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We are re-launching the Newsletter of the Indo-Dutch Programme in Alternatives in Development (IDPAD). This is the first issue of the IDPAD Newsletter being brought out from India—and therefore in many ways it is special. Between 1996 and 2001, the IDPAD Dutch Secretariat had successfully published it from The Hague. It was then decided to move the publication from The Hague to the Indian Secretariat in New Delhi. We took a break from the publication as new arrangements had to be put in place. This issue, therefore, carries several reports of activities undertaken during the past year. We have also made some changes in the design and format. As earlier, the Newsletter will continue to be published twice a year.

IDPAD is the result of intensive interaction and collaboration between Indian and Dutch social scientists and policy makers. Launched in 1980, this bi-lateral programme has already completed four successful phases and the fifth phase (2002-2006) is currently underway.

For the Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR) and the Netherlands Foundation for the Advancement of Tropical Research (WOTRO), the IDPAD is a prestigious and successful joint effort to search for "Alternatives in Development" in India. As the country moves forward to savour the fruits of economic growth and technological advancement, formidable social and environmental challenges confront us, and the goal of sustainable all-round development remains to be attained. IDPAD is there to help our academics and policy-makers search for alternatives pathways and do innovative thinking to bring about a significant rise in the quality of life, social security and a cleaner environment. It is this intervention which makes the programme most relevant today.

IDPAD aims to stimulate and support research in the social sciences in India with the mandate that it lead to recommendations for development policy and practice, through a process of active interaction between researchers and potential users of research. During the fifth phase, IDPAD will focus on five key areas of activity -research projects; seminars and workshops; exchange of scholars; publications and dissemination; and access to information. Six main themes for research have been identified by the IDPAD for this phase. They are i) employment and social security ii) the contested environment iii) population and health iv) education v) information and communication technologies and vi) mega cities.

We carry a number of important reports and articles in this new issue. The article and a conference report on primary education bring into sharp focus the need to take a fresh look at this vital sector, while the article on displaced people of South Asia provides an insight into this complicated issue. Readers will also find the 'Clash of Civilizations' thought provoking for the perspective that it provides. The reports on labour, energy management and environmental protection, and child labour are all topical. The articles, reports and book review in this issue reinforce the IDPAD themes adopted for the fifth phase. We also carry the list of selected projects that IDPAD will fund in the fifth phase. It marks the end result of a year's rigorous work. We congratulate the scholars whose projects have been selected.

The features and the reports have been inter-woven to present a balanced format. The feedback from our esteemed readers, I am sure, will enhance the quality of future issues. Happy reading!

(Bhaskar Chatterjee)
An Innovative Concept

Pre-proposal workshops are among the many innovative ideas that have been introduced in selecting research project proposals in the Fifth Phase of the Indo-Dutch Programme on Alternatives in Development (IDPAD). Six such workshops were conducted in December 2002 and January 2003 in Surajkund, Bangalore and Sariska. Scholars whose pre-proposals had been short-listed for the final round of selection, made presentations on their research proposals followed by a lively interaction with the Task Force members who had evaluated the proposals and other scholars. The aim was to enable the researchers to present their proposals and its significance for critical evaluation and comments by other experts and utilise the comments for revising and improving the final project proposal to be submitted to IDPAD by March 3, 2003. It was also an opportunity for the IDPAD and the Task Forces to get to know the researchers and their capabilities for undertaking the projects.

The Format and Process

The day long workshops divided the 12-16 short-listed proposals into common thematic panels to facilitate discussions. Each presentation was for 10-15 minutes and most scholars used MS-power point to most efficiently utilise the limited time available. The presentations were followed by comments by the experts of the Task Forces, and a general discussion among the participants. Given the time constraint, it was an effective system and each presentation was heard carefully. Three of the workshops - Employment and Social Security, Education, Population and Health -were held in Surajkund in the outskirts of Delhi. The Information and Communications Technology workshop was held in Bangalore and was organized to coincide with the IDPAD’s interna-tional conference on ‘ICTs and India’s Development’. Lastly, the workshops on Environment and Mega Cities were held in Sariska in Rajasthan. The plan to hold the workshops outside Delhi proved to be wise - it was a conge-nial environment where the participants were not distracted by other engagements and, therefore, had the opportunity to interact even after the closure of the workshop.

The Gains

The workshops provided substantial feedback to the researchers, particularly on the shortcomings of the pre-proposals. They were also provided detailed guidelines, including guidelines for budgeting, to prepare the final project proposal. According to one of the experts:

"The workshops established a systematic and objective method of selecting research proposals; helped researchers as they received comments from experts, and also created a healthy environment in which meaningful discussions could be held on the research proposals."

It also opened up possibilities for interaction among the researchers in the field, networking, and potential mutual collaboration. In fact, although only a third of the selected proposals for the workshop would be finally selected, all the scholars would have gained immensely from this experience in terms of their research work in the field.

Sanchita Dutta / IDPAD
List of Selected projects
PHASE V, I DPAD

Theme 1: Employment and Social Security

1. The right to food in India, N.C. Saxena, Centre for Equity Studies, New Delhi (5.1.129).

2. Globalisation, labour markets and employment security for workers in the unorganised sector in India, A.N. Sharma, Institute for Human Development., New Delhi and M. Rutten, University of Amsterdam (5.1.87).

3. The condition of poverty in Gujarat: Looking back and ahead, G. Shah, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi and J. Breman, Amsterdam School of Social Science Research (5.1.17).


5. Political economy of labour in a globalised world, Sunanda Sen, Academy of Third World Studies Jamianagar, New Delhi and B. Dasgupta, University of Kalyani, West Bengal (5.1.28).

Theme 2: The Contested Environment


2. Invariant dependency on common property resources at different stages of development: a case study of water in India, P.R. Panchamukhi, Centre for Multi-Disciplinary Development Research, Karnataka (5.2.118).

3. Cooperation in a context of crisis: public-private management of marine fisheries in South Asia, J.M. Bavinck, University of Amsterdam and K. T. Thomson, Cochin University of Science and Technology, Kerala (5.2.110).

4. Negotiated livelihoods: contending development visions (by and for) tribal villagers living in the Tansa Wildlife sanctuary, S. Louw, University of Witwatersrand, South Africa and P. Mondal, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai (5.2.67).

5. Contested wetlands in the Gangetic Plains of India: developing frameworks for the evaluation of sustainable self-governance systems for wetland conservation and management, Pia Sethi, TERI, New Delhi (5.2.88).

Theme 3: Population and Health

1. Perspectives on reproductive health in Dharwad, Karnataka, I. Hutter, Population Research Centre, Groningen and S.M. Ramesh, J.S.S. Institute of Economic Research, Vidyagiri, Dharwad, Karnataka (5.3.81).

2. Care of the aged: gender; institutional provisions and social security in India, The Netherlands and Sri Lanka, S.I. Rajan, Centre for Development Studies, Trivandrum and C. Risseeuw, Leiden University and M. Perera, Marga Institute, Sri Lanka (5.3.79).

3. Expanding basic maternal and child care services for accelerating decline in fertility in high fertility areas in India: an operational research with birth-based approaches, K. Srinivasan and C.P. Prakassam, International Institute of Population Sciences, Deonar, Mumbai (5.3.8).

4. Health Status in Kerala: a life course perspective (a cross sectional study to identify the pattern, determinants and inequality of health status in terms of morbidity, mortality and utilisation of health care systems I services across stages of life course), K. Navaneetham and M. Kabir, Centre for Development Studies, Trivandrum, and K Rajamohan, Medical College, Trivandrum (5.3.76).

5. Health and healing in western Maharashtra: role of traditional healing centres (THCs) in mental health
service delivery, B. V. Davar, Centre for Advocacy in Mental Health (CAMH), Pune (5.3.11).

6. Health sector reforms: public-private partnership in the provision of health care services to the poor, A.V. Raman, University of Delhi, New Delhi and J. Bjorkman. Institute of Social Studies (ISS), The Hague (5.3.96).

Theme 4: Primary Education

1. Palanquin bearers: education, decentralisation and social inequalities, M. Majumdar, Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Kolkata and J.Mooij, Royal Tropical Institute, Amsterdam (5.4.38).


4. Gender context of girls in primary schools in Mumbai and Ahmedabad - an assessment, S. Shukla, Vacha Trust, Mumbai and A.Yagnik, SETU -Centre for Social Knowledge and Action, Ahmedabad (5.4.52).

5. An innovative school-home relationship as a pedagogic solution for the integration of artisans and other marginalized groups, N.Kumar, Centre for Postcolonial Education, Varanasi and N.Ram, Dr.Babasaheb Ambedkar National Institute of Social Science, New Delhi (5.4.119)

Theme 5: ICTs

1. Communication technologies, digital environments and intellectual property regimes: a social and cultural study, R. Vasudevan, Centre for the study of Developing Societies, New Delhi (5.5.35).

2. Indian IT professionals in India and The Netherlands: work, culture and transnationalism, A.R.Vasavi, National Institute of Advanced Studies (NIAS), Bangalore and P. van der Veer, Amsterdam School for Social Science Research, Amsterdam (5.5.15)

3. Cross border diffusion and development impact of information technology: A comparative study of India and selected EU countries, C.P.Chandrasekhar, Centre for Economic Studies and Planning, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi and A. Kleinknecht, Delft University of Technology, Delft (5.5.20).

4. Enabled or disabled: The future of work relations in Indian ITES Organizations, E. Noronha and P. D'Cruz, I. I. M Kozhikode, Kerala, (5.5.26)

Theme 6: Mega Cities

1. New forms of governance in Indian mega-cities: decentralisation, financial management and partner ships in urban environmental services, I. Baud, University of Amsterdam and A. Kundu, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi (5.6.26).

2. Inclusive Mega-Cities in Asia in a Globalising World, Darshini Mahadevia, Centre for Development Alternatives, Ahmedabad (5.6.8).


4. Envisioning the city and the politics of development, M. S. S. Pandian, Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage, Chennai and A. Srivathsan, School of Architecture and Planning, Anna University, Chennai (5.6.3).

5. Mapping city spaces: communal violence, social reconciliation and documentary practices of the state, D. Mehta, Dept. of Sociology, Delhi School of Economics University of Delhi, New Delhi (5.6.55)
The Clash of Civilisations: Revisiting the Debate

A Talk by Peter van der Veer

Eminent Dutch Indologist and Social Anthropologist Peter van der Veer is a specialist on religion based social and political movements in India and has done extensive work on the politics of religion Prof. van der Veer is the Co-Chairman of the Indo Dutch Programme on Alternatives in Development (IDPAD) and also the Chairman of the renowned International Institute of Asian Studies (iiAS) in Leiden. In both these capacities he has strong ties with the ICSSR. Since 2000 Prof. van der Veer has also been the Chairman of the International Institute for the Study of Islam in the Modern World. He teaches at the University of Amsterdam and in recent years has diversified his interest to include the impact of communication revolution on society and transnational class formation. His latest book Imperial Encounters: Religion and Modernity in India and Britain is an important study on an issue that is still very relevant. He wrote on Religions of India and Communalism in the Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences, and has a chapter entitled "Religious Nationalism and Global Fundamentalism" in A.K. Bagchi (ed), Comparatives Essays in India and Indonesia.

On the occasion of the inaugural lecture under the ICSSR-IIAS joint programme for the promotion of Asian Studies launched in May 2002, Prof. van der Veer was invited by ICSSR Chairman Prof. V.R. Panchamukhi to talk on issues raised by Samuel Huntington in his Foreign Affairs article and the subsequent book on the 'Clash of Civilisations'. The issues and the debate have regained prominence in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001 events and have evoked strong worldwide reactions, especially in heterogenous and multi-cultural states such as India, and the Islamic states. One of its principal arguments is on the fundamental clash of interest between Western and Islamic as well as Chinese Confucian 'civilisations'. Recent international and domestic developments have kept the debate alive and central to politics in many parts of the world. The world is witnessing a series of conflicts in the form of armed militancy; terrorism and intolerance. Peaceful co-existence among communities, states, and religions has come under stress in many societies. Yet as globalization spreads, peaceful co-existence becomes critically important among cultures, religions, ideologies, and differences over approaches to development. As we are well aware this is not always easily attained.

We are sure scholars and policymakers will find this talk interesting and thought-provoking.

