the primary reasons behind why the nation is looked down upon from certain sections of the West.
 - a. Propagates female infanticide
 - b. Supports female feticide
 - c. Treats its women
2. Female infanticide is also commonly referred to as -----
 - a. Genocide
 - b. Gendercide
 - c. Homicide
3. Jonathan Duncan from Banaras was instrumental in bringing to light the first instance of female infanticide in India in the year -----
 - a. 1689
 - b. 1789
 - c. 1889

4. In the 1820s, Elphinstone who was the then Governor of ----- brought about an Infanticide Fund.
 - a. Bombay
 - b. Madras
 - c. Calcutta
5. Female infanticide from the Southern regions first grabbed media attention when it was discovered in the -----
 - a. Rajput Clan
 - b. PramallaiKallar Caste
 - c. Toda tribe
6. ----- (1997) argued that one of the major causes behind female infanticide was poverty
 - a. Harris White
 - b. Sabu George
 - c. BD Miller
7. In cases of direct infanticides, most infants are murdered in the first -----
 - a. Week
 - b. Month
 - c. Year
8. The two main types of infanticides are -----
 - a. Intentional & Unintentional
 - b. Deliberate & Mistaken
 - c. Direct & Indirect

Answer the following questions strictly within the suggested word limit:

1. Enlist three important causes behind female infanticide and explain them briefly. (150-200 words)
2. Focus on two preventive measures that could be taken to stop female infanticide from happening. (150-200 words)

Answers:

1. Treats its women
2. Gendercide
3. 1789

4. Bombay
5. PramalaiKallar Caste
6. Harris White
7. Week
8. Direct and Indirect

5.2.7 Keywords

1. Amniocentesis:

It is the process wherein technology is harnessed for the quick identification of genetic abnormalities in a fetus. The process is usually one that is undertaken between fourteen to sixteen weeks of pregnancy. While the major goal of this process was to identify complications with child birth, it has been majorly used to determine the sex of the fetus.

2. Post Natal:

This is also frequently referred to as the post-partum period. It starts immediately after the birth of the infant takes place. It continues till around 6 weeks or 42 days after which the body of a woman returns to the non-pregnant or normal stage. This is a very critical period for both the mother as well as the child in terms of their health.

3. Midwives:

They are basically trained professional who specialize in healthcare offered before, during and after child birth. Their area of specialization mostly revolves around gynecology and they are adept at providing routine service and care without any serious complications. More or less, they work as independent practitioners, and are the trusted companions for most women not only in India but around the world in general.

4. Sex ratio

It is an indicator which is used to calculate the number of females in proportion to the number of males in an entire population. In India, the number of females per 1000 males are calculated whereas some countries using varying statistics like number of females per 100 males.

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UNIT - VI**Lesson 6.1 - Communalism****Structure**

- 6.1.1 Learning Objectives
- 6.1.2 Definitions of Communalism
- 6.1.3 Characteristics of Communalism
- 6.1.4 Types of Communalism
- 6.1.5 Dimensions of Communalism
- 6.1.6 Evolution of Communalism in India
- 6.1.7 Causes of Communalism
- 6.1.8 Communal Violence in India
- 6.1.9 Consequences of Communalism
- 6.1.10 Ways to deal with Communalism (Present & Future)
- 6.1.11 Self-assessment Questions

6.1.1 Learning Objectives

Communalism, in a broad sense means a strong attachment to one's own community. In popular discourse in India, it is understood as unhealthy attachment to one's own religion.

It's an ideology that, in order to unify the community, suppresses distinctions within the community and emphasizes the essential unity of the community against other communities.

In this way it promotes belief in orthodox tenets and principles, intolerance and hatred of other religions and thus, divides the society.

It has been used as a political propaganda tool to create divide, differences and tensions between the communities on the basis of religious and ethnic identity leading to communal hatred and violence.

Communalism is an ideology which is considered unique not only to south Asia but is also found in other continents such as Africa, America, Europe, Australia, and other parts of Asia. In fact, development of communalism is believed to have its roots in the ethnic and cultural

diversity of Africa. Communalism is often regarded as a modern phenomenon which is the result of the modernization and nation building process. But the concept has become a socio-economic and political issue in south Asian countries like Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Nepal, etc.

In this chapter, we will focus on having a deeper understanding of:

- Various Definitions of Communalism
- Characteristics of Communalism
- Dimensions of Communalism
- Evolution of Communalism in India
- Causes of Communalism
- Consequences of Communalism
- Ways to deal with Communalism (Present & Future)

6.1.2 Definitions

1. Bipan Chandra

According to Bipan Chandra, communalism is “the belief that because a group of people following a particular religion, they have common social, political and economic interests”. He further adds that religious distinction is the fundamental distinction that overrides all other distinctions.

In Indian context, he cites that Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs have dissimilar social, economic, cultural and political interests as they are different religious entities. Hence, if one communal group seeks to better its social, political and economic interests then it will be a loss for the other groups. According to him, the Indian people can act socially and cannot act in any other manner except as members of such homogeneous communities whose interests and outlook remains the same.

Bipan Chandra has outlined three elements of communalism:

- Communalism is strong among those people who have common secular interests.
- Secular interests of different religions are divergent from that of the others.
- Interests of different communities are different and hostile to others.

2. Harbans Mukhia

According to historian Harbans Mukhia, “communalism is the phenomenon of religious differences between groups, often leading to tension and even rioting between them.” He elaborates that people of different religious communities becomes hostile when they have to live together and share common economic, political and other scarce resources.

3. D.E. Smith

Communalism is the function of religious communities in a way, generally considered detrimental to the interests of other groups or of the nation as a whole.

4. Gopal Krishan

According to Gopal Krishnan, communalism is destructive Indian expression of religion in politics, which emphasizes religious identity of social groups and requires political society to be organized, as a confederation of religious communities.

5. Ram Ahuja

As per Ram Ahuja, Communalism is a belief that is characterised by strong antagonism practiced by the members of one community against the people of other community. In some instances, this rivalry goes to the extent of harming and insulting members of a particular community and in extreme cases dishonouring women and even killing persons. While communalism is an ideology, ‘communal violence is a demonstration of this ideology’. Communal persons are those who practice politics through religion. These people tend to use God and religion as instruments to gain political support. This is similar to the older society where the King and church head used the name of religion to live luxuriously. This trend is witnessed now in present society also.

6. Zenab Banu

Zenab Banu suggests that, “Communalism is an ideology in which a minority receives unequal treatment from the majority, on the basis of religion, culture and ethnic characteristics.” Communalism is a very complex phenomenon inevitable in plural societies.

7. Wilfred Cantwell Smith

As per Smith, Communalism is an ideology that has emphasized

the social, political and economic unit of each religion and has emphasized even the antagonism between different communal groups.

8. Prabha Dixit

According to Prabha Dixit, communalism is a political doctrine that makes use of religious and cultural differences to garner political gains.

Thus, as a point of debate, we have now realized that the following issues are attached to Communalism and need to be better understood:

- It is a threat to national integrity
- It is a catalyst to political and social tensions in the state
- It leads to divisions between the people, groups of communities or groups of states in the country
- It is attached to the rivalry of one religion, beliefs, values etc. against another's.
- Active hostility or opposition towards others' religions and beliefs often lead to issues in society

It is also important to understand communalism with respect to our neighbors. Violence between Buddhists and the Muslim Rohingya who inhabit the Rakhine state (formerly Arakan province) which stretches along most of Myanmar's coast up to the Bay of Bengal and borders the Chittagong province of Bangladesh, erupted in 2013. Such violence in neighboring countries like Myanmar, Bangladesh, and Pakistan causes further subsequent violence in India also. It also catalyses the problem of refugees, as in case of Pakistani Hindus, etc. Sri Lanka is also facing international criticism including the United Nations with regards to the ethnic clashes against minority Tamilians. Lack of government action has direct bearing on India and Sri Lanka relations as well as India's internal security.