Sanchita Dutta

Peter van der Veer:
I am here on an invitation from the ICSSR Chairman, Prof. Panchamukhi, to speak on a topic rather general in nature i.e., 'Clash of Civilizations'. And this is indeed revisited because scholars from around the world have already debated this issue some years ago. Huntington's article was published sometime after the Gulf War in 1992-93 and the book was published in 1996. Most people rejected the Huntington thesis because they saw that it was not scholarly founded. But after 9/11 the issue became prominent again. And there must be a reason for that. This is what I am trying to explore in revisiting the debate. The central issue concerns Islam and the West. Huntington takes much of his ideas from an article 'the Root of Muslim Rage' by (Bernard) Lewis who is one of the major writers in the United States on Muslim affairs and he dealt at length on how to deal with the differences between western civilization built on the two pillars of Christianity and the Enlightenment and Islam.

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one-civilization. The new idea is to define the world order in terms of the division of civilizations. In his earlier writings Huntington had emphasized the universality of western civilization and the need for the project of the enlightenment with its stress on universal values to be transplanted to all parts of the world. These values were seen to be an essential part of being modern. Modernity means being enlightened in the tradition of the European enlightenment. In his new writing, Huntington gives up the application of the term civilization as a universal western standard to judge other societies and instead emphasizes the lack of a universal standard and the existence of essential differences between civilizations with each having its own standards. In his view there cannot be a universal civilization, since the central elements of any civilization - language and religion - do not show any sign of developing into one universal language or one universal religion. Huntington therefore rejects the old modernization thesis and with it the meaning of modernization. Therefore, the project of universal human rights being advocated by the United Nations and by the United States is not viable, and they should stop doing this. We should accept that there are differences in civilizations and different people have different values and ways of doing things and no one should interfere. So let there be widow burning in India, let them kill children in China and so on and so forth. This is a radical departure from the earlier position found in the United States.

Huntington is right in noticing the fatal contradiction between linguistic diversity and the emergence of universal language. He knows the importance of nation states in creating national languages; how national languages have replaced civilizational languages like Latin and Sanskrit. Perhaps Arabic can still be seen as an example of a civilizational language but even there one can discern important national differences in the spoken language. However, Arabic is the language of the Crown but not of Muslim civilization, since most Muslims do not speak Arabic. Clearly, there exists a deep connection between nation states and civilization. When you look at, for example, the work of the sociologists on civilization then it is very clear that the idea of civilization is linked to the idea of national character. The notion of civilization in Europe is very much connected to the rise of the nationalism. The move by Huntington to separate civilization and the nation state is a complicated one, and this should be interrogated. Huntington by emphasizing civilization at the expense of the nation state fails to give any interpretation as to why and how the role of nation states has changed in international politics. He also ignores the connection between religion and nationalism. It is the analysis of this connection, which leads to a better understanding of so-called fundamentalism and religion.

In my talk today, I will in the first section address the role of religion in the development of national cultures. After that I will look at the possible decline of nation states as a result of globalization and the role of transnational religions. I will return to the 'clash civilizations' in my conclusion.

Religion and the Nation state

So let's look at the relation between religion and the nation state. Religion, like language, is a carrier of civilization. For example, let's take Britain and Holland; these are two prime examples
of the results of the formation and the rise of modern states as they emerged in 19th century Europe. In both these societies the social significance of religion increased during the industrial and political transformations of the 19th century. My argument is: religion in Europe became important only in the 19th century. Before that it was of much less relevance in public life. This is a radical claim. Mobilization of large groups of population for the political goals of democracy makes religion useful. The socio-political changes in the 19th century played a crucial role in the transformation of the population into a modern public necessary for the modern nation. As I have argued elsewhere religion has been central to the development of modern institutions such as democracy in many western societies. The secularization of British and Dutch societies did not take place in the 19th century as a result of the industrial revolution or after the rise of the modern nation states. It took place only in the 20th century - in a period so different from each other that it defies universal explanation by a secularization thesis. In fact in the Netherlands secularization and the drop in attendance in Church only happened in the end of the 1960s. So the idea of the secularization of the European minds in the 19th century is basically bogus. It is also not true of England; it is actually not true of any place. There are different periods and very different histories connected to the decline in the importance of religion, of Church attendance and any importance of churches in the various European states.

The United States, a major modern nation state, offers an even more different picture. Secularization here is very uneven and religion continues to have a strong public presence even today. The continuance of the Franco-American Christianity appears to be largely attained through the aggressive recruitment pattern of the religious organizations, which has not been as successful in Western Europe. President George Bush Jr., himself is one of the products of these recruitment patterns. One year ago, he addressed one of the major universities in Beijing by reminding the audience that it would be better for the Chinese to convert to Christianity. One can imagine what kind of response there was in China to this particular propaganda. I only want to say that the idea of the secularization understood as disappearance of religion from the public domain is very uneven in the West. It has very different histories, and has connections with different patterns of state formations. There is certainly no genuine model.

People who recognize the importance of religion for the creation of modern institutions, i.e., democratic institutions often make a distinction between good and bad religions. Good religions are those that help in the construction of civil society, and bad religions are those that seek to undermine it. But this is not so simple as it seems, mostly the case material on this is from western Christianity. It might be possible and even likely that different religious traditions have different views about civil society. What role religions should play in the public debate for furthering civil society as a kind of marker of being good religion or bad religion is a complicated business because religions have claims about society, on what constitutes public debate and who is a moral person. So people who are arguing from non-Christian religious standpoints might have very different views about authority, free debate and civil society than those who argue from the Enlightenment tradition of secularism. State-society relations are also very different in different parts of the world and public opinion is accordingly very differently constituted.

At this point one should recognize that secularization is not only about the role of Christianity in the West, i.e., Western Europe and United States of America. As I have already said the process is complex and there is no single pattern even there. It is more complex in relation to Islam, Hinduism,
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“What role religions should play in the public debate for furthering civil society as a kind of marker of being good religion or bad religion is a complicated business because religions have claims about society, on what constitutes public debate and who is a moral person. So people who are arguing from non-Christian religious standpoints might have very different views about authority, free debate and civil society than those who argue from the Enlightenment tradition of secularism. State-society relations are also very different in different parts of the world and public opinion is accordingly very differently constituted.”

Buddhism and other religions. In several of these cases the social significance of religion measured in terms of church attendance cannot even be raised since there are no churches. The organization of religion, the place of religion and society, the patterns of recruitment and indeed the religious traditions are so different that not only secularization but also the empirical and theoretical problems that are derived from within the context of the western society become hard to address. The question, therefore, is not whether the Muslim or Hindu or Buddhist society is becoming secularized but what these religions actually are; how they are organized; what are the causes they espouse and what they oppose. Since most societies in the world have adopted the national form it is important to see how religion has shaped the national culture and vice versa. It should be clear that as much as in the European and American cases religion and politics belong together in non-western societies. In the latter case religious politics is often combined as fundamentalism. The fact that non-Christian religions tend to have a public role is not what disturbs western observers since they are more or less aware of their role in their own societies. It is, I think, the unfamiliar nature of non-Christian religious arguments in the public sphere, especially about gender related issues and about human rights, the violence involved in some of the disputes, and the threat they seem to pose to secularists and secular state which are disturbing. So the genuine term used for religious nationalism, religious movements, which are not supportive of civil society is fundamentalism.

I was involved in a project on fundamentalism taken up in the early 1990s at the University of Chicago which was completely comparative in nature and which looked at Christian, Jewish, Muslim, Hindu and Buddhist fundamentalisms. It attempted to find out what is bad religion -bad in the sense of not being supportive of civil society. What was not addressed in this huge project ----- several volumes of findings were published ----- was state formation and the history of secularism in different places. Our esteemed colleague Prof. T.N. Madan was also part of that project. The project did not really address the nature of secularism, the nature of the secular state in relation to these religions, what kind of issues are involved in it. In a number of contemporary societies, we have to ignore these issues because this is a public affair. The secular elite and secularist army sustain secularism in many of these societies. I think of the Islamic societies such as Egypt, Turkey, Algeria and Pakistan and also of India whose majority population is Hindu. Analysis of the Islamic and Hindu movements in the societies has to take the role of a secular state into account without adopting the uncritical normative stand that the secular states is by definition progressive since it brings secular modernity. So called fundamentalist movements can be understood to an extent as a response to secularism and intervention-ism by the modern state in both the public and private sphere. This kind of state, which was put in place in most cases by the colonial powers, is directed at the material and moral transformation of entire population. So it has a mission. Not only the Christians or other religious movements have a mission, the secular state also has a mission. These political religious movements do not seek to defend traditional society against interventions; they are actually not traditionalist but are creatively trying to reinterpret religious traditions so as to come with alternative model of societal transformation. It is essential to see that these movements are not conservative or reactionary. In such societies struggle between secularist movement and religious movements takes place over the control of state apparatus. It is often a violent struggle in which a secularist army is pitched against terrorist groups, which transfers the secularist ideals of a secular state onto the society. The Egyptian army’s confrontation with the
Muslim Brotherhood movement that seeks to capture the state is a good example. A very large number of Muslim intellectuals and activists have been jailed. Since most of these societies have experienced forms of colonial rule, the post-colonial secular state is in a significant manner the institutional heir of the colonial state, even where the secularist movements is often radically anti-western.

Nationalism and Religion

The struggle in which the fundamentalist groups are engaged is by and large against specific nation states, despite sporadic terrorists attack against airlines, office buildings and the rest. It is even argued in the case of Al-Qaida that Bin Laden’s main target is not America but Saudi Arabia. He has to attack America in order to create a transformation in Saudi Arabia. If we look at Muslim politics in general, or in South Asia also at Hindu and Sikh politics, it is striking to what extent religious politics is framed by nationalism. Southeast Asia too is not different from the western Christian cases we have discussed. An important difference, however, lies in the fact that in the period of transformation of modern nationalism in India and in the Middle East the state was controlled not by local elites but by western Christian colonizers. In these societies the colonial state adopted often a neutral secular stand in order not to provoke resistance on religious ground. The crucial religious and cultural difference between colonizer~ and colonized, however, profoundly influenced the interpretation of religion and secularism for the entire anti-colonial independence struggle. Unlike in modern Europe and America, secularism here became an ideology shaped by elite groups rather than the result of the decline of the power of the religious organization or radical separation of the Church and state. Secularism, often combined with socialism, was carried forward by leaders such as Nehru and Nasser, and continues to be the elite’s ideology in societies that are characterized by strong religious commitments. Since both the independence struggle and the post-colonial nation building depended on mass politics, mobilization on the basis of religion could never be avoided. We have witnessed, therefore, in many societies in Asia and Middle East religious nationalism that confronts a secular nationalism. To speak of the religious resurgence in the last few decades is a misnomer, since religious politics was never separated from either the independence movement nor post-colonial national politics.

To acknowledge this direct linkage between nationalism and religion, immediately brings us to Huntington's civilisational essentialism. There are a great number of nation states in the world that have conflicting interests. The great geo-political conflicts in the last century: the First and Second World Wars have been largely between co-religionists belonging to different nation states. The violent conflicts in the Muslim world have also between co-religionists, between people who belong to the same civilization-Iran against Iraq, Iraq against Kuwait, Pakistan against Bangladesh. Their conflicts were rooted in national interest not in religious difference.

If the connection between nationalism and the nation state and religion is as strong as I have argued here, the question arises to what extent it would be affected by the decline of the nation state due to the contemporary processes of globalization. I would like to address this question now. Nation states operate in a global context or in a world system of nation states. Despite all the arguments of liberal economists about free trade, modern economies are national economies within a capitalist world system. Similarly, nation-states interact in trans-national bodies of world politics such as the United Nations. In that sense nation-states have always been globalised and have existed in a dialectical relationship with the global processes. This conventional wisdom has been challenged by a growing lit-
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"It is a universal character of world religions that they are actually very much tied to national cultures. So there is a creative tension, I would argue, between the national and the transnational roles of religions. What could be argued is that the transnational element and religion get new possibilities due to the growth of transnational migration."

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Transnational Religions

What role would religion play in this dialectic relationship between the national and transnational? World religion by its very nature transcends national boundaries. It is true of Christianity, Islam, Buddhism and to a lesser extent Hinduism. They have a message for mankind and have traditionally been organized in a globalising fashion to further the work of expansion. Nevertheless as I have tried to show earlier, religion has been used in great many cases to build national culture. It is a universal character of world religions that they are actually very much tied to national cultures. So there is a creative tension, I would argue, between the national and the transnational roles of religions. What could be argued is that the transnational element and religion get new possibilities due to the growth of transnational migration. In fact we do see the flourishing of transnational religious movements such as Pentecostalism in Christianity. The Pentecostals are today all over the place. No social scientist wants to give any attention to this because it is religious in nature, and social scientists would like to believe that they are the only secularized population in the world. But it is a huge worldwide phenomena - in Africa, Latin America, India, Indonesia, China, Pentecostalism is there. Tablighi Jamaat is also a huge worldwide phenomenon with enormous implications in Belgium, France, Canada, the US, England, or here in India. The Vishva Hindu Parishad is also founded as a transnational movement as a World Congress of Hindus and it has established very quickly chapters in Canada, in Britain, in US and elsewhere.

It is very interesting to see that the most successful transnational Muslim movement is actually not trying to capture the state. The Tablighi Jamaat is a silent movement. I am not saying that this is not political, but it certainly is not aggressive in trying to take over the state as the VHP is doing or Pentecostalists are doing in many parts of the world. It is ironic that the most globalised Muslim movement is not an aggressively political movement. Many such wrong views on the differences between Christianity, Hinduism and Islam thus prevail in Huntington’s
thesis. For the Tablighi Jamaat every Muslim must simply try to be a good Muslim by fulfilling one's duties. As I said already that this does have political consequences. For migrants its message is defense against assimilation; a message to retain their distinctiveness as Muslims. Despite the discourse on the universal community of the Islamic Ummah it is a fact that the tendency towards localization, of becoming involved in the politics of the nation state in which one lives, is a reality. The VHP on the contrary has explicit political aims and is deeply involved in the politics of Hindu nationalism. As you know, it is directly connected to the BJP and is highly successful among the Hindu migrants in the United States, the Caribbean, Britain, South Africa—wherever one finds Hindu communities and Diaspora. The Pentecostalism movement is often deeply involved in the politics of national culture in the societies in which they are active.

There is no evidence that processes of globalization and transnationalism impair the contribution of religion in the various nationalisms in the world. So my point here is that Huntington's ideas of using the term 'civilization', to account for global movement or another kind of division of the world is actually not working because basically these transnational movements do not go against nationalism as such. They foster nationalism in the countries of immigration because we can say European nationalism today is anti-Muslim, anti-immigration nationalism. They foster competitive nationalism within Europe as it is evident from the growth of Turkish nationalism within immigrant communities in Germany, in England, in Holland. Similarly, Moroccan nationalism is very much fostered in parts of Europe, and Hindu nationalism is fostered in US, in Britain. So transnationalism is not going to dissolve the dialectical tension between nation and migration.

The 'Clash of Civilisations' Thesis
Let me conclude. In Huntington's view, future conflicts in the world will be between civilizations. The Gulf war, which took place just before the publication of Huntington's Foreign Affairs article could be taken as an example of such a civilization of war between Muslim civilization and the Christian civilization. On close examination, however, it shows the pitfalls of a civilisational interpretation of the world order. In fact the Gulf war completely divided the Arab world and the Muslim world. Islamic arguments were supposed to support Iraq and they were also supposed to support Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. For many Muslims it was a sorry sight to see the secularist Saddam Hussain trying to use Islam for his political purposes. Only when a massive build up of US troops occurred in Saudi Arabia did Hussain become an unlikely Muslim Hero standing up against America, Britain and Germany, and he began to use Islam as the main basis of its conflict with US. However, Muslim countries such as Morocco, Turkey, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia continued to support the western alliance.

If the civilization approach is so weak in explaining conflicts of the recent past, why did Huntington receive so much attention? It is, perhaps, illuminating to examine the use that has been made of the term 'civilization' by Huntington. He writes about the Atlantic joining the United States and Western Europe, but in Europe especially in the Mediterranean area the civilisational borders between Islam and Christianity are drawn. The reality is far more complex. For the first time, the US is also feeling the presence of other civilizations within its own borders. It is no more in other places, the Muslim 'problem' is no more outside the West.

After the Gulf War, much of the discussions about the future of Germany was led by people who supported the unification of the west contrasting it with certain specific features of the 'East' in religious and civilisational terms, forgetting as usual that Berlin is the third Turkish town in the world.

"What we have here is a tension, which has a long history, of course, in Europe. But I think that one of the main issues within the boundaries of Europe is the question whether people of other religions can become modern; whether you can have Muslim modernity and, therefore, a Muslim citizenship. Migration from Islamic countries is one of the most political issues in Western Europe."
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For the people of Turkey who reside in Western Europe it is the border between Muslim Turkey and Christian Greece is the significant one for a unified Europe. That is the border internally reproduced as a boundary between secular Christian citizens and religiously minded Muslim residents. That indeed there is this boundary was implicit in the message of the Christian Democrats years ago under the leadership of German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who was so much in favour of uniting East and West Germany. There was no way that Turkey could enter European Union because it was another civilization. They were not part of the Christian democratic civilization and, therefore, would never be able to become part of Europe.

What we have here is a tension, which has a long history, of course, in Europe. But I think that one of the main issues within the boundaries of Europe is the question whether people of other religions can become modern; whether you can have Muslim modernity and, therefore, a Muslim citizenship. Migration from Islamic countries is one of the most political issues in Western Europe. Despite all the political rhetoric, especially in France, Germany and the Netherlands, the presence of large groups of Muslims - as indeed large groups of Jews in an earlier period - is a fact that will continue to disrupt any civilizational illusions one might have about the Christian West and the non-Christian East. The struggle is really for the acceptance of the 'stranger' without desiring to obliterate him through assimilation. There are differences in the world, and each community calls what is not his own practice as barbarism. To live in each other's 'barbarism' without violence in the same multi-cultural society is the challenge of the 21st century. It is a challenge in Europe, in US but also here, of course, in India.

Although the issue of multiculturalism is not straightforwardly raised in Huntington's book, it does seem to motivate its entire project. He says this at the end of his book in the following revealing passage:

"Some Americans have promoted multiculturalism at home, some have promoted universalism abroad and some have done both. Multiculturalism at home threatens the United States and the West; universalism abroad threatens the west and the world. Both deny the uniqueness of Western culture. The global mono-culturists want to make the world like America. Domestic multi-culturists want to make America like the world. A multicultural America is impossible because non-western America is not American. A multicultural world is unavoidable because a global empire is impossible. The preservation of the United States and the West requires the renewal of Western identity. The security of the world requires acceptance of global multiculturalism."

Attempts to promote universal human rights thus becomes a threat to the US and to the world States but also by large number of societies both here in India and in Europe: namely, multiculturalism opposes cultural assimilation. This issue cannot be solved ever by projecting multiculturalism out of domestic politics on to the stage of world politics as Huntington attempts to do.

The lecture was followed by a lively debate and questions on some of the major issues raised by Prof. van der Veer.

The ICSSR, Chairman Prof. V.R. Panchamukhi in his comments called the presentation profound for its lucid analysis of the interface between religion, secularism, civilizations and culture, and the challenges this interface poses for not only the contempo-
nations but also definitely between nations. This debate has to be carried forward in the crisis situation that we all find ourselves in—whether it is in India, South Asia or in the rest of the world.

Huntington’s project, according to one of the participants in the discussion, was essentially nationalistic and his book actually tries to draw a foreign policy agenda for America. He is saying that after the end of the Cold War the entire American foreign policy has to be reconceived, redrawn and he suggests a road map. The problem arises because the terms in which he shapes his argument challenges social anthropologists, political thinkers and all kinds of people.

He also disagreed with the speaker that the Tablighi Jamaat is apolitical or non-political while the VHP is political. Both, according to him, are political in different ways. The Tablighi Jamaat is active in countries where Muslims are in minority, such as India, Canada, France, Germany and the US, while the VHP is primarily operative in a country where the Hindus are a majority. This distinction has to be underlined otherwise we tend to glamourise the Tablighi Jamaat and demonise the VHP. Both are equally dangerous trends. This becomes particularly evident in the context of their approach towards gender and human rights. This is where western societies are ahead of other societies. The Tablighi Jamaat talks about being a good Muslim but who is actually a good Muslim? Those —Who follow the Shariat and Koran in full or those who follow other schools of thought within Islam?

Prof. van der Veer explained that Huntington’s argument is structured in terms of civilisations, not nation-states. Nationalism doesn’t play any role in his argument. There is a clear shift in a systemic view of the world order from one of nation states to one of civilisations. But his project is related to one nation state, namely, the United States as the perceived leader of the West. He said the success of the book despite its weak scientific base, requires a sociological explanation. Suddenly political science as a scholarly discipline does not figure very much in the decision-making processes in Washington. The precise interface between intellectuals, such as those in the Kennedy School of Government—which is a kind of intellectual establishment, the liberal audience and policymaking is quite complex. On the other point, clearly both the VHP and the Tablighi Jamaat, and such other movements are political in nature. Definitely, they are aimed at defining moral conduct on how a person should behave. So they work on issues of interpretation of tradition. VHP is quite different because Hindu tradition is so opaque. So there are certain interesting comparisons possible because of the way you can use tradition for certain kinds of political argument. But the Tablighi Jamaat is very different from Jamat-e-isiami, very different from the Sangh Parivar in the sense that the state actually does not figure in its goals. The movement is not directed at the state, but at Muslim behavior. It calls on Muslims to do their duty, this has nothing to do with political duties. For example, their defense of the wearing of the scarf and sex segregations on grounds of Islamic orthodoxy, are not directed against the state but, of course, it has implication for state behavior, on education policy, etc. It has implications on how people of other communities respond, and therefore has indirect political implications. The VHP is much more directly connected to state oriented politics. And maybe that is the only difference. Ram Rajya is a major idea within the VHP circles. This is true also of the Jamat-e-isiami but not for the Tablighi Jamaat.

He agreed that merely because the VHP has called for Ram Rajya it can’t be described as political. Because Ram Rajya like Hinduism is also a societal order. Of course, it has links with the BJP and the political order. But it is not political because it is asking for Rama Rajya. If you go into the definitions of Ram Rajya, necessary and sufficient conditions for Ram Rajya are spelt out in the Ramayana. It is only a societal order. But indirectly that too is a political ideal. What it seeks to achieve is a change from a secular government to its notions of a ‘just order’. This can only be established with right form of government. This of course is political.

Another scholar was intrigued by the fact that treatment of civilization as a concept in Huntington is quite apart from the early debates and writings on civilization. He agreed with the speaker that in the 19th century, the modern system state is actually set up in the context of the rise of religion. But this gets a little tricky when in an effort to counter Huntington one can make a sort of relationship, almost functional, between a religious movement today and the national projects. This is particularly so in the case of radical Islam—also perhaps in the case of VHP—where one can make a point that there is this new millenarian impulse, almost a sense of global achievement after 9/11.

Prof. van der Veer pointed out that radical Islam in most cases up to the present day has been connected to nationalist project. And despite all the talk about the Ummah these movements are mostly related to Muslim states such as Egypt, create a new state in Saudi Arabia, create a new state in Turkey. However, this trend appears to have changed with the Al-Qaida network, which seems to be attacking the entire world system. This is an interesting new development. The analysis seems to be that they have to attack the US in order to get any transformation in the society. Seems that these people have come to the conclusion that there is no change possible in the Middle East without changing the role of the US. This is not immediately connected to any nationalist projects.

One of the participants questioned the validity of the description of secularization in terms of a drop in church attendance, or the degree to which religion penetrates personal life. He felt
one of the objectives in terms of secularization would be to bring about a kind of separation of church and state, which is the conventional meaning. It is this separation, which despite the Christian Democrats, despite the debate on creationism in the United States and whether it should be taught in schools, remains a project of enlightenment in the West. This is a project that is essential in every country that wants to ensure a multi-cultural environment.

Prof. van der Veer felt the secularization thesis is more complex than what had been said. One of the elements of it is the privatization of religion within its own sphere. So indeed, the separation of church from state is an important element. But other elements of it are the decline of belief, of the importance of religion in daily life. So a secularized society in the West sees a steady drop of church attendance, etc. According to the secularization thesis a common point is made about the separation of religion from politics, science and economics. There is no religious economics, religious biochemistry or whatever. However, the secularization thesis is not right in expecting a decline of the public role of religion even in societies where state-church separation has taken place. One of the strongest cases of state-church separation is the US. It is also the place where in fact civil society to a large extent has been created by religion. Religion plays enormous political role in mobilizing people for political purposes. If you look at American history, religion has played a huge political role.

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On the question of the effects of migration on politics, Prof. van der Veer said the nature of migration had substantially changed over the past few decades. He had addressed some of the issues in a paper in which he had compared coolie labour of the 19th century with the IT labour, or the 'techno-coolies' of today. There are many structural similarities between the earlier labour transfers and the body shopping involved in the IT sector. At the same time, technological change, the change in the system of nation states, the transformation of capitalism actually makes other legal and transitional arrangements possible that did not exist in the 19th century. The constancy and frequency of travel between places of origin and places of immigration allow for interaction that is not comparable in scale to that possible through the internet. There is a difference between international migration and transnational network, which are being created now.

The Member Secretary closed the discussion by thanking Prof. van der Veer for addressing a complex subject in a most lucid manner to the listeners. He said the issues that had been raised in the lecture were of great contemporary significance and the debate was not yet over. There would be occasions to revisit them again in future.