6.1.3 Characteristics

The following can be stated as the main features of communalism:

- It is an ideological concept
- It is based on orthodox principles

- It is based on intolerance
- It focuses on propagation of intense dislike towards other religions
- It considers own religion to be superior
- It works towards the elimination of other religions and their values
- It makes use of extremist tactics including use of violence against people belonging to other religions and faith
- It believes that followers of same religion have common political, economic and social interests, which are different from beliefs of other communities.
- It believes that followers of other religions to be completely incompatible, antagonist and hostile.
- It believes that specific interests of a particular community can be promoted by only maintaining a separate identity so that their interests are served better.
- It tends to believe that communal interests are superior to the national interests.
- It treats citizens of a nation not as citizens but as members of particular religious community
- In its extreme form, it demands separate nation for a particular community. It resorts to violence, fraud, and even gets assistance from foreign powers to achieve their political goals.
- It leads to abuse of power.
- It is used by the elites as a tool for exploiting the communal identities of the poorer sections of people belonging to their own religion.
- It is engineered by opportunistic political and economic interest of groups within political parties.
- Lastly, it shakes the foundation stones of democracy, secularism and national integration.

6.1.4 Types

Communal violence is common now days throughout the world. They are known by various alternative names, as in China, the communal violence in Xinjiang province is called ethnic violence. Communal violence and riots have also been called non-State conflict, violent civil or minorities unrest, mass racial violence, social or inter-communal violence and ethno-religious violence. Increasing diversity due to influx of populations from

all corners of world in western countries like USA, UK, Canada, Australia, etc. is posing the challenge of ethnic clashes and violence in their respective societies.

Though the concept 'Communalism' is one topic; to make it simpler sometimes, it is defined in three ways:

1. Political Communalism
2. Social Communalism
3. Economic Communalism
 1. To survive in the sphere of politics, leaders tend to implicitly promote the idea of divisions among the communities. This gives rise to political communalism where different sets of people are divided into political lines and ideologies
 2. When the societies' beliefs divide into different groups and this leads to rivalry among each other, it further leads to Social Communalism
 3. The difference in economic interests of the groups of people or communities, leading to further clashes in the society, can be termed as Economic Communalism

6.1.5 Dimensions

Indian Sociologist, T.K Ooman has mentioned six dimensions of Communalism which are given in the list below:

1. Assimilationist
 2. Welfarist
 3. Retreatist
 4. Retaliatory
 5. Separatist
 6. Secessionist
-
1. T.K Ooman describes it as a dimension where a small religious group or groups are integrated or assimilated into a larger religious group. For instance, scheduled tribes, Jains, Sikhs, Buddhists are Hindus and they should be covered by Hindu Marriage Act, 1955. In addition, all of them should be covered with the same personal law. Hence, a Sikh, Buddhist, Jain does not identify himself/ herself too much different from a Hindu and Hindu religious beliefs and sentiments

2. When a community works for the welfare or betterment of a particular community, it leads to welfarist communalism.

Providing education, scholarship, financial assistance in higher studies, matrimonial assistance, skill development, residential accommodation are examples of the services provided under this type of communalism. These welfarist organizations are involved in different kind of charitable and other social upliftment activities related to their particular community alone.

3. When a community proscribes its members to participate in the politics or abstain from politics, it leads to retreatist communalism.

They keep themselves away from politics, for example, people belonging to Bahai religious community keep themselves away from any political activity.

4. When, in rivalry, one community harms or injures people of other community, it is termed as retaliatory communalism.

In India, this type of communalism can be witnessed where the 'fight between different groups either religious or caste is omnipresent. A very good example of this case is the Godhra Riots and its aftermath.

5. When the demand for a separate identity surfaces, and a group of people demand separation from a larger group, it is termed a separatist communalism.

For example, the demand for Gorkhaland by Gorkhas, Bodoland by Bodos, Vidharbha in Maharashtra, separatist tendencies in Mizoram, etc.

6. To have a separate political identity, a group of people can demand secession from a state or a nation, that often leads to secessionist communalism.

For example, the demand for Khalistan, the demand for an independent Kashmir by militant groups in Kashmir falls under this category. A very recent example is the demand for 'Nagalin' from the erstwhile parts of Nagaland and Myanmar.

Of all the above types of communalism, the last three categories create the most problems by perpetuating communal riots, terrorism and insurgency.

6.1.6 Evolution of Communalism in India

If we discuss about Indian society, we will find that, ancient India was united and no such communal feelings were there. People lived peacefully together, there was acceptance for each other's culture and tradition. For example, Ashoka followed religious tolerance and focussed mainly on Dhamma.

In Medieval period, we have examples such as- Akbar, who was epitome of secular practises and believed in propagating such values by abolishing Jhiya tax and starting of Din-I- ilahi and Ibadat Khana. Same acceptance for different cultures and tradition was practiced in several kingdoms throughout India, because of which there was peace and harmony, barring few sectarian rulers like Aurangzeb, who was least tolerant for other religious practices. But such motives were guided purely for their personal greed of power and wealth.

Such rulers and actions by them like- imposing taxes on religious practices of other community, destructing temples, forced conversions, killing of Sikh guru, etc. were instrumental in deepening and establishing the feeling of communal differences in India. But these incidents were not common as, huge majority of Indians were rural and were aloof from such influences and so people coexisted peacefully. Though, they were very rigid in practicing their own rituals and practice, but it never became barrier in the peaceful coexistence. Overall, the Hindus and Muslims in those days, had common economic and political interests.

Communalism in India is result of the emergence of modern politics, which has its roots in partition of Bengal in 1905 and feature of separate electorate under Government of India Act, 1909. Later, British government also appeased various communities through Communal award in 1932, which faced strong resistance from Gandhi ji and others. All these acts were done by the British government to appease Muslims and other communities, for their own political needs. This feeling of communalism has deepened since then, fragmenting the Indian society and being a cause of unrest.

India is a land of diversity. And it is known for lingual, ethnic, cultural and racial diversity. As, we have discussed above, communalism in India is a modern phenomenon, which has become threat to India's Unity in Diversity. We will see the various stages:-

- First stage was rise of nationalist Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, etc. with only first element of communalism as discussed above. Roots of this were led in later part of 19th century with Hindu revivalist movement like Shuddhi movement of Arya Samaj and Cow protection riots of 1892.

On the other hand, movements like Faraizi movement started Haji Shariatullah in Bengal to bring the Bengali Muslims back on the true path of Islam, was one of the religious reform movements which had bearing on communalism in 19th century. Later people like Syed Ahmed Khan, who despite of having scientific and rational approach, projected Indian Muslims as a separate community (qaum) having interest different from others.

- Second stage was that of Liberal communalism, it believed in communal politics but liberal in democratic, humanist and nationalist values. It was basically before 1937. For example, organisations like Hindu Mahasabha, Muslim League and personalities like M.A. Jinnah, M M Malviya, Lala Lajpat Rai after 1920s
- Third was the stage of Extreme Communalism, this had a fascist syndrome. It demanded for separate nation, based on fear and hatred. There was tendency to use violence of language, deed and behavior. For example, Muslim League and Hindu Mahasabha after 1937

It spread as a by-product of colonialism, economic stagnations and absence of modern institutions of education and health. These factors caused competition, people started using nepotism (patronage bestowed or favoritism shown on the basis of family relationship, as in business and politics), paying bribes to get job, etc. Short term benefits from communalism started giving validity to communal politics.