Edited by Sanchita Dutta
The erosion and decline in the quality of basic education in developing countries has assumed the proportions of a global emergency. Bhaskar Chatterjee, Member-Secretary, ICSSR, and Qutub Khan, Senior Programme Officer, UNESCO, India, examine the central issues involved.

The progress achieved worldwide in the field of education during the last three decades is a source of pride and at the same time a source of shame. Although progress in the last three decades has remarkably raised the net enrolment and literacy rates throughout the globe, it is becoming evident that the present education systems are ill-equipped to take on the challenges that lie ahead. Providing learning opportunities in the Asia-Pacific region alone to an estimated 65 million (57 per cent) of the world's 113 million out of school children and 625 million (71 per cent) of the world's estimated 85 million adult illiterates is a task that will stretch both determination and resources to the utmost.

These aggregated figures hide striking disparities, the most pronounced of which, in the developing countries is the rural-urban one. Often marginalised by language, lifestyle and culture, the rural areas are the victims of official apathy and political lip service. The inhibiting and impeding forces to learning in the villages do not relate merely to time, age, circumstances and socio-economic factors. The problem that confronts them runs much deeper than simply inadequate delivery mechanisms. The formal education system can often, in itself, constitute a barrier to learning.

The problems of "access, performance, efficiency and relevance" of education are also not fully recognized by almost all the stakeholders of basic education. It has been observed that a greater part of the national education budget is devoted to access and enrolment, infrastructure and central administration, to the detriment of quality teaching, learning inputs and products. Non-enrolment, repetition and drop-out and low learning achievement on the one hand, and their ensuing outcomes in the form of a growing number of illiterates and functional illiterates, on the other hand, have assumed alarming proportions in recent years.

The industrialised countries maintain virtually a negligible drop-out rate at the primary level mainly due to the enforcement of compulsory education laws. In the less developed regions, where the large mass of the rural poor is concentrated, early drop-outs are a major problem. Of the approximately 96 million pupils who entered schools in developing countries for the first time in 1998, 24 million (25 per cent) are likely to abandon schools before reaching Grade Five. The situation becomes even grayer and grimmer when one takes cognizance of about 7-9 per cent repeaters in total primary level enrolment during 1999-2000.
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Drop-outs in developing nations out of the million who entered school in 1998

Public Expenditure on Education

Government spending on all levels of education together as a share of gross national product (GNP) slightly declined since 1980 for the world as a whole. Yet raising the levels of public as well as private funding for all levels of education is crucial for addressing both the quantitative and qualitative issues involved in universal education.

The Dakar Education For All (EFA) Framework adopted in April 2000 states that designing national policies for actions to improve basic education should focus on, "specific strategies, addressed to improve the conditions for schooling. These should be addressed to respond to learners' needs and learning processes, personnel (teachers, administrators and others), curriculum and learning assessment, materials and physical facilities". The Framework further states that strengthening educational management would require organisational restructuring, management information systems, the capacity for assessing pupils' achievement, effective monitoring, economic and education research. It underscores the need for developing managerial capacity in school, supervision of teachers and improving relations between the school and the local community. Meeting basic learning needs also involves action to enhance the family and community environment for learning and to correlate basic education to the larger socio-economic context.

The graph (right) shows that while all other regions of the world continue to accord priority to education, there is a marked decline in public expenditure in countries of South Asia. This is a cause for serious worry. The graph and the latest figures also reveal that the Arab States have taken the lead spending a greater proportion of the government budget on education than any other regions of the world. While public spending for Sub Saharan African and East Asia Oceania has been marginally better, it has been substantial for Latin America and the Caribbean where there has been a steady rise in government spending on education for the last two decades.

The Framework for Action focuses on the achievement of universal primary education by 2015. For this target to be achieved there must be policies which recognize the strategic contribution of primary education to development. Governments will need to tackle the core issue of quality, particularly its enhancement and maintenance in rural areas.

Primary Schools and the Quality Puzzle

Most educational systems stress and focus predominantly on the teaching learning process, rather than to promote and support a culture of learning. The school system tends to rely primarily on the daily lesson planning, rigid curriculum and standardised tests and as a result, learning assumes a series of mechanical and technical acts where the teacher becomes a technician rather than a facilitator. The roles and responsibilities of teachers and learners have often been narrowly defined and perceived with little scope for growth and change. It is also unfortunate that discussions in educational decision-making circles continue to focus mainly on construction of new buildings and maintenance of existing ones and trying to get children into them, rather than on what actually happens inside the classroom.

The Dakar Framework for Action places prime emphasis on improving education quality and effectiveness with reference to the school environment. It underlines that "Quality is at the heart of education and what takes place in classrooms and other learning environments is fundamentally important to the future well-being of children, young people and adults. A quality education is one that satisfies basic learning needs and enriches the lives of learners and their overall experience of living."

In reality, "Quality" means different things to different observers and interest groups; not all share the same perceptions of priorities for change. It can be a descriptive rather than a normative term. It can refer simply to a trait or attribute. Thus, a pupil or teacher, a school or school district, a regional or national education system, can have any number of qualities or defining characteristics. "Quality" may also be used as a more aggregate or collective term.
The concept of quality is complex and value laden. It is hard to find a simple uni-dimensional measure of quality. Many factors interact—pupils and their background characteristics; teachers and administrators and their skills; schools and their infrastructure and ethos; curricula; and societal expectations.

Decentralization and School Autonomy

The educational authorities in an increasing number of developing countries have started to recognize that reform measures are not succeeding in achieving desired goals and large numbers of children are leaving school long before they learn anything worthwhile. They are also realizing that schools can do better when they do not feel imprisoned by “national directives”. The uniform application of policy in all schools tends to heighten rather than heal the imbalances between the developed and underdeveloped sections of the system, particularly when the national standards in management, discipline and quality of education remain stagnant. The prescribing and imposition of uniform curricula, textbooks and examination standards from the central administration lead to adverse and undesirable effects. It fails to impart education to all the children but results in driving large numbers of children out of school long before the acquisition of anything useful from education. Teachers, however sympathetic and understanding of the individual differences and capabilities of their pupils, have little freedom to deviate from the official examination requirements which at best will benefit only a handful of the school-age population. This is particularly so for rural areas which find themselves pretty much out of sync with national initiatives that are formulated in capital cities and imposed uniformly throughout the country.

Most education systems around the world advocate the idea of school autonomy, yet the efforts made so far have failed to operationalise the idea, specially to offer a comprehensive response to the key problem: which level will be responsible for which issues? The directives, circular and mechanisms currently in vogue are, in fact, more constraining than enabling.

Transfer of decision-making authority to schools has, however, relative advantages and limitations. For instance, curriculum development based on local needs would lead to more relevant, more adapted schools and would facilitate teachers to become more active partners. But this would certainly impose difficulties in multicultural and multiracial societies where the promotion of solidarity and unity of the nation is the prime goal of education. In these societies the curriculum content is a sensitive issue, not least politically. Therefore, schools are required to follow the centrally designed curriculum. Further, many countries still do not have adequate administrative and organisation structures to support and facilitate curriculum development at school level.

Similarly, autonomy in curriculum reform and change is directly associated with the issue of examination and students performance evaluation. The effect which national examination system can have on classroom teaching is well known. A centrally designed and administered examination system impedes and restricts school freedom. On the other hand, such restriction might well be necessary when schools receive more autonomy so as to effectively control their quality.

Enhancing the Contribution of the Curriculum

Many developing countries have not yet fully recognized the role curriculum planning can play in improving the quality of schooling. This may appear surprising since many of them have a well-defined national curriculum. But a highly centralized and detailed curriculum does not necessarily ensure the anticipated outcomes. Neither is the policy of giving full autonomy to individual schools for curricular decision a desirable alternative solution. Therefore, there is a need in these countries for restoring a careful balance between centrally negotiated national guidelines and school-based planning for curriculum implementation. Restoring such a balanced approach is by no means a simple task, and specific problems will certainly vary from one country to another depending on the way in which the educational systems have evolved historically.

Both at national and local levels, curriculum planning rely on an a priori theory. Most educational systems, consciously or unconsciously, appear to be working with some kind of cur-
curriculum in mind based on "social and individual needs". In order to improve the curriculum planning mechanism and machinery, it is necessary to highlight these underlying values in a more explicit manner by a conscious programme of specification such as cultural analysis. Thus for improving the quality of the curriculum, it is necessary that it should be "broad, balanced, relevant and differentiated".

A common core curriculum is not necessarily a uniform curriculum. A key element in the art of curriculum planning is to provide a variety of choices and "routes" into important areas of knowledge, skills and values, as well as different "sorties" which can develop individual interests and abilities to the highest possible levels. Some planning of this kind for differentiation can take place nationally, but it is likely to be most effective when planned and implemented at the school level in relation to specific individual and group needs for differentiation.

Vitally important is the realisation that rural areas have special needs and special sensitivities. These must be catered to in a caring and understanding way. Much of the curriculum planning for such areas is thus best done bottom upwards - that is to say, by pulling in from the grassroots the inputs that village teachers and rural communities can provide and the priorities that they attribute.

### Rationale for Community Involvement

Any resistance to curriculum reform and change comes predominantly from the general public. This might be reduced through attempts to involve community members in the process of curriculum development. It is sometimes argued that parents, especially those in rural areas or those who are illiterate or not well-educated, cannot make a useful contribution to curriculum development in schools. But empirical evidence suggests that educators who have attempted to involve communities in a meaningful way in this activity have found that this is not necessarily true. Based on their research experiences in several developing countries, Chinappah (1998) and Khan (2000) have suggested that all communities are capable of sufficiently understanding the complex issues involved.

Improved student performance is a cogent reason for increasing community involvement in the school, and possibly the best place to start when attempting to involve greater numbers of parents. Much research can be cited as evidence that parental aspirations, interests and involvement have a positive effect on children's academic ability, self-concept and aspirations.

These arguments clearly suggest that when efforts at curriculum development are carried out in cooperation and consultation with the key members of the community, the outcome can be to help alleviate potential resistance to curriculum changes. It certainly helps to develop an integrated curriculum espousing "school knowledge" with "common sense knowledge".

Therefore, to ensure stronger school-community relations with a positive impact on school effectiveness, national authorities should take action in three core fields. Firstly,
evolve legislation to provide a legal framework and define with some precision the role and contribution of communities. The legislation should not constrain communities nor limit their creativity. Secondly, develop appropriate structures for effective implementation. Many countries have set up some management committees, with representations from the community. However, few have led so far to a real involvement of communities. Their membership, their constitution, their relationship with the more official educational administration, and their localization in the hierarchy (should they be set up for each school, “for a cluster, for a village or district”?) are some of the elements, which need further consideration. Finally, organise orientation programmes to create awareness among communities. This would contribute to useful interaction and helpful feedback.

Trends in rural fertility and population growth need to be considered for approaching rural development issues. In particular, rural demographic changes have far reaching implications on household incomes, poverty and thus on education.

Changing Role and Responsibilities of Teachers

The erosion and decline in the quality of basic education in developing countries had been for quite some time a largely unperceived but a very real problem. The world conference on Education for All (Jomtien, Thailand 1990) and the World Eorum on Education for All (Dakar 20u0) recognized that the new functions of schools call for teachers with a variety of skills. Admittedly, an ability to teach continues to be the fundamental requirement for the teaching profession, but the nature of this ability has also changed. A teacher is no longer visualized as someone who just “gives lessons” but someone who has the ability and capacity to organize, observe, stimulate, assess and foster the various learning processes in children and to take remedial measures whenever necessary.

Teachers, numbering more than 55 millions throughout the world now constitute probably the largest group among the various categories of intellectual workers. Yet, the available evidence reveals a shortage of 9.5 millions qualified primary school teachers in the developing countries by the end of the year 2000. It has also become evident that an adequate supply of qualified teaching staff will not be forthcoming without an improvement in the professional, social and economic conditions of the teaching profession on the one hand and re-forms in their roles and responsibilities on the other.

During the last three decades of educational development, there has been a phenomenal increase in student enrolment in primary schools. There has also been significant progress in the establishment and in the consolidation of curriculum development processes and the production of textbooks. This rapid growth of primary education has not, however, been accompanied by an adequate provision of operational teachers who can respond to the specific needs of a particular situation and bring about positive changes in school instructional practices. A majority of primary school teachers after undergoing training are unable to put into practice specific strategies and functional skills that are presumed to be relevant to the teaching/learning process. Needless to say, the process of deriving operational teacher training objectives and relating them to specific instructional acts and pupils outcomes requires constant attention and commitment.

Most primary schools in developing countries, particularly those located in rural areas, do not have even the basic facilities (buildings and furniture) that are so essential for making any classroom instruction effective. The centrally prescribed school curriculum and textbooks leave little room for making modifications or adjustments for a particular place, group, or community. The teacher’s role is mostly passive. Teachers get practically no encouragement to be innovative and have little scope for enhancing and/or updating their knowledge and skills. The outcome is that not much professional activity takes place to raise the standards of classroom instruction. A general state of inertia tends to prevail in the teaching-learning process. In fact, the efficiency (input-output coefficient) and the effectiveness (achievement level at the terminal grade) of primary school education have been very low.

Teacher training programmes, as they are being conducted in a large number of developing countries, tend to be largely academic and do not adequately meet the training needs of teachers. Not enough emphasis is laid on practical training and acquisition of new skills. Once teachers are trained, hardly any worthwhile follow-up programmes are undertaken to update knowledge and skills. These factors demoralize them and discourage their professional commitment. Their motivation is adversely affected by insufficient supervisory and support services, particularly in rural and remote locations. The lack of regular supervision impedes the adoption of improved teaching practices and encourages absenteeism.

Concern for the quality of basic education is today among the highest priorities in all developing countries; it will undoubtedly remain so for the foreseeable future. There are [10 ready-made or instant remedies for raising quality nor is it a one-off exercise. In many education systems, it is rather a question of consolidating the numerous reforms of recent years and making painstaking efforts over a long haul to bring about improvements in every aspect of schooling.

Bhaskar Chatterjee & Qutub Khan
A major aim of the IDPAD research project on displaced people and development in South Asia is to highlight emerging themes in cross-border displacement. Among these themes are the agency and voices of people who flee across an international border, the identities they forge for themselves, their contributions to their new surroundings, and the ways in which their interactions with states and non-governmental organisations are mediated by local circumstances.

The report explores these themes across a number of case studies, covering groups of people originating from India, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Burma who became displaced in the period between 1947 and 20001. The four substantial sub-projects that are being reported deal with distinct cases. Kathinka Sinha-Kerkhoff (Ranchi) analyses long-term identity formation among settlers from what is now Bangladesh into the Indian states of Bihar and Jharkhand. Imtiaz Ahmed (Dhaka) presents findings on the shifting relationship between Rohingya refugees from Burma/Myanmar and state agencies and non-governmental organisations in Bangladesh. Abhijit Dasgupta (Delhi) looks at the shifting political alliances of displaced East Bengalis in West Bengal. And in a separate sub-project, Abhijit Dasgupta reports on local-level politics and Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka in the Indian state of Tamil Nadu. Each case study considers the themes mentioned above, and links its local findings with the theoretical literature on displacement and refugees.

As the reader soon finds out, however, each case is in itself highly complex. Displacement did not take place at one particular moment in time but often occurred in several ‘waves’ and it involved people with different backgrounds, skills and expectations. These people soon found themselves in local situations, which could differ from state-run refugee camps to relatives’ homes. They arrived among host populations who might welcome them as brothers and sisters or who saw them as undesirables and started organising to throw them out. Cross-border displacement also turned people into the beneficiaries (or targets) of fluctuating state and NGO policies. In short, displacement implies a host of different individual experiences, and analyses of displaced people’s lives need to take these into account.

In this introduction we consider some of the themes which feature in the case studies and we address their wider implications for the study of displacement in South Asia. First, we look at two South Asian peculiarities which have influenced cross-border displacement: Partition and non-signatory states.

Partition

The fragmentation of India’s colonial state structure at the moment of decolonisation triggered large population movements. As the new states of Pakistan and India were fashioned out of the rubble of what had been British India and 500-odd Princely States, millions of cross-border migrants were on the move. In some areas, e.g. Punjab, there was a swift, bloody and almost complete exchange of people. In other areas, e.g. Bengal, displacement was a process that stretched over decades and is still going on.

Partition looms large over the study of displaced people in South Asia. This is not only because of the unprecedented numbers involved. Equally important is the fact that state formation and cross-border migration took place simultaneously. Definitions of citizenship developed gradually and remained contested. This was particularly clear in the east, where the provinces of Bengal and Assam were bisected to form the new entities of West Bengal and Assam (India), and East Bengal (Pakistan). Here it remained possible for years to define citizenship in terms of either religious community or territorial location. It was not until five years after decolonisation that efforts were made to unequivocally pin down people’s citizenship. Passports and visas were introduced in 1952, giving territoriality the upper hand. But in this region of South Asia, citizenship...
continues to be negotiable to an unusual degree, as was demonstrated by the Indira-Mujib Pact of 1972 and the current discussions on ‘indigeneity’ in Assam.

The report deals with several groups of people who were displaced in the wake of Partition; it demonstrates how the uncertainties of post-Partition citizenship influenced the decisions of cross-border migrants as well as their subsequent lives.

Non-signatory States

A second peculiarity of the South Asian region is the fact that none of the states have become signatories to the major international agreements on displaced people i.e., the United Nations Convention (1951) and Protocol (1967) on Refugees. By not signing these international agreements, South Asian states have retained a certain autonomy in dealing with refugee problems, and they have defined and redefined refugees according to their convenience. As a result, the study of cross-border displacement in this part of the world is full of conceptual pitfalls. Definitions differ between countries, between periods, and sometimes between different parts of the same country. Some groups of people who crossed the border were welcomed as citizens joining the nation, others as refugees entitled to state (and UNHCR) support, yet others as migrants who were tolerated but never given official residence or citizenship, and many as undesirable ‘illegal immigrants’ or ‘infiltrators’. The freedom that these non-signatory states allowed themselves in choosing a label that appeared most convenient at the time not only landed displaced people in administrative quagmires but also hampered serious comparative research into cross-border displacement in South Asia.

Even though Partition and non-signatory states have singled out South Asia as a distinct world region in terms of cross-border displacement, it is still difficult to assess how this has actually affected flows of people. Remarkably little research has been done in this area due to the exceptional nature of South Asia in this respect. First, although Partition threw up a flurry of policy-related reports, surveys and testimonies on displaced people, scholarly interest has long remained dormant. Students of Partition were usually interested in other themes, most notably the high politics leading up to the birth of Pakistan and India and subsequent attempts at nation-building in the two countries. Only recently have Partition studies begun to show a more sustained interest in the experiences of those who were dislocated.4 Second, by not defining cross-border displacements as streams of refugees, South Asian states could, and frequently did, block access to them by international refugee organisations, the media and scholars. This attitude of isolating displaced people from outsiders -and thereby making documentation of their situation difficult -became almost a state reflex, a standard response which needed no justification, even in cases where international financial help was sought. We found this ourselves when we were denied access to camps of displaced Rohingyas from Burma in southern Bangladesh and displaced Tamils from Sri Lanka in southern India.

Displacement and South Asian societies

These regional characteristics have contributed to a slow development of refugee studies (or displaced people studies) in South Asia, relative to other parts of the world. The lack of a strong body of analytic and comparative knowledge of cross-border displacement is a serious weakness in our understanding of the societies of South Asia. Obviously, the sheer number of people in these societies whose lives have been touched by cross-border displacement is staggering. Many tens of millions are involved, even if we disregard the effects of displacement on the ‘second’ and ‘third’ generations. The behaviour of displaced people has had an enormous impact on these societies - politically, economically and culturally -and yet we are still far from understanding it in a comprehensiveway.

It is not only the size of the displaced population in South Asia which is impressive. Over the last six decades cross-border displacement in the region has also involved a dazzling array of different groups, from Assamese Muslims to Sindi Hindus, from Tibetans to Burmese, from Sri Lanka Tamils to Afghans, and from Nepalis in Bhutan to Kashmiris in Nepal. Today every South Asian metropolis is home to large communities of displaced people. For example, in Karachi, communities of Mohajirs (Partition immigrants from India) live side by side with later arrivals, mostly illegal, such as Burmese Rohingyas, Afghani Pashthuns and Bangladeshis.

The size of different groups of displaced people varies enormously, as

Definitions differ between countries, between periods, and sometimes between different parts of the same country. Some groups of people who crossed the border were welcomed as citizens joining the nation, others as refugees entitled to state (and UNHCR) support, yet others as migrants who were tolerated but never given official residence or citizenship, and many as undesirable ‘illegal immigrants’ or ‘infiltrators’.
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does their political impact. And the two are not necessarily related. In some parts of the subcontinent (e.g. Tripura, Sindh) violent confrontations today can be related to struggles for hegemony between sizeable and powerful groups of Partition migrants and local populations. But the 'anti-foreigner' movement in Arunachal Pradesh takes a stand against minute groups of displaced Hajong and Chakma people from erstwhile East Pakistan. And whereas most displaced people in South Asia have been able to make their voices heard only at the local level, some have managed to project their cause well beyond that. The most successful have been those who have forged links with international organisations concerned with human rights, refugee issues, or indigenous peoples. The best example is provided by displaced Tibetans in India who have been players on the world political scene for decades.

And finally, as the report shows, state responses to cross-border displacement in post-colonial South Asia have been varied, both regarding different groups of displaced people and regarding the same group over time. Many displaced people were ignored by the states on whose territory they found themselves, but others found themselves on the receiving end of policies, which covered the entire range from an occasional handout to rigorous institutionalisation. Newcomers were often put into camps, which might be short-lived but could also survive for generations. The chapters of this book provide information on camps for Partition refugees, Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka and Rohingya refugees from Burma. They clearly show that even in these few cases the term 'camp' covers many different forms of localisation, provision, protection and control. Together with information on other camps for groups as varied as 'abducted women,' Chinese internees, Jummas, 'Stranded Pakistanis' and Afghans, these cases can be used as building blocks towards a typology of South Asian state responses to displacement.

...Large-scale displacement lies at the very foundation of three major states in the region and it became a crucial symbol in the nationalism which power elites proceeded to construct. An adequate understanding of the organisation of the states of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh needs to take account of how these newly emergent states dealt with large numbers of immigrants and emigrants.

States and displacement

There are three reasons why it is important to examine the close links between the development of modern states in South Asia and cross-border displacement. Firstly, large-scale displacement lies at the very foundation of three major states in the region and it became a crucial symbol in the nationalism, which power elites proceeded to construct. An adequate understanding of the organisation of the states of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh needs to take account of how these newly emergent states dealt with large numbers of immigrants and emigrants. And conversely, displaced people interacted with state structures, which were partly in statu nascendi and were therefore more malleable than usual. Some Partition migrants joined the power elite; they found themselves in important positions in the new state bureaucracies, at the helm of political parties, or in charge of armed forces. This happened in both regulated and unregulated ways. An ex-

change of certain categories of state personnel between Pakistan and India was organised by allowing them to opt for a position in the other state. These 'optees,' who arrived at the time of Partition, took the place of counter-parts who travelled the other way. They took charge of tasks at all levels and in all branches of government. Other displaced people joined the state on an individual basis. The influence of these newcomers on state formation and state policies in the three countries has, to our knowledge, never been studied, let alone compared.

Secondly, early experiences with cross-border displacement around Partition shaped the ways in which these states responded to later cross-border displacements, which sprang from various causes and were often unanticipated. In the second half of the 20th century, major displacements resulted from communal rioting (e.g. Eastern India and East Pakistan in 1950 and 1964), war (Bangladesh, Sri Lanka), invasion (Tibet, Afghanistan), ethnic cleansing (Rohingyas from Burma, Nepalis from Bhutan), and development policies (the Kaptai hydropower project in Bangladesh, the Farakka project in India). How South Asian states were involved in initiating these flows of people, and how they responded to such flows arriving in their territory, need to be understood as part of a regional history in which displacement established itself as a tool of statecraft.

Thirdly, cross-border displacement became a constant theme, and often an irritant, between South Asian states. Two chapters in the report show how recent cross-border population flows have complicated the relationship between Sri Lanka and India and between Burma and Bangladesh, but many other examples could be given. Inter-state relations in South Asia have been delicate ever since decolonisation, and attempts at forging regional cooperation have often been unexpectedly scuppered. Over the years, unresolved issues emerging from cross-border population.
flows have played a considerable role in souring relations between these states.

The states of South Asia have been described as 'fearful states' whose ruling elites have 'failed to manage the problems of nation-state building, wealth generation and distributive justice,' and who have responded to challenges to their authority 'with coercion rather than compromise.' 7 In many cases, the violence of state-making has created circumstances which compelled groups of South Asian citizens to flee across the border and rebuild their lives in another society. In this way, displaced people can be regarded as participants in, and not just victims of, processes of state formation in 20th century South Asia. Their perspectives on these processes are valuable; they need to be documented.