Later on, spread of education to peasant and small landlords gave rise to new middle class, as agriculture was becoming stagnant. So, these people started demanding communal representation and this way, social base for communalism widened. Middle class oscillated between anti-imperialism and communalism. Communalism, started rooting deeply, as it was an expression of aspiration and interest of middle class for less opportunity.

Further, from very beginning upper caste Hindus dominated colonial services as they adapted early to colonial structure. Because of

Mughal rule and 1857 revolt, colonial government was suspicious towards Muslims and they patronized Hindus. This resulted in resentment in Muslims in late 19th century and they then formed a pressure group under Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan to bargain as a separate community. In contrast, Congress standpoint was always focused on 'rights and freedom of individual' not on a particular community.

In several part religious distinction coincided with social and class distinction, causing communal distortion. Communal outlook was given, not by participants but by the officials, politician and journalists. In fact, agrarian conflicts, did not assume communal color until 20th century. For example, the Pabna agrarian movement.

Communalism represented a struggle between two upper classes / strata for power, privileges and economic gain. For Example- In western Punjab at that time, Muslim landlord opposed Hindu moneylenders. In eastern Bengal, Muslim jotedars opposed Hindu zamindars. Later on, communalism developed as weapon of economically and politically reactionary social classes and political forces.

6.1.7 Causes of Communalism in India

The major factors that contributed towards the emergence and growth of communalism in modern India involves:

- British Imperialism and their Policy of "Divide and Rule": Communalism was a channel for providing service to colonialism and the jagirdari class (land officials). British authorities supported communal feelings and divided Indian society for their authoritative ruling. As we have already discussed above about separate electorate, like that official patronage and favor having communal biasness was very common. Communal press & persons and agitations were shown extraordinary tolerance. Communal demands were accepted, thus politically strengthening communal organizations. British started accepting communal organisations and leaders as the real spokesperson of communities and adopted a policy of non-action against communalism. In fact, for the same reasons even the communal riots were not crushed. Separate electorate started in 1909 to communal award in 1932 fulfilled the wishes of British authorities of ruling India by dividing the societies on communal lines.

- Economic Causes: Uneven development, class divisions, poverty and unemployment aggravated insecurity in the common men made them vulnerable to political manipulation. Disappointment and disaffection among young and aspiring middle-class youth, caused by stagnant agriculture, absence of modern industrial development and inadequate employment opportunities, started being exploited by political opportunists.
- Hindu and Muslim revivalist movements: In parallel there was introduction of strong Hindu religious element in nationalist thoughts and propagandas. For example, Bal Gangadhar Tilak popularised Ganesh pooja and Shivaji Mahaotsav and taking dip in Ganga, etc. The programmes related to “Ganesh Pooja” and “Shivaji Mahotsav” was not initiated to support the interests of Hindus. However, both “Ganesh” and “Shivaji” were associated with the emotions of a number of Hindus.

This was to be used by Leaders as tool to politically awaken Indians. Indian history in schools and colleges were given Communal and unscientific colour. This kept Muslims largely away from Congress till 1919. In early decades only 8-9% of members of Congress were Muslims.

- A communal and distorted view of Indian history, taught in school and colleges played a major role in rise and growth of communal feelings among the masses.
- Isolation, Separatism and Economic Backwardness of Muslim Community – The failure to adopt the scientific and technological education and thus, insufficient representation in the public service, industry and trade etc. led to the feeling of relative deprivation among Muslims.
- Rise of communal and fundamentalist parties.
- Divisive Politics – Communalism is often defined as a political doctrine that makes use of religious and cultural differences in achieving political gains.
- History of Communal Riots – Probability of recurrence of communal riots in a town where communal riots have already taken place once or twice is stronger than in a town when such riots have never occurred.
- Politics of Appeasement – Prompted by political considerations, and guided by their vested interests, political parties take decisions which promote communal violence.

- The resurgence of Hindu-Muslim economic competition, especially among the lower and middle-class strata fueled the communal ideology.
- Administrative Failure – A weak law and order is also one of the main causes of communal violence.
- Psychological Factors – The lack of inter-personal trust and mutual understanding between two communities often result in perception of threat, harassment, fear and danger in one community against the members of the other community, which in turn lead to fight, hatred and anger phobia.
- Role of Media – It is often accused of sensationalism. It disseminates rumours as “news” which sometimes resulted into further tension and riots between two rival religious groups. Social media has also emerged as a powerful medium to spread messages relating to communal tension or riot in any part of the country.

6.1.8 Communal Violence in India

Communal violence is a phenomenon where people belonging to two different religious communities mobilise and attacks each other with feelings of hatred and enmity.

1. The partition of India witnessed mass bloodshed and violence that continued up to 1949
After partition, millions of people were forced to move from both sides of the border. Hindus in Pakistan and Muslims in India were killed in masses, women were raped, and many children lost their parents. There was hatred everywhere, violence didn't see anything except bloodshed. Later, it turned into the problem of refugees and their rehabilitation became one of the biggest challenges for independent India.
2. No major communal disturbances took place until 1961 when the Jabalpur riots shook the country due to economic competition between a Hindu and a Muslim bidi manufacturer than any electoral competition.
3. In 1960s – A series of riots broke out particularly in the eastern part of India - Rourkela, Jamshedpur and Ranchi - in 1964, 1965 and 1967, in places where Hindu refugees from the then East Pakistan were being settled.

4. In September, 1969, riots in Ahmedabad shook the conscience of the nation. The apparent cause was the Jan Sangh passing a resolution on Indianization of Muslims to show its intense opposition to Indira Gandhi's leftward thrust
5. In April, 1974, violence occurred in the chawl or tenement, in the Worli neighborhood of Mumbai after the police attempted to disperse a rally of the Dalit Panthers that had turned violent, angered by clashes with the Shiv Sena.
6. In February, 1983, the violence took place in Nellie as fallout of the decision to hold the controversial state elections in 1983 in the midst of the Assam Agitation, after Indira Gandhi's decision to give 4 million immigrants from Bangladesh the right to vote. It has been described as one of the worst pogroms since World War II.
7. In October, 1984, the anti-Sikh riots broke out after the assassination of Indira Gandhi, where more than 4000 Sikhs were killed in Delhi, Uttar Pradesh and other parts of India. This is one of the worst bloodsheds in India, where Sikhs in large number were massacred by anti-Sikh mob. This massacre took place in response to the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi by his own Sikh body Guard in response to her actions authorizing the military operation.
8. Meanwhile, the Bombay-Bhiwandi riots were instigated by the Shiv Sena when it jumped on the Hindutva bandwagon to revive the political fortunes of the Shiv Sena which had lost its appeal.
9. The Shah Bano controversy in 1985 and the Babri Masjid-Ram Janmabhoomi controversy became powerful tools for intensifying communalism in the Eighties.
10. In 1986, the doors of Babri Masjid at Ayodhya were opened which were closed since 1949. According to Hindu mythology, Ayodhya is birth place of Lord Rama and therefore it is sacred place for Hindu religion. But in medieval period Mughal general Mir Baqi, built a mosque, named after Mughal ruler Babur. There were disputes since then and riots also took place.

A group of Muslims formed the Babri Masjid Action Committee. This committee was headed by some Muslim theologians, supported by Muslim intellectuals and the general masses. The BJP and the VHP started campaigning for a grand Rama temple at Ayodhya. The first major riot took place at Meerut in 1987. The important

thing to note here was that in the 1980s and 1990s, it wasn't only communal groups that started proliferating, but state machinery was also communalized.