Living in exile

The contributions to this IDPAD research project address these issues but they do more than highlight and analyse the varying relationships between displacement and nation-state building. They are particularly forceful in their claim that displacement needs to be understood by careful contextualisation of experiences and identities, and by listening closely to the voices of the displaced and those among whom they settled. Criticising the tendency to overgeneralise, they suggest that distinct local scenarios unfolded in which the social strategies of displaced people played a vital role. In many parts of South Asia, the contributions of newcomers from across the border have been essential elements in new developments - in terms of economy (contributions to trade, food aid, refugee labour, artisan activities, farming), social change (educational standards, competition, net-working), politics (vote banks creating a new political style) and culture (linguistic variety, cultural plurality).

It is also suggested that the study of cross-border displacement in South Asia needs much more historical depth. For example, policies often define refugees as a contemporary 'problem' (for whom?) to be resolved through 'programmes' (by whom?) without any serious understanding of how the outcomes of these policies will be shaped by perspectives that have developed locally in the wake of many previous policy interventions.

This research project highlights the need for a more sophisticated field of 'refugee studies' in this world region and also demonstrates how the study of displaced people provides essential entry points into new ways of conceptualising state formation and social development in South Asian societies.

Abhijit Dasgupta & Willem van Schendel

Notes

1 This report is the outcome of a joint re-search project entitled 'Displaced Populations & Development in the Context of the South Asian Economic and Institutional Order.' The research was made possible by a grant from the Indo-Dutch Programme on Alternatives in Development (IDPAD). At various stages of the project, and in various capacities, the fol-low ing researchers were involved: Imtiaz Ahmed (Dhaka), Anugata Akhanda (Agartala), Gautam Chakma (Agartala), Abhijit Dasgupta (Delhi), Manpreet Kaur Janeja (Calcutta), Amena Mohsin (Dhaka), Dipankar Mukherjee (Ranchi), Zubeeda B. Quraishy (Chennai), Md Mahbubur Rahman (Rajshahi), Kathinka Sinha-Kerkhoff (Ranchi), Willem van Schendel (Amsterdam).

2 The project was concerned with displacement which impels people to cross an inter-national border. It did not deal with displacement of people within the territory of a single state, which is the topic of a growing literature in South Asia. See e.g. 'Development' (1996).

3 The Indira-Mujib Pact was an agreement between the prime ministers of India and Bangladesh which tacitly provided that Bangladesh would not be held responsible for persons who had illegally migrated to India before the birth of the new Republic prior to March 25, 1971' (Verghese 1996, 39). This was also the cut-off point enshrined in the Illegal Migrants (Determination by Tribunals) Act of 1983 which is in force in Assam. Under this act, the government of India agreed to detect and deport foreign nationals who entered Assam after that date (Mahanta 1986, 109). In April 2000, however, an accord between the government in Delhi, the state government of Assam, and the major political party in Assam pushed that date back to 1951, causing a storm of protest and further confusion ('Indigenous definition,' 2000).

4 See also the discussion on citizenship and proxy citizenship in Van Schendel (2002).

5 E.g. Menon and Bhasin (1998).

6 For one study which details the decisive political influence of cross-border refugees on the politics of the Indian state of West Ben-gal, see Chakrabarti (1998).

7 See e.g. Menon and Bhasin (1998), Berjeaut (1999).


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Labour and Capitalist Transformation in Asia

An international conference on labour and Capitalist Transformation in Asia was held at the Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala in India, during December 13-15, 2001. The conference was sponsored by the Indo-Dutch Programme for Alternatives in Development (IDPAD). It brought together a select number of scholars from India, China, South East Asia and Europe working on themes of labour relations in the larger canvas of capitalist transformation in Asia.

The conference was conceived on the premise that labour, in its relationship with capital, was one of the central issues in the social science debate at the end of the 19th century, but was relegated to an obscure position at the end of the 20th century, with little prospect for a resurrection at the dawn of the 21st century. This is particularly so as economic liberalisation and the cultural effects of globalisation loom large in the current research and policy interests. This focus of academic researchers and policy-makers alike needs to be assessed against the fact that despite of labour having been largely instrumental in bringing about development in Asian societies, its contribution has not been adequately acknowledged in the academic and policy domains. The present international conference was thus an attempt to address this concern by bringing back labour into the research agenda.

The conference was also intended to honour Professor Jan Bremen, an eminent scholar and former Professor of Comparative Sociology at the University of Amsterdam. Jan Bremen has worked on the theme of labour in Asia throughout his academic career. The initiative for organizing the conference was taken by two of his former students, Professor K.P. Kannan of the Centre for Development Studies (CDS) in Trivandrum and Professor Mario Rutten of the Amsterdam School of Social Research (ASSR) of the University of Amsterdam.

Eighteen papers were presented at the conference. Together, they represent a broad bandwidth of subjects on capital-labour relations, from pure theoretical contestation in the tradition of Marx to empirical substantiation of trade liberalisation benefits in the neo-classical tradition; from a focus on agricultural labour in South Asia to urban workers in China; from papers dealing with the issue of democracy and mobilization of labour in Indonesia to the rise of Indian IT professionals in India and abroad. The eighteen papers presented may be broadly grouped into two sets of categories. The first set of papers discusses issues of the dynamics of labour and capital from a general-theoretical perspective, providing a critical analysis of dominant views and concepts employed in the literature. The second set of papers deals with various specific themes related to labour and capital transformation in Asia from an empirical and oftentimes specific perspective. A list of the papers presented is given in Annex 1.

Critical analyses of dominant views and concepts

The first set of general and theoretical papers consists of six studies that provide a critical analysis of theoretical views and concepts that have been employed in the literature on labour and capitalist transformation in Asia. Three papers are a critique of several prevailing views on the developments of labour and capitalist relations at present and in the past: Jan Bremen criticizes the views of Hernando de Soto on the informalisation of labour; Terence Byres critically analyses the revival of neo-classical neo-populism; while Amiya Kumar Bagchi emphasizes from a historical perspective the need to refocus our attention on the social reproduction of labour. The three remaining papers in this first set of studies are critical analyses of the use of the concepts of labour and capital in the literature: Marcel van der Linden questions from a historical perspective the common image of the working class; Jairus Banaji demystifies the polarity between unfree and free labour; while K.P. Kannan and Mario Rutten argue for the need to conceptualize both capital and labour in its plural dimension.

Theoretical Views

In his paper 'A Question of Poverty', Jan Bremen presents a brief overview of the old and new debates on dualism especially on the use of the informal and formal sector concept. His analysis then focuses on the views of Hernando de Soto as exemplified in his publications 'The Other Path' (1989) and 'The Mystery of Capital' (2000). Jan Bremen's criticism to the work of de Soto applies to the lack of theoretical depth and the lean empirical foundation of his main hypothesis. Breman's paper shows that what de Soto presents as social-scientific analysis is in fact an ideological statement intended to advocate capitalism as the only true path to development. More specifically, Jan Bremen indicates a number of misconceptions in the work of de Soto which results in a strongly biased portrayal of social reality. Contrary to de Soto's view, the informal sector does not exist as a separate and closed circuit with its own logic and game rules, but can be understood only by tracing the lines that connect it to the formal sector. Moreover, de Soto's analysis completely ignores the fact that property is not necessarily owned by those who use it as a means of subsistence. As a result, it is wrong to assume that
the informal sector consists largely of people who own property. Much of the economic activity in the so-called informal sector is founded on capital from the formal sector and given the low cost of labour and taxed minimally or not at all, returns to where it came from with a tidy profit.

Terence Byres's paper is largely a critique of a recent lengthy article by Keith Griffin, Azizur Rahmann Khan and Amy Ickowitz (Poverty and Distribution of Land, 2001) that pursues a neo-populist, neo-classical argument in favour of small-scale agriculture. Basically, these authors argue in favour of redistributive land reform as the best means of eradicating rural poverty in the contemporary developing countries. Neo-classical neo-populism, Byres argues, is profoundly ahistorical, and in its lack of historical perspective, does not address the processes of capitalist transformation in contemporary poor countries. It is also fraught with contradictions emphasizing a simultaneous pursuit of equality, its compelling populist goal, and efficiency, its disciplining neo-classical force. One of the questions raised during the discussion, however, was whether one must call someone a neo-populist in toto if he or she thinks that under conditions of underdevelopment in a poor country, it might be desirable to promote cultivation by small farmers through land reform. And whether somebody must be dubbed neo-classical if they talk of the need for providing incentives to peasants to adopt better cultivation practices for increasing output. Given the policy relevance of such basic issues, such a position might take away the space for articulating alternative strategies of development especially in a democratic set up.

In his historical paper on the social production of labour, Amiya Kumar Bagchi argues that the social needs of a population and its labour force are irreducible to the needs of capital, and economic growth is not sufficient to ensure sustained growth of a healthy population. A wide range of factors, such as unequal distribution of resources, access to public health facilities, levels of literacy, extent of child labour, and male restrictions on or control over women's reproductive rights have a crucial bearing on the well being of a population.

Bagchi develops these arguments mainly by reference to the fading of the Dutch golden age, the legacies of Tokugawa capitalism of Japan, and the current abysmal state of the population in several parts of the third world and the former Soviet bloc. However it was argued during the conference that his attempts to generalise from the demographic trajectories of Dutch capitalism partly fail against the historical reality of 18th century Western Europe that experienced rapid growth through the 'great mortality decline'. This was caused by public health interventions that Bagchi repeatedly argues as critical to public welfare. This in turn suggests that between capital's drive for an expanding, exploitable labour force and the demographic histories of the 16th to 20th centuries, there are crucial mediations which still have to be identified.

Conceptual Issues

The first of the three contributions that addressed the issue of conceptualizing labour in its plural dimensions was a paper by Marcel van der Linden. In this paper, van der Linden attempts to come to grips with the issue of conceptualizing the world working class. He questions the stereotypical image of the 'working class' as being personally free, having no property, and being forced to sell labour power in return for means of subsistence. This image emerged out of the socialist movement in Western Europe during the 19th century, but gradually met with a wide acceptance among liberal and conservative intellectuals. Van der Linden presents a large number of historical case studies that suggest that there are no clear boundaries between the doubly free wage earner and other subaltern producers in capitalist society. He argues that 'pure'...
wage earners in the classical sense do not exist and have never existed. The wage earner as described by Marx and his followers is only an abstraction that cannot be applied in historical research without modifications. At the same time, van der Linden argues for an abstract yardstick that encompasses the generality of the plural reality. Hence his own proposal of a 'world working class' criterion. But the crucial question he directs against the classical criterion seems to rebound upon himself. Although his critical historical analysis of the traditional conceptualization was viewed as an important contribution to the discussion, it remains to be seen to what extent his own criterion is a viable conceptual alternative, viewing the fact that capitalist transformation of the third world countries is a long drawn out process of entirely different modalities as a result of space and time differentiation.

The second contribution that addressed the issue of conceptualizing labour was the paper by Jairus Banaji on the issue of unfree labour. In this paper, Banaji tries to demystify the polarity between unfree hired (i.e., bonded) labour and free wage labour, as discussed by V. K. Ramachandran (Wage labour and unfreedom in agriculture, 1990) and more in general by Tom Brass (Towards a comparative political economy of unfree labour). Banaji criticizes both authors as subscribing to a liberal-individualistic notion that finds wage labour as essentially free labour, based on the 'consent' of the individual worker and on the free bargain that embodies that 'consent'. This postulation is in sharp contrast to Marx, whose references to free labour have a profoundly delegitimizing intent. To abstract the references to free labour from the framework of this critique is to run the risk of imparting a naturalness to the notion of 'freedom' which it does not possess. According to Banaji, Brass falls into this pitfall because he sees capitalism entirely from the standpoint of individual capital, ignoring the crucial fact that the regulatory logic of the capitalist economy is necessarily that of the total social capital. Unlike individual capital, social capital does not tend to resort to coercion, since the mobility of labour (implying freedom) is essential to the mechanism of capital at this level. Notwithstanding the powerful analysis, it was argued during the discussion that Banaji seems to partly ignore the present-day reality of unfreedom of labour imposed by the capital of multinational corporations; there is a tendency to control labour through the formalisation of the formal sector within the context of globalisation and liberalisation.

Within this focus on the issue of conceptualization labour and capitalist transformation, K.P. Kannan and Mario Rutten reflected in their paper upon the objective plural dimensions not only of labour but also of capital in the present developing countries. Their argument mainly centres upon the propositions of the works of Jan Breman, who has forcefully brought out that neither labour nor capital are homogeneous categories, nor do they lend themselves to clear cut dichotomous divisions such as rural versus urban, agriculture versus industry, and formal versus informal. Since capital and labour appear as heterogeneous categories in the objective historical conditions of most of the present day Asian countries, this also applies to the character of the state. The authors argue for need to bring in the role of the state which they characterize as an 'intermediate regime'. In the intermediate regimes of these countries, the ruling class, viz., the intermediate class, or more specifically, the lower middle class and the rich peasantry, is composed of numerous sub-classes of diverse interests, and hence the state stands bound to reflect the same composition in miniature. And it is here that it follows capital and labour in its heterogeneity as a category. The paper provides a critical generalisation of the plural reality at the microcosmic level, but this is also its weakness. It seems to miss out the macrocosmic implications of globalisation that steadily works to integrate capital into global capital, rendering the space-time plurality of capital and labour largely insignificant. A similar argument arises with regard to the role of the state and the increasing importance of transnational processes.
vary from two historical analyses of plantation labour in South-east Asia (Alec Gordon) and South India (Ravi Raman); two contemporary contributions on agricultural labour in Pakistan (Kristoffel Lieten) and Bihar (Alakh Sharma); four analyses on non-agricultural, industrial workers in India (Rohini Hensman), Kerala and Tamil Nadu (Ram Mohan), China (Li Minghuan) and Malaysia (Raja Rasiah); two papers that deal with the issue of mobilization of labour and democracy in Indonesia (Aile Tornquist) and Thailand (Staffan Lindberg); and two analyses that look at the Information and Communication Technology (ICT) in the larger context of the development debate in India and Bangladesh (Aswani Saith) and on the rise of Indian IT professionals in India and abroad (Peter van der Veer).

**Plantation Labour**

In the first paper on plantation labour, Alec Gordon analyses the transformation of labour in the production of natural rubber in a historical process during 1900-2001 and across space in Southeast Asia. The data presented focuses on the cultivation practices, on the issue of labour transformation from indentured migrant to contract migrant to settled resident workers, on the discussion on small-holder versus plantation production, and on gender issues, and attempts to link it to the generalised globalisation of the 21st century. The richness of this paper lies in its analysis of a single commodity, rubber - one of the most globalised and liberalised commodities - over time and space. The discussion on this paper brought out need to further examine the impact of the changing characteristics of plantation labour on the production system, in terms of multiplicity of job, labour regimes, and levels of work, especially within a comparative framework.

Compared with this general expose of a historical process covering the whole of South East Asia, Ravi Raman's study on the trajectories of peripheral labour in South Indian plantations from the 1820s -2001 fills a gap that results from the inadequate representation of changes in plantation labour in relation to capitalist transformation in the history of the Asian labour force.

Ravi Raman also discusses how such a transformation ultimately resulted in the replacement of individual labour by family labour, and of men workers by women workers, causing a further process of intensified labour exploitation. The paper, it was felt, could form a useful basis for further research in knowing more about the labouring process in the plantations, which is in some ways entirely different from the industrial labouring process.

**Agricultural Labour**

A related paper by Alakh Sharma sketches out the significant transformation process in the agrarian relations and the consequent socio-economic changes in the State of Bihar in India. Though the capitalist development in agriculture tried to keep the system as exploitative as before as far as labour was concerned, significant changes in agrarian relations also took place. Massive mobilisation of poor peasants and agricultural labourers in the state resulted in enhancing agricultural wages, as well as in some semblance of land reform measures. Increased labour migration also had its contribution to changing the rural markets and social structures. Contrary to popular perceptions currently fashionable in the media in India, the paper emphasized that changes have been taking place in the agrarian relations in Bihar. Such changes, however, need to be looked into the context of the emerging production relations and the larger social formation that have been taking place in the face of increased peasant mobilization. It is also well known that Bihar is still characterized by political forces resulting in frequent violent struggles of the poor peasantry and landless agrarian proletariat.

Another study in this respect is by Kristoffel Leiten on the capitalist transformation of agriculture but with continuation of the feudal mode of labour use in Lower Sindh of Pakistan. It illustrates how a concomitant transformative process of labour does not necessarily accompany capitalist transformation. The study looks into the hari (share cropping) system of agriculture prevalent in that region, where cultivation has gone beyond subsistence into surplus generating production for the market with considerable degree of accumulation. The labour use system, however, continues to be in the old feudal mode, more or less corresponding to labour slavery (bondage), which Lieten calls a 'captive labour' system. The discussion noted
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that a study with such an alarming conclusion on the increasingly wretched conditions of the haris calls for alternative strategies to alleviate their captive labour condition. Though the paper did not deal with the failure of the state’s response to this system of labour bondage, it was perhaps implied that the state as keeping a closed eye to such highly exploitative labour relations.

Informal Sector Labour and Brokerage

There are four papers that consider different aspects of non-agricultural and industrial labour. Rohini Hensman analyses the impact of globalisation on employment in India and the responses to it from the formal and informal sectors. Globalisation leads to a leveling of labour standards both within and between countries. Left to themselves, employers tend to push labour standards down to the level of the informal sector, as indicated by developments in India and other countries. The growing preponderance of the informal sector is explained by the aversion of Indian employers to regulation, especially in the area of labour relations. This process takes place within a conducive atmosphere created by a government policy of deregulating the formal sector under the pretext of globalisation. The study has found no evidence that the huge preponderance of the informal sector creates more employment. Though the paper is a good contribution to empirical evidences on the pernicious effects of globalisation on labour, it is also sprinkled with many general statements in terms of theoretical contestation. However, globalisation is characterised to offer vast scopes for uniting the world working class in the face of the ever-integrated global capital; but there is no discussion on the logic that would cement both the formal and the informal workers from the world to effectively respond to globalisation.

Rammohan’s contribution examines the implications of upgrading for labour in the coir yarn spinning sites of southern India (Kerala and Tamil Nadu) in a commodity chain framework. He concludes that there might be instances where given the overarching structure of world capitalism, a substantially larger access to value may not be realised, but there may be peripheral improvement in the conditions of life and work. This is demonstrated by the case of technological reorganisation of defibrering and spinning nodes of the coir yarn commodity chain in southern India. Rammohan argues that the limited gain to the periphery in terms of value realisation is primarily due to the powerful intermediary metropolitan agents, who drain off economic rent. He therefore proposes a reduction in the length of the chain, by strengthening local market. During the discussion it was wondered whether the value chain approach is an appropriate one to the coir yarn sector especially of Kerala, a highly decentralised tiny world of industry, where all the activities, i.e., of design, production and marketing of coir yarn are confined to individual or household units; the co-operative sector is nothing but a magnified image of the one-man/household industry.

Exploitation by intermediary agents, this time in the context of labour markets, comes into for more specific examination by Li Minghuan in her study on the re-emergence of labour brokers in China during the restructuring period. Economic restructuring in China has resulted in the emergence of several associated phenomena: mass migration from rural to urban areas, a resultant development of labour markets, a corresponding adaptation and growth of economic institutions, and a re-emergence of labour brokerage. Based on a case study conducted in Xiamen, Li Minghuan concludes that labour brokerage emerges because of the demand-supply gap and information asymmetries, as well as because of the Chinese government’s new policy of abandoning the old system of national job assignment procedures.

However, the starting point of a ‘contrasting’ picture between brokerage during the indenture period and in present-day China, as described by the author, seem to be not always sufficiently drawn out in the research conducted. Moreover, one may doubt if the labour market stabilises. The paper, however, drew much appreciation for highlighting the emergence of the early forms of labour brokerage in a socialist market economy framework. It thus revealed the wide gap between official claims of the nature of the regime and the ground reality of everyday life.

The last paper by Raja Rasiah on trade and labour market conditions in Malaysia, stands apart ideologically from the other three papers in this cluster; in fact it stand out from all other papers presented at the conference. The critical questions addressed relate to the way in which industrial trade expansion has been achieved in Malaysia and its impact on employment, skill formation and wages. Rasiah argues that the rising trade penetration in GDP of Malaysia was not driven by mere freeing of markets for efficient resource allocation. Market strengthening interventions have been critical in promoting import substitution, along with the provision of export-oriented incentives. Although Rasiah indicates that increased trade and capital flows have led to improvements in unemployment, skills and wage, but wage, but also caused an increase in wage inequality, his model of analysis seems to be unable to capture the distributional aspects of the trade driven growth in Malaysia.

Democracy and Mobilization of Labour

The following two papers deal with the relational aspects of labour and democracy. Staffan Lindberg discusses the recent movements and organisational changes among the farmers in the central plains of Thailand. In general, his contribution addresses the issue as to what extent new farmers’ movements become possible as a result of the ongoing
democratisation, and to what extent do these movements contribute in turn to the process of democratisation and the creation of a more vibrant civil society. More specifically, Lindberg tries to answer the question why crop-specific forms of independent pressure-group organisations successfully emerged in the case of rubber and sugar, but not in the case of rice? He brings out, among others, the role of the state in repressing the movements of the rice peasants, following the fact that rice is an important tax base. Discussion on the paper revealed the need to spell out the impact of the long-term democratisation process on bringing about changes in redefining attitudes and interests of groups of workers, including that of farmers.

Olle Tornquist also highlights the authoritarian subordination and outright repression by the state in rendering the Indonesian labour incapacitated to playa significant role in the struggle for democracy. He argues that labour played only a little and indirect role in the ousting of Suharto, and even now contributes little to the post-Suharto democratisation in Indonesia. The causes for this are still unclear and can only be understood by analysing the dynamics of the concrete union work at the factory level in various lo- cal settings under different balances of power, as well as by looking into the role of the politics of democratisation, both among labour and the more well reputed pro-democracy activists. It was pointed out that to understand the relatively minor role of labour in the current democratisation process in Indonesia, one needs to take a long-term view of Indonesian political history since in- dependence. The massacre of the communist movement in 1965 was a watershed in relegating labour to a timid posture by a regime of state terror.

Information Technology, Poverty and IT Professionals

Moving away from the earlier con- ceptual-historical discourse, two subsequ- ent papers, one by Ashwani Saith and the other by Peter van der Veer, look at the Information and Communication Technology (ICT) in the larger context of the development debate. While Saith examines the role of ICT in poverty alleviation, van der Veer provides a critique of modernity byexam- ining the handling of this new technol- ogy and that of conventional religion by the expatriate Indians working in the United States IT labour market. Ashwani Saith takes a critical look at claims that ICT has enormous potential for alleviating poverty and attempts to separate the hope from the hype. It is appar- ent that private access to ICT is prohibitively expensive for the poor people in poor countries, as evidenced by two case studies: (i) the Village Knowledge Centre initiative of the M. S. Swaminathan Research Foundation in India, and (ii) the Village Pay Phones initiative of the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh. In both cases the non-poor sections of the community have benefited more than the poorer sections. There is little evidence that ICT has had any noticeable indirect effect on poverty alleviation through over- all economic growth. The conclusion that emerges is that unless infrastructure like electricity and telephone are available to the poor and unless they are literate and have been exposed to education, their access to ICT and the ability to use it will be severely restricted or non-existent. The paper however proposes a third type of process, whereby the poor could benefit indirectly from the use if ICT by inter-mediate development organisations (e.g., the Self Employed Women’s As- sociation known as SEWA in India), or activist groups working for the poor. Though the paper ignores the signif- icant political and cultural dimensions of the ICT in its effective diffusion pro- cess, it does win in demarcating the hype from the hope.

Peter van der Veer, on the other hand, considers, through a critique of modernity, the relationship between transnational religion and ICT in the domain of the Non-resident Indians (NRIs) in America. To him, there is no contradiction, unlike the common belief, between techno-science and religion; he finds both going together in Hinduism, as facilitated by movements like the Vishva Hindu Parishad working among the NRIs in America. Though one may largely agree with the paper on its empirical substantiation, there was some doubt raised during the discussion about the logic of its critique on modernity. The enlightenment philosophers oversimplified ideas by a binary-type compartmentalisation of religion and science. On the other hand, the modernity critics today take the other extreme by coalescing them together: while enlightenment tradition views religion and science as binary opposites, its critique takes an equally extreme position when it sees no difference between the two. More in general, it was emphasized that the critique of modernity should probe more into the role of vested interests that dominate and moderate techno-science and religion.

In Conclusion

The conference was conceived on the premise that the study of labour and capitalist transformation in Asia has become increasingly marginalized as a field of study in the social sciences over the past few decades. The acceleration in the movement of capital and information as part of the process of globalization, and especially its cultural aspects, have to a large extent overtaken the research agenda in this regard. Partly this change in research agenda is related to the process of globalization and the increasing popularity of cultural studies, more in particular of its postmodernist version. But partly it was also the result of the unchanging and sometimes narrow nature of the field of labour studies and studies on capitalist transformation itself. In much the same way that the labour movement and trade unions have been unable to keep up with the recent changes at a global level and have lost their grip on the new reality at the local level, most studies...
CONFERENCES.

conducted on labour and capitalist transformation continue to operate within old debates, views and perspectives, and are hardly able or willing to take into their approach and analysis the changes that have taken place as a result of the recent acceleration in the process of globalization.