But in 1990, due to some political mobilisation, there was atmosphere of protest by Hindu religious groups and in large scale "kar sevak" visited Ayodhya from all parts of India, in support of demolishing Babri masjid and building Ram temple there. These movements caused huge amount of bloodshed and since then it was a disputed matter until the recent SC verdict.

The Times of India commented, "Here is a clear case of an organ of the state going out with cold-blooded calculation to raid and round up a whole group of citizens, whisk them away, shoot them while in custody, and then throw their bodies into the river."

The communal violence touched its apogee in December 1992 when the Babri Masjid was demolished by right wing parties. The Hindu hardliners blamed the Union Govt. headed by P.V. Narasimha Rao. The Rath Yatra which L.K. Advani had started in 1990, and culminated in the demolition of the mosque, is seen by many scholars as mobilization of common Hindus- emotions were heightened in the name of Rama, and this led to large-scale bloodshed in many urban pockets.

11. Ethnic cleansing of Kashmiri Hindu Pundits in 1989: Kashmir is known as the heaven of India and was known for its Kashmiryat, i.e. the reflection of love, peace and harmony through brotherhood and unity of Hindu, Muslims and other communities living together. But the brotherhood saw a serious blow due to Extremist Islamic terrorism in the Kashmir valley, which led to mass killing and large-scale exodus of Kashmiri Pundits from the valley to the various regions and corners of the India, giving them the status of refugee in their own country. Since then, the valley is under the grip of communal violence and the ongoing unrest has become a problem for the development of the people.
12. This was followed by the worst riots of post-independence India - in Mumbai, Surat, Ahmadabad, Kanpur, Delhi and other places
13. In 2002, Gujarat witnessed communal riots when violence was triggered by burning of a train in Godhra. When "kar sevak" returning from Ayodhya in a Sabarmati Express were killed by

fire in the coaches of train, this act was followed by the extended communal violence in Gujarat. That violence is like black spot in the history of the Gujarat and nation too, as people were killed without any mercy.

Hindu and Muslim community became antagonist to each other. Till now people are fighting for justice in Supreme Court, with a ray of hope from the Indian Judiciary.

The Gujarat riots of 2002 surprised and shocked many historians and sociologists because it brought a new trend which we did not see earlier: for example, out of 25 districts, almost 20 were under curfew during the Gujarat riots which meant the entire state was disturbed for several days and weeks. In Gujarat, not only tribes but also OBC's and rural people were affected. This reflected a dangerous trend as until then, it was believed that communalism was an urban phenomenon- that it was amongst the upper caste and among certain sections of Hindus and Muslims. This trend reflected a challenge to the idea of India.

14. In May, 2006 riots occurred in Vadodara due to the municipal council's decision to remove the dargah (shrine) of Syed Chishti Rashiduddin, a medieval Sufi saint.
15. In September, 2013, Uttar Pradesh witnessed the worst violence in recent history with clashes between the Hindu and Muslim communities in Muzaffarnagar district. The cause of this ethnic clash between Jat and Muslim community is very much disputed and has many versions. According to few, it was started after some suspicious post on social media platform Facebook. According to some, it was escalated after the eve teasing case in Shamli. Let the reasons be unknown, but what matters is, the nature and scale of loss to the country with respect to human resource and peace.
16. Since 2015, mob lynching is quite prevalent in India as near 90 people have been killed. It can be termed as manufactured communal violence as through the use of social media and rumors, society is polarized along religious lines.

In all these and hundreds of other riots, one thing is common that huge majority of victims have nothing to do with communal hatred. In short, preparators of violence and victims of violence are different persons.

Similar to above mentioned list, there are many more, which has had impact on the masses and killed people on large scale. Bombay bomb incident (1993), Attack on Akshardham in 2002 by Lashkar-e-Toiba & Varanasi Bomb attack, 2006 are few of them, having Anti-Hindu outlook.

Lot of movies have been pictured on the above-mentioned communal violence, which can give us understanding about the damages and harm, done by these violence- “Bombay” & “Black Friday” based on 1992 attacks, “Train to Pakistan” based on the novel of Khushwant Singh about partition of India, 1947, “Gandhi” is portrayal of Direct Action Day and partition of India, “Hawayein” based of 1984 Sikh riots and “Machis” about Punjab terrorism.

These are the few ones which have been named but there are many more, which may help to sensitize us about such issues, so that in future it can be avoided

But the pressing question is why does communalism still persist and is rather increasing in modern India?

Constitution of India, gives certain fundamental rights to the citizens (i.e., individuals). But in case of minorities, the whole community has been given fundamental rights under Article 28, 29 and 30, according to which they are free to manage their educational institutions and have right to conserve their own culture. But these rights are being used, above the individual rights by the personal law boards guided by their own community laws as was seen in the Shah Bano case. There is also resentment against such personal laws and clamor is increasing for Uniform civil code, which is also mentioned under Article 44 in Directive principle for states of Indian constitution. This will help in narrowing the religious cleavages.

In absence of Uniform civil code, there is still perception that all communities have divergent and contradictory interests. Consequently, community-based pressure groups bargain for their own community. At political level these communities compete for power and resources. This competition, in turn, escalates to major conflicts. Politicians try to turn these communities into vote banks and different communities become watertight compartments.

Since Independence, India has been pursuing the ideal of nation-building based on secularism. Even after 75 years of independence, India is still burning under the fire of communalism. Though, there are

various modern reasons responsible for this. But few of them have been discussed here, understanding the reasons which play role in continuation of communalism are:- first one is religious, and the second one is political. Third one is socio-economic and the fourth one is international.

In the first, i.e., religious, its fundamentalism should be considered responsible for communalism. After all, 'Our belief alone is true' and 'rest is untrue or incomplete', we find this kind of mentality among fundamentalists. As per this mentality, when the followers of any religious community, sect or sub-sect indulge in their activities, they certainly come in conflict with others. Reason is quite evident. They do not have tolerance, which is absolutely necessary for a country like India: a land of different religious communities. This becomes the cause of confrontation, malice and struggle.

Politicians also have played a villainous role in creating serious communal situations in India. There was politics at the root of painful division of India in 1947 in the name of a particular religious community. But even after paying a heavy price in the form of partition, in many riots provoked thereafter, we can find the involvement directly or indirectly, of political parties or their supporters. Along with this for the sake of vote bank, the policy of appeasement, selection of candidates on the basis of community, sect, sub-sect and caste, and flaring up religious sentiments at the time of elections, led to the rise of communalism. These practices are still continued and the country is bearing heavy loss because of it. We can witness many adverse results of these practices.

Socio economic conditions of India: Though after independence has improved and even the economic reforms after 1991 have been instrumental in improving such conditions, but still there are many challenges in front of Indian society, which are becoming threat for its diversity. Population, Poverty, illiteracy and unemployment create a lot of compulsions, especially before younger generation.

That is why, many from younger generation, because of lack of right thinking, remain unemployed and in a state of poverty, get involved in the evil like communalism. The efforts are being made for uprooting poverty, illiteracy and unemployment but are not as fruitful as they should be.

External elements (including non-state actors) also have a role in worsening the problem of communalism, and making it serious. We cannot

mention the name of any particular country in this regard but scholars and those who think on this problem from time to time have highlighted this fact. The main reasons for involvement of external elements or their role in riots are as follows:

- To create an atmosphere of instability, so that India becomes socially weak;
- They hope to gain sympathy from minorities;
- To try to weaken the economic structure of India;
- With the aim of concealing their own incompetence

Now a day's social media has become notorious for spread of communal hatred. It provides almost instant transfer of provoking material on which our government has no control. It has become a potent tool in hands of religious bigots to spread hatred for other religions. It is true that, Fundamental Rights, under article 19(1), gives citizens freedom of expression. But provision to this article also empowers government to impose reasonable restrictions to guard unity and integrity of the country. Further, Fundamental Duties 51A of the constitution provides that:

“(e) to promote harmony and the spirit of common brotherhood amongst all the people of India transcending religious, linguistic and regional or sectional diversities; to renounce practices derogatory to the dignity of women”

This needs to be enforced by state by controlling social media. In olden days, whenever any provocative print media came government invoked its powers and imposed restriction, but yet government has no strong/effective policy towards social media.

6.1.9 Consequences of Communalism

The above graph gives us idea about the decadal and regional pattern of riots and the number of people that died. Consequences of communalism is well known to all of us. With killings in mass, the real sufferers are the poor, they lose their house, their near and dear ones, their lives, their livelihood, etc. It violates the human rights from all directions. Sometimes children will lose their parents and will become orphan for life time and nobody will be there to look after them.

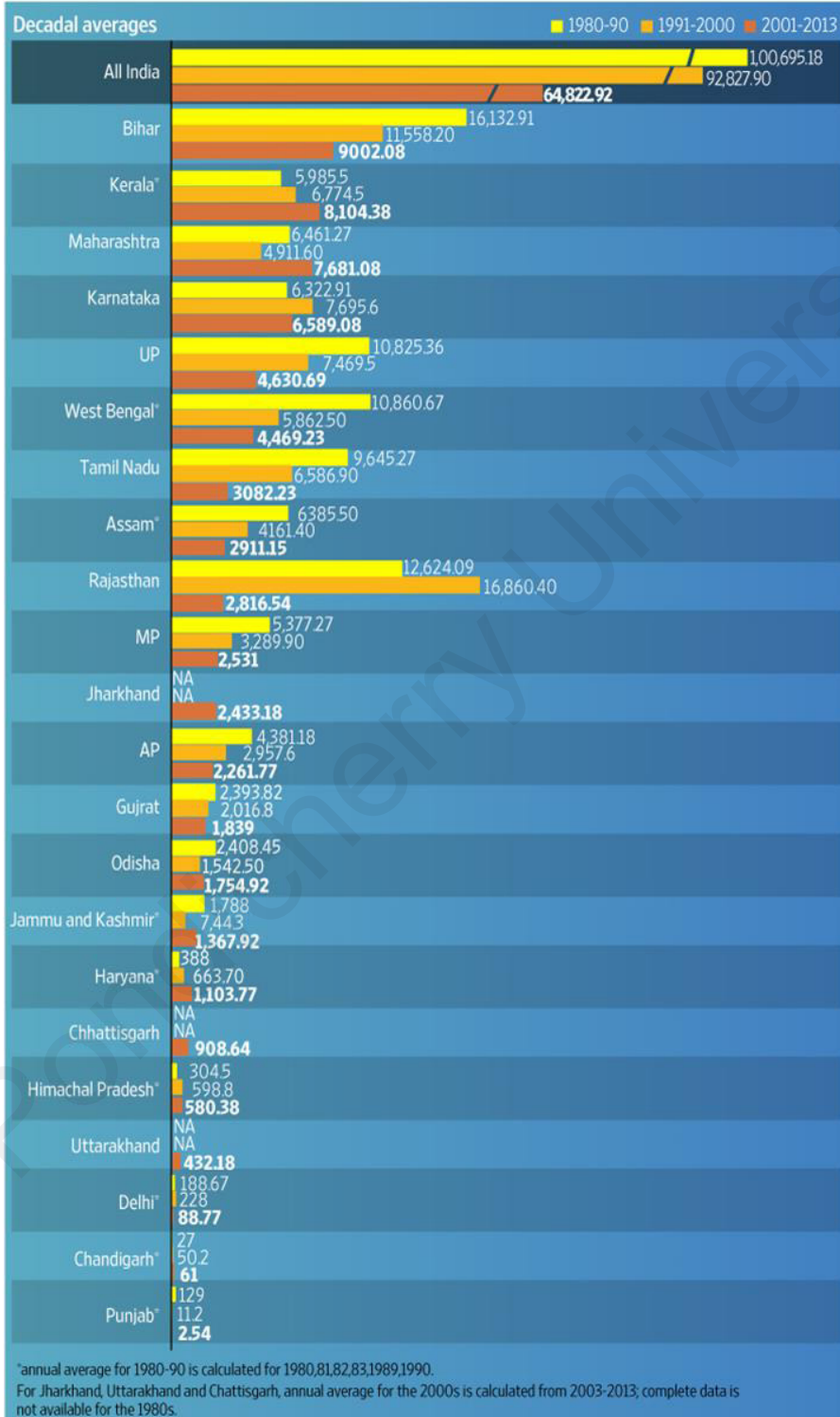
Ghettoization and refugee problem is the other dimension of communalism induced violence, whether it is inter country or intra

country. Sudden increase in violence against any particular community causes mass exodus and stampede which in turn kills huge numbers of people. For example, this was seen in the case of Bangalore in 2012, with respect to people from North eastern states, which was stimulated by a rumour. Apart from having effect on the society, it is also a threat to Indian constitutional values, which promotes Secularism and religious tolerance. In that case, citizens don't fulfil their fundamental duties towards the nation. It becomes a threat for the unity and integrity of the nation as a whole. It promotes only the feeling of hatred in all directions, dividing the society on communal lines.

Other than these, minorities are viewed with suspicion by all, including state authorities like police, para military forces, army, intelligence agencies, etc. There have been many instances when people from such community have been harassed and detained and finally have been released by court orders guilt free. For this, there is no provision of compensation of such victims, about their livelihood incomes forgone, against social stigmas and emotional trauma of the families.

Such things are setbacks for the society and become a huge barrier for our development. This is also one of the reasons which has kept India still under the status of "developing nation" because such activities occurring frequently do harm to the human resource and economy of the country. And then again it takes years for the people and the affected regions to come out the traumas of such violence, having deep impact on minds of those who have faced it. Whole life, they feel emotionally broken and insecure. How can we imagine in such conditions, for the timely harvest of demographic dividend?

REALITY CHECK



Source: NCRB

6.1.10 Ways to Deal with Communalism

National human rights commission (NHRC) in India fights for the causes of rights of the victims, but its recommendations are advisory in nature, which doesn't give a very significant outcome. From time to time, respective governments have constituted various committees, to give recommendations to solve the issue of communal violence. Prominent among them are Sachar Committee, Nanavati Committee and Ranganath Mishra Commission.

The Nanavati-Mehta commission was set up by Gujarat government in 2002 to enquire about Gujarat violence. Sachar committee was appointed in 2005 and it recommended to set up Equal opportunity commission (EOC) in 2010. EOC was to set up a grievance redressal mechanism for all individual cases of discriminations- religion, caste, gender & physical ability among others.

The Ranganath Misra Commission was entrusted by the Government of India to suggest practical measures for the upliftment of the socially and economically backward sections among religious and linguistic minorities and to include the modalities of implementation for the same. The report of the National Commission for Religious and Linguistic Minorities, headed by former Chief Justice of India Ranganath Mishra, says that 10% should be reserved for Muslims and 5% for other minorities in central and state government jobs in all cadre and grades.

The purpose of all above committees is to give recommendations to find out the causes of backwardness of minorities and steps required to improve their conditions.

The Indian law defines communal violence as, "any act or series of acts, whether spontaneous or planned, resulting in injury or harm to the person and or property, knowingly directed against any person by virtue of his or her membership of any religious or linguistic minority, in any State in the Union of India, or Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes within the meaning of clauses (24) and (25) of Article 366 of the Constitution of India"

Though India is under the grip of communal violence, but till now, other than provisions under IPC and CrPC, there is no firm law to punish the originators of such violence, no clear policy for relief and rehabilitation of victims. There is also no regulation which accounts for the security of witness or for accountability of public servants, etc.

'Prevention of Communal and Targeted Violence (Access to Justice and Reparations) Bill, 2011' lapsed in the parliament. The bill provided for a seven-member National authority for communal harmony, justice and reparations. It attempted to safeguard the minority sections. It had provisions for ensuring accountability of the district administration. This has already been recommended by the Sachar committee and Ranganath Mishra Commission.

The role of police in communal riots is highly controversial. Generally, riot victims complain that police rarely come to their rescue. Sometimes, the police forces are themselves accused of being instrumental in the killing and of leading the mob in looting and burning, arresting innocent people and harassing them inside the lockup, etc. But as we know, that police can act much better, if there is political will and if they are given a free hand along with the implementation of recommended police reforms. There are also specialised battalions of Rapid Action force in India, which is a wing of CRPF, to deal with riots, riot like situations, crowd control, rescue and relief operations, and related unrest but they need to be better organized.

These are the future measures that should be taken to deal with Communalism:

- There is a need to reform the present criminal justice system and ensure speedy trials, adequate compensation to the victims. These may deter the criminals.
- There should be an increase in representation of the minority community and weaker sections in all wings of law-enforcement.
- There should be adequate training of forces with respect to human rights of victims as well as suspected perpetrators. They should also be made aware of the use of firearms in accordance with UN code of conduct.
- There need to be codified guidelines for the administration, specialized training for the police force to handle communal riots and setting up of special investigating and prosecuting agencies can help in damping major communal disquiet.
- Increased Emphasis on value-oriented education with focus on the values of peace, non-violence, compassion, secularism and humanism as well as developing scientific temper (enshrined as a fundamental duty) and rationalism as core values in children both

in schools and colleges/universities, can prove vital in preventing communal feelings.

- Government can adopt models followed by countries like Malaysia who have developed early-warning indicators to prevent racial clashes. The Malaysian Ethnic Relations Monitoring System (known by its acronym MESRA) makes use of a quality-of-life index (including criteria such as housing, health, income and education) and a perception index to gauge people's needs and feelings about race relations in their area.
- The Hong Kong model of combating communalism could be followed as well by setting up a "Race Relation Unit" to promote racial harmony and facilitate integration of ethnic minorities. RRU has established a hotline for complaints and inquiries on racial discrimination. Meanwhile, to create awareness about communal harmony, RRU talks to schools on culture of ethnic minorities and concept of racial discrimination.
- Government can also encourage and support civil society and NGOs to run projects that help create communal awareness, build stronger community relation and cultivate values of communal harmony in next generation.
- There is a need for minority welfare schemes to be launched and implemented efficiently by administration to address the challenges and various forms of discrimination faced by them in jobs, housing and daily life.
- A pro-active approach by National Foundation for Communal Harmony (NFCH): the body responsible for promoting communal harmony is needed. NFCH needs to provide better assistance for the physical and psychological rehabilitation of the victims of communal, caste, ethnic or terrorist violence, besides promoting communal harmony, fraternity and national integration.
- A legislation is required to curb the communal violence. Communal Violence (Prevention, Control and Rehabilitation of Victims) Bill, 2005 must be enacted soon.

All in all, the solution of such problems cannot be one or two steps by government. Apart from legislative support, administrative efficiency and alertness with the help of modern tools and technology, the major onus lies on the citizens themselves by avoiding communal violence.

Though this solution appears to be a bit philosophical in nature as it's not a concrete solution, but sustainable and long-lasting changes can only be brought up by such steps.

Each of us, have to make a balance between our own religious community and national interests, we have to unite with our fellow countrymen to move forward. The teachings of a religious community may be great, but the followers of the community concerned should understand that nationalism is greater. If they do not become familiar with this fact, they will be far away from the national stream; they will suffer. This fact pertains not only to India but also to many other countries of the world.

We have to be rational while making decisions. Each and every religious community has been founded on the basis of certain values that were best and necessary for circumstances of the country and times. Goodness like adjustment with others, or co-operation, or consistency can be found in their teachings. But by not moving according to the teachings of their religious community, those who depend upon fundamentalism and conservative practices, or those who use their co-religionists taking advantage of their poverty, illiteracy or innocence, are dishonest towards their own self, their co-religionists and also towards those great leaders who founded the religious community. Everyone must understand this fact also. Along with this, leaders of all communities, by knowing it, must come forward for an atmosphere surcharged with harmony, in which lies their welfare too. The religious teachers should promote rational and practical things through religion promoting peace and security.

Policies like appeasement, fun and frolic with the sentiments of people for individual and party interests, and selection of candidates on the basis of religious community or sect by keeping aside the qualifications are acts against national interest or nationalism and are reflections of lower order thinking. That is why, these kinds of acts should be stopped at government level and also at the level of political parties.

There is a great need to work towards eradicating the problem of unemployment among the youths, illiteracy and poverty and that too with honesty and without any discrimination. This will help in solving many problems, and will create mass awakening. The result will be effective in checking communalism to a great extent. That is why it is expected that a lot of work will have to be done at the government level in this direction.

But whatever has been mentioned in above paragraphs will be effective only when our society and its citizens, become capable and empowered and take sensible, ethical and rational decisions. This is possible only with the help of quality education. But quality education for such a huge population, cannot solely be expected from the public institutions. An important role has to be played through corporate social responsibility to bring changes in Indian society. We must live as per the ethos of our constitution and promote international peace and security.

Communalism can also be combated with the help of globalisation as a tool. In the globalised world, all countries are becoming integrated and dependent on each other. Movement of people from one place to other is becoming very easy. In such conditions to avoid such potential violence, governments are already promoting cultural exchanges through shows, programs, heritage walk, cultural visit by students and parliamentarians. Promoting learning of each other's local language for easy exchange of ideas is a very important step in this direction. With respect to this, recently former US President Barak Obama's message on Diwali festival can be seen as an active step to promote cultural mingling and living peacefully. If all the countries cooperate with each other, they can face and solve even the deadliest of challenges like those posed by Al-Qaeda, ISIS, etc.

Media, movies and other cultural platforms can be influential in promoting peace and harmony. Though all such practices in India are common, but there is still scope for improvement in this direction. Thus, in order to get rid of the problem of communalism in India, there is a need of collective efforts. All will have to discharge their duties. If we do so, definitely harmony will prevail. Everybody will prosper. This must be done; this was the dream of Mahatma Gandhi for a free India.

6.1.11 Self Assessment Questions

The following are a few statements based on what has been entailed in the chapter so far. **Fill in the blanks with suitable words.**

1. Indian Sociologist ----- has mentioned six dimensions of Communalism
2. The demand for Gorkhaland by Gorkhas, Bodoland by Bodos, Vidharbha in Maharashtra are examples of ----- communalism

3. The Hong Kong model of combating communalism could be followed as well by setting up a ----- to promote racial harmony and facilitate integration of ethnic minorities.
4. The ----- was entrusted by the Government of India to suggest practical measures for the upliftment of the socially and economically backward sections among religious and linguistic minorities and to include the modalities of implementation for the same.

Answer the following questions strictly within the suggested word limit:

- Q1. Encapsulate the three stages through which communalism passed in India. (250-300 words)
- Q2. Focus on three major instances of communal violence in India. (250-300 words)
- Q3. Elaborate five causes of communalism in India. (250-300 words)
- Q4. Justify the role of social media and media in general with respect to their effect on communalism in India. Give suitable examples. (150-200 words)
- Q5. Can external elements be considered responsible for communal violence in India? (100-150 words)

ANSWERS:

1. T.K Ooman
2. Separatist
3. "Race Relation Unit"
4. Ranganath Misra Commission

Lesson 6.2 - Secularism

STRUCTURE

- 6.2.1 Learning Objectives
- 6.2.2 Secularism in Ancient India
- 6.2.3 Secularism in Medieval India
- 6.2.4 Secularism in Modern India
- 6.2.5 Secularism in Indian Constitution
- 6.2.6 Indian Secularism vs Western Secularism
- 6.2.7 Threats to Secularism
- 6.2.8 The Way ahead
- 6.2.9 Summary
- 6.2.10 Self-assessment Questions

6.2.1 Learning Objectives

Secularism means the separation of religion from political, economic, social and cultural aspects of life, religion being treated as a purely personal matter. The term “Secular” means being “separate” from religion or having no religious basis. Religion is open to one and all and is given as a personal choice to an individual without any different treatment to the latter.

In the words of P B Gajendragadkar, a former Chief Justice of India, secularism is defined as “The State does not owe loyalty to any particular religion as such: it is not irreligious or anti-religious; it gives equal freedom to all religions.”

The ‘secularism’ is akin to the Vedic concept of ‘Dharma Nirapekshata’ i.e., the indifference of the state to religion. Secularism calls for a doctrine where all religions are given equal status, recognition and support from the state or it can also be defined as a doctrine that promotes separation of state from religion. A secular person is one who does not owe his moral values to any religion. His values are the product of his rational and scientific thinking. Secularism stands for no discrimination and partiality on grounds of religion and equal opportunities to follow all religions.

In this chapter, we will focus on the following learning objectives:

- Secularism in Ancient India
- Secularism in Medieval India
- Secularism in Modern India
- Secularism in the Indian Constitution
- Indian Secularism vs Western Secularism
- Threats to Secularism
- Way ahead

6.2.2 Secularism (Ancient India)

The tradition of Secularism is inhibited in the deep roots of the history of India. Indian culture is based on the blending of various spiritual traditions and social movements.

1. Before the arrival of Islam in the 12th century, followed by Mughal and colonials, Indian religions are known to have co-existed and evolved together for many centuries.
2. In ancient India, the Santam Dharma (Hinduism) was basically allowed to develop as a holistic religion by welcoming different spiritual traditions and trying to integrate them into a common mainstream.
3. The development of four Vedas and the various interpretations of the Upanishads and the Puranas clearly highlight the religious plurality of Hinduism.
4. The Ellora cave temples – built next to each other between the 5th and 10th centuries, for example, show coexistence of religions and a spirit of acceptance of different faiths.
5. Emperor Ashoka– was the first great emperor to announce, as early as the 3rd century B.C., that the state would not prosecute any religious sect.
6. Ashoka in his 12th Rock Edict appealed not only for the toleration of all religious sects but also to develop a spirit of great respect toward them.
7. Secularism in India is as old as the Indus Valley civilization. The cities of lower Mesopotamia and Harappa civilization were not ruled by priests. Dance and music were secular in these urban civilizations.

8. The quest for religious toleration and coexistence of different faiths continued even after the advent of Jainism, Buddhism and later Islam and Christianity on the Indian soil.
 - Jainism in India
 - Buddhism in India
9. The people in ancient India had freedom of religion, and the state granted citizenship to each individual regardless of whether someone's religion was Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, or any other.

6.2.3 Secularism (Medieval India)

1. In medieval India, the Sufi and Bhakti movements restored the secular character of Indian society. They spread the different facets of secularism like tolerance, a sense of brotherhood, universalism, harmony, and peace in society.
2. The leading light of these movements were Khwaja Moinuddin Chisti, Baba Farid, Saint Kabir Das, Guru Nanak Dev, Saint Tukaram, and Mira Bai.
3. Religious toleration and freedom of worship marked the State under Mughal emperor Akbar in medieval India.
 - Number of Hindus worked for him as his minister, he abolished the Jizya tax and forbade forcible conversions.
 - The promulgation of 'Din-i-Ilahi' or the Divine Faith is most prominent evidence of his tolerance policy. Din-i-ilahi had elements of both Hindu and Muslim faith.
 - The construction of Ibadat Khana (house of worship) in Fatehpur Sikri was done to nurture religious harmony by allowing different religious leaders to express their opinions in the same place. The participants in this assembly included theologians from amongst Brahmins, Jains and Zoroastrians.
 - He emphasized the concept of 'sulh-i-kul' or peace and harmony among religions.

6.2.4 Secularism (Modern India)

1. India came into control of the East India Company and the British Raj, after Aurangzeb.
2. British East India Company pursued the policy of divide and rule,

even then the spirit of secularism was strengthened and enriched through the Indian freedom movement.

3. The policy of “divide and rule” to some extent contributed to communal discord between various communities.
 - The Partition of Bengal in 1905 took place in accordance with this policy.
 - Through the Indian Councils Act of 1909, separate electorates were provided for Muslims.
 - The provision was extended to Sikhs, Indian Christians, Europeans and Anglo-Indians in certain provinces by the Government of India Act, 1919.
 - Separate electorates further extended the principle of communal representation by providing separate electorates for depressed classes (scheduled castes), women and labor (workers) through the Government of India Act 1935.
 - However, the Indian freedom movement was marked by secular tradition and ethos right from the start.
 - The formation of Indian National Congress in 1885 with secular values united the people from all sects and took the freedom movement on a constructive and successful path.
 - Nehru gave a detailed report (1928) which called for the abolition of the separate electorate to found a secular state.
 - Gandhiji’s secularism was based on a commitment to the brotherhood of religious communities based on their respect for and pursuit of truth, whereas, J. L. Nehru’s secularism was based on a commitment to scientific humanism tinged with a progressive view of historical change.

In the present scenario, in the context of India, the separation of religion from the state constitutes the core of the philosophy of secularism.

In India, the first face of Secularism is reflected in the Preamble of India where the word ‘Secular’ is read. Indian Secularism is also reflected in its fundamental rights (Article 25-28) where it guarantees each of its citizens the right to practice any religion which we will address in the next section.

6.2.5 Secularism in the Indian Constitution

Various provision of the Indian constitution clearly incorporates the basic principles of Secularism. With the 42nd Amendment of the Constitution of India (1976), the Preamble to the Constitution asserted that India is a “secular” nation. The meaning of a secular state is that it does not prioritize any one religion for the country and its people. Institutions started to recognize and accept all religions, enforce parliamentary laws instead of religious laws, and respect pluralism.

Fundamental Rights of India strengthen the secular fabric of the country. In fact, the secular character of the Indian Constitution stands as a basic feature of it and cannot be amended by any act. In the Bommai Case 1994, the Supreme Court upheld the validity of ‘Secularism’ as the basic feature of the Constitution. Secularism is a fundamental reality of India’s fabric hence any state government pursuing anti-secular politics is liable to action under Article 356. The following articles further India’s secular interests:

Article 14 and Article 15: The former grants equality before the law and equal protection of the laws to all while the later enlarges the concept of secularism to the widest possible extent by prohibiting discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth.

Article 16 (1): Equal opportunity to all citizens in matters of public employment and reiterates, no discrimination on the basis of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth and residence

Article 25: ‘Freedom of Conscience’, that is, all persons have equal right to freely profess, practise and propagate religion.

Article 26: Every religious group/ individual has the right to establish and maintain religious and charitable institutions and to manage its own affairs in matters of religion.

Article 27: The state shall not compel any citizen to pay any taxes for the promotion or maintenance of any particular religion or religious institution.

Article 28: Allows educational institutions maintained by different religious groups to impart religious instruction

Article 29 and Article 30: Provides for the cultural and educational rights to the minorities

Article 51A: Obliges all the citizens to promote harmony and the spirit of common brotherhood and to value and preserve the rich heritage of our composite culture.

Indian Constitution guarantees to its citizens six fundamental rights, one of which is the right to freedom of religion. Article 25 of the Indian Constitution gives each citizen:

- Freedom of Conscience
- Right to Profess any religion
- Right to Practice any religion
- Right to Propagate any religion

It is important to note that Article 25 covers not only religious beliefs (doctrines) but also religious practices (rituals). Moreover, these rights are available to all persons—citizens as well as non-citizens. However, there are reasonable restrictions on the fundamental rights of the citizens and central government/state government, in time of need, can interfere with the religious affairs of the citizens.

All in all, India does not have an official state religion. However, different personal laws – on matters such as marriage, divorce, inheritance, alimony varies with an individual's religion. There is neutrality in religion, India does not intercept the affairs of any specific religion. It respects all religions on par with one another. It assures religious freedom to the members of all religions. Citizens are free to choose and abide by their religions. Indian secularism is a means to address religious plurality and is not an end in itself. It sought to achieve the peaceful coexistence of different religions.

6.2.6 Indian Secularism Vs Western Secularism

Indian philosophy of secularism is related to “Sarva Dharma Sambhava”(literally it means that the destination of the paths followed by all religions is the same, though the paths themselves may be different) which means equal respect to all religions.

This model of secularism is not adopted by western societies where the government is totally separate from religion (i.e., separation of church and state). India does not recognize any religion as official. Nor does it owe allegiance to any particular religion.

Thus, secularism is sometimes understood with two concepts: Positive & Negative.

The negative concept of secularism is the Western concept of secularism. It connotes a complete separation between the religion (the church) and the state (the politics). This negative concept of secularism is inapplicable in the Indian situation where the society is multireligious.

The positive concept of secularism is reflected in India. The Indian Constitution embodies the positive concept of secularism, i.e., giving equal respect to all religions or protecting all religions equally.

The difference between Indian Secularism and Western Secularism is given in the table below:

| | |
|--|--|
| Indian citizens are given a fundamental right to religion however, this right is subject to public order, morality and health. | In the West, typically the USA, the state and religion are separated and both don't interfere in affairs of each other |
| There is no one religion that dominates Indian society as a citizen is free to practice, profess and propagate any religion | Christianity is the most reformed, caste neutral and single dominant religion in the state |
| India, with its outlook, focuses on intra-religious aspects and try to remove the stigma (if any) attached with any religion on the society | West doesn't focus on intra-religious aspects of Christianity and let the religion act on the society as it is |
| Due to accessibility to many religions, there are inter-religious conflicts and the Indian government has to intervene to maintain peace and harmony | Since Christianity is the one dominant religion, the focus is less on inter-religious conflicts |

| | |
|---|---|
| In India, due to the presence of multiple religions and multiple communities, the government has to focus on both. Example, Article 29 grants protection to both religious minorities as well as linguistic minorities. | West, by far, focuses on the equality and harmony among the people of the same religion |
| With the presence of multiple religion, the role of religious bodies also gets enhanced and it furthers their role in Indian politics | The role of religious bodies is very small in national politics |
| Indian states can aid religious institutions | States don't aid religious institutions in the West |

6.2.7 Threats to Secularism

While, the Indian Constitution declares the state being absolutely neutral to all religion, our society has steeped in religion. Mingling of **Religion and Politics** that is mobilisation of votes on grounds of primordial identities like religion, caste and ethnicity, have put Indian secularism in danger.

Communal politics operates through communalization of social space, by spreading myths and stereotypes against minorities, through attack on rational values and by practicing a divisive ideological propaganda and politics. Politicisation of any one religious group leads to the **competitive politicisation** of other groups, thereby resulting in inter-religious conflict.

One of the manifestations of communalism is **communal riots**. In recent past also, communalism has proved to be a great threat to the secular fabric of Indian polity. Rise of Hindu Nationalism in recent years have resulted into mob lynching on mere suspicion of slaughtering cows and consuming beef. In addition to this, forced closure of slaughterhouses, campaigns against 'love jihad', reconversion or ghar- wapsi (Muslims being forced to convert to Hinduism), etc. reinforces communal tendencies in society.

Islamic fundamentalism or revivalism pushes for establishing Islamic State based on sharia law which directly comes into conflict with

conceptions of the secular and democratic state. In recent years there have been stray incidences of Muslim youth being inspired and radicalized by groups like ISIS which is very unfortunate for both India and world.

6.2.8 The Way Ahead

It is incumbent on us to ensure value-education that makes the younger generation understands and appreciates not only its own religious traditions but also those of the other religions in the country. There is also a need to identify a common framework or a shared set of values which allows the diverse groups to live together.

In a pluralistic society, the best approach to nurture secularism is to expand religious freedom rather than strictly practicing state neutrality. The prerequisites to implement the social reform initiative like Uniform Civil Code are to create a conducive environment and forging socio-political consensus.

6.2.9 Summary

The chapter started with an emphasis on the various phases through which secularism passed in India. Ancient India saw the luminance of secularism from the times of the Vedas and the Indus Valley civilization up to the times of King Ashoka and the spread of Jainism and Buddhism. Medieval India was also largely peaceful due to the Bhakti and Sufi movements, as well as the regime of liberal rulers like Akbar. Deliberate signs of communal discord were seen in India post the arrival of the British in modern India.

The Indian freedom movement however changed this direction with its secular values and principles leading to the birth of the Constitution. Many features protect the basic feature of our Indian value system: secularism especially articles 14, 15, and 25- 30. We then moved on to distinguish between the Western and Indian models of secularism and their connotations.

The threats to secularism were then assessed in which the politics, Hindu revivalism and Islamic fundamentalism appeared to be the greatest threats. The chapter ended with a note on the way ahead where the role played by education and a shared set of values could prove crucial.

6.2.10 Self Assessment Questions

The following are a few statements based on what has been entailed in the chapter so far.

Fill in the blanks with suitable words.

1. Ashoka in his ----- Rock Edict appealed not only for the toleration of all religious sects but also to develop a spirit of great respect toward them.
2. The promulgation of ----- or the Divine Faith is most prominent evidence of Akbar's tolerance policy.
3. With the ----- Amendment of the Constitution of India (1976), the Preamble to the Constitution asserted that India is a "secular" nation.
4. Article ----- obliges all the citizens to promote harmony and the spirit of common brotherhood and to value and preserve the rich heritage of our composite culture.
5. The ----- concept of secularism is the Western concept of secularism

Answer the following questions strictly within the suggested word limit:

- Q1. Elaborate two articles which further India's secular policy. (100 words)
- Q2. Explain the difference between Indian and Western concept of secularism in three points. (100 words)
- Q3. Draw a path for the secularism of India from the ancient times to the post independence times. (250-300 words)

ANSWERS:

5. 12TH
6. 'Din-i-Ilahi'
7. 42nd
8. 51A
9. Negative