The eighteen papers presented in the Conference represent a broad bandwidth of subjects on capital-labour relations, from pure theoretical contestation in the tradition of Marx, to empirical substantiation of trade liberalisation benefits in the neoclassical tradition. All these papers in general and each on its own reflect in varying degrees the fundamental premise that the Conference has been meant to uphold and highlight, viz., bringing the classical concern over the themes of labour back onto the research agenda. The historical juxtaposition of labour vis-a-vis capital in the transformation process of the Asian capitalist societies is examined both in the analytical framework of the classical labour theory and in the specific empirical exercises. An unusual natural-ness is found in the general flair of the studies for perceiving and penetrating into the objective reality of plurality that characterises both labour and capital in their bounded space-time specific trajectories. It is thus reassuring to witness the return of the labour issues on to the informed platform of discourses, suffused with the convictions of the down-to-earth realities, rather than led by too-generalised abstractions.

Several of the papers reflect the need for a trade-off between the rigour of theorization and the disposition for realism. These papers suggest that what is needed is an analytical frame-work of inductive reasoning that can capture objective specificities within the reference frame of an abstract concept. Too much generalisation or too much particularisation does harm an analysis. In the case of the empirical studies, this implies the imperative of a comparative analytical framework that facilitates well-founded inductive inferences. Framing such a reference in a specific context could be a fruitful theme of future research. Judged from this perspective, then, the papers presented at the Conference offer a wide variety of particular contexts of situating labour vis-a-vis capital, and thus a wealth of future research agenda.

Annex 1

The papers can broadly be classified under the two headings of 'Critical Analyses of Dominant Views and Concepts' and 'Empirical Perspectives on Thematic Issues'.

Critical Analyses of Dominant Views and Concepts

Terence J. Syres, Neo-classical neo-populism 25 years on: deja vu and deja passe: towards a critique.

Jan Breman, Gm the question of poverty.

Amiya Kumar Bagchi, The neglected problem of social reproduction of labour.

Marcel van der Linden, Conceptualising the world working class.

Jalrus I:Sanaji, Uemystifying wage labour: contract, coercion, and so called unfree labour.

K.P. Kannan and Mario Rutten, Labour and Capital in Asia’s transformation: on dichotomies, continuities and linkages.

Empirical Perspectives on The matic Issues


Alakh N. Sharma, Agrarian relations and socio-economic change in Bihar.

G.K. Lieten, The captive labour force in Lower Sindh, Pakistan.

Rohini Hensman, The impact of globalisation on employment in India and responses from the formal and informal sectors.

K.P. Kannan, Mario Rutten and N. Vijayamohan Pillai

Li Minghuan, Making sense of brokerage: interactions between brokers and migrant workers when labour market is restructuring in Xiamen, China (1980-2000).

Raja Rasiah, Trade and labour market conditions in Malaysia.

Staffan Lindberg, When will farmers unite? The long road to democracy in rural Thailand.


Peter van der Veer, Some preliminary notes on transnational religion and software engineering.

Ashwani Salth, Information-communication technologies and poverty alleviation: hope or hype?
National Conference on Primary Education

The Centre for Civil Society, New Delhi, had organized a National Conference on Primary Education from December 11-13, 2001, to discuss alternative ways to approach the issue of universal primary education.

Public discussion on primary education in India generally centres on making it a fundamental right and on ways to increase government spending on it. Education continues to be governed by the License Permit Raj that has negatively affected the quality and quantity of education services in the country.

To discuss alternative ways of approaching the issue of education, the Centre for Civil Society, New Delhi had organized a National Conference on Primary Education from December 11 - 13,2001. It was convened by the President of CSS, Parth J. Shah and was funded by IDPAD. The focus of this Conference was on the role of the private sector in primary education: studying the existing private initiatives, role of new technologies, barriers to the entry of new educational institutions, methods of assuring quality in private sector education, and decentralisation of curricula and textbook authorship.

Participants included K. Venkatasubramanian, Member, Union Planning Commission; Anil Bordia, former Education Secretary, Government of India and Chairman, Lok Jumbish, Rajasthan; R Govinda, Professor, NIEPA; Amita Sharma, Secretary, Raiv Gandhi Shiksha Mission, Government of Madhya Pradesh; P. V. Indiresan, IIT Delhi; Gurcharan Das, Author and Management Consultant; Rohit Dhankar, representing Digantar, Jaipur; Madhav Chavan, PRATHAM Mumbai; James Tooley, University of Newcastle, England; Vivek Ramchandani, Global Education Consultancy Pvt. Ltd, Bangalore; Dilip Thakore, Editor, Education World; Bibek Debroy, Rajiv Gandhi Institute for Contemporary Studies; Amarjeet Sinha, Education Advisor, DFID; T.K Mathew, Chief Executive, Deepalaya, Delhi; P. Rajendran, chief operating officer, NIIT; Vivek Agarwal eGurucool.com; Marmar Mukhopadhyay, NIEPA; Dinesh Singh, Delhi University; Sanjiv Kaura, National Co-Ordinator, National Alliance for Fundamental Right to Education; Rajiv Desai, Indian Public Affairs Network; Joseph P. Overton, Mackinac Centre for Public Policy, USA; Vandana Sipahimalani Rao, World Bank; Janaki Rajan, Director, State Council of Educational Research & Training (SCERT), Delhi; Anita Rampal, Eklavya, Bhopal; and Steven Rudolph, Education Director, JIVA Institute.

Peter van der Veer and K.S. Sarma -the two co-chairmen, Bhaskar Chatterjee, Member Secretary ICSSR, Marc Verhagen, Dutch Coordinator and Sanchita Dutta, Assistant Director Indian Secretariat, represented IDPAD.

Dr. K. Venkatasubramanian in his keynote address dwelt upon the status of elementary education in India since Independence and singled out poor governance as the primary reason why elementary education has remained only at a take off stage for so long. It was followed by presentations and discussions in the various sessions. Each session had two presenters and two discussants that enumerated the problems plaguing primary education and suggested solutions to remedy them.

Prof. Govinda highlighted the increased role of Union Government through significantly higher spending on education and centrally sponsored schemes, greater participation of local bodies in the planning and management of primary education, and large scale international funding now available to the governments both at the Centre as well as the State level. Despite this, the government has not taken effective steps to improve quality of services. Very little progress has been made regarding partnership with NGOs, except for some experiments by Lok Jumbish, Education Guarantee Scheme (EGS), and PRATHAM. Amita Sharma presented the case of the EGS in Madhya Pradesh, which has tried to create new opportunities through village panchayats, community participation, and prioritisation of human development. EGS has been successful because it is community based and not run by the government.

James Tooley and Madhav Chavan were united in their critique of the State in not being able to impart quality education.
However, while James Tooley offered full-scale privatisation as the panacea, Madhav Chavan prescribed social investments to create a group of "edupreneurs" or social entrepreneurs to bring about greater accountability in the system. Professor Tooley pointed out that government delivery system has failed and private initiatives have succeeded on three accounts: effectiveness and efficiency; equity and accountability; and improvement in delivery due to competition. Public-private partnership can be built on three models: contracting out government managed schools to private managed companies; curriculum contracting and state funded vouchers to enable children to move to private schools.

Some participants felt that the government would have a very significant role to play in the field, but in the process it was crowding out private agencies genuinely committed to the cause. T.K. Mathew took Deepalaya as an example of how the government is making it difficult for entrepreneurs in education to establish good quality schools. He argued that while the inspector Raj is dead for industry, it is still kicking in education. De-licensing and deregulation of entry is absolutely essential to enable those who may want to enter the field to provide good quality affordable education. Some participants also suggested that the government should allow completely private universities, not just professional institutes, to enter the field of education. Besides trusts and charitable foundations, private companies that might also be interested in catering to the market for education should be allowed to do so. In fact, deregulation of the sector will provide a much-needed bridge, which can fill up the gaps between the public and private sector. Amarjeet Sinha emphasized that the issue of deregulation of education should be viewed differently from reforms in other sectors. Referring to the judgement in the Unnikrishnan case he advocated a differential fee structure and common entrance test to ensure quality.

Regarding quality of education, it was felt that the concept of "equitable quality of education" needs to be defined and standardised. There is also an urgent need to improve the techniques of evaluation and the method of assessing the learning achievement of students. James Tooley pointed out the example of Florida in the United States where government schools were rated under the A+ Plan. Students from schools that had been underrated for two consecutive years were provided with vouchers, which they could use at private schools. This was an initial step to reduce the government’s role in providing education.

Prof. Janaki Rajan then described how through an innovative method of associating with NGOs and the community and employing a private agency, the SCERT was able to establish more community-based schools in the slums and lower middle class areas in Delhi. This brought to the fore the concept of for-profit and 'non-profit' partnership through which the benefits of the best of both sectors of civil society can be brought together. Joseph Overton described how the principle of market mechanism could be utilised to improve the quality of education in USA. For example, in Michigan, there is a system of child-centered funding for education so that the money follows the child around - if he or she changes the school the money follows the child. Such schemes might be an interesting model for India to study and adapt in cases where government participation is seen as imperative.

Some participants felt that government expenditure on education needs to be enhanced, but at the same time proper utilisation of the fund has to be ensured through involving creative people. The Tapas Mazumdar committee has assessed that an additional fund of Rs. 1,400 billion will be required over 10 years for universalisation of primary education. This implied a rise of 0.7% of DGP per year. Sanjiv Kaura argued that a government which can afford to provide non-merit subsidies accounting for 13% of its non-plan expenditure surely is in a position to provide additional fund for providing free primary education. However, Dilip Thakore stressed that it is a fallacy to believe that state education...
is free. It is paid for by the taxpayers’ money. In fact, state education is more expensive (in terms of money spent per capita), more uneconomical (because of waste and lack of accountability) and more inefficient (because of not achieving outcomes). The only solution, according to him, lies in the de-licensing of education.

Bibek Debroy argued that since 95% of our total education expenditure was spent on teachers’ salary, raising the budget allocation for education to 6% of GDP may not help since the major portion of this will again go to pay teachers many of whom in the current context do not work conscientiously. Therefore, before we increase government spending on education, it is important to examine mechanisms to enforce accountability. The principles of good governance need to be applied on a non-discriminatory basis to both government schools and government-aided schools.

Anil Bordia raised the question of equity as a very serious concern, especially in the varied context of India. He strongly emphasized the need for more resources for education. However, to deal with the problem of poor accountability in the system the government could take on the responsibility of funding, while private agencies could handle management. The government can also provide loans and credit facilities to those who, for lack of personal finance, stay away from the provision of education. This would provide an opportunity to those genuinely interested to start private schools.

Discussions also took place on 93rd Amendment of the Indian Constitution making primary education a Fundamental Right. There was skepticism about whether this amendment by itself would ensure universalisation of equitable quality education. Article 45 of the constitution made a provision for universal primary education, but it failed to achieve its target. It was felt that there was a lot of ambiguity about the definition of “equitable quality education”.

One other aspect of education that was discussed was the role of technology in improving the reach and quality of education. Vivek Agarwal from eGurucool.com began by making a distinction between IT education and IT in education. Whereas IT education started fairly early and took off rather well, it is IT in education that has not worked satisfactorily for a variety of reasons. Some participants felt that IT is not a substitute to pedagogy and can at best play a supplementary role. However, technology presents the possibility of overcoming constraints of time and space. Learning with technology opens up an array of possibilities like access to information, providing connectivity to experts and peers and enriching the learning experience. While it is not an end in itself, it is an enabler to achieve outcomes. Prof. Dinesh Singh located the debate in the interface between technology and primary education. Dr. Nawalgundkar shared his experience of Maharashtra. He said computers actually discourage a dialogue between the teacher and the taught. Moreover, the teachers are often the hardest nuts to crack when it comes to taking new technologies to the classrooms. On the other hand, Amita Sharma talked about the success of a new technological experiment being tried in 600 schools of Madhya Pradesh.

The conference also studied the role of curricula and textbooks. Dr. Anita Rampal from Eklavya, Bhopal, began by observing that curriculum should not simply be reduced to syllabus but should also include training, assessment, examination, curriculum management and monitoring in its package. She then made a critique of the centralised system of curriculum on the ground of it being monolithic, standardised and distant from the actual learner as well as the local realities and knowledge systems. This can be broken by evolving a decentralised system that can be closer to the child and be more participatory in nature, involving both parents and children. She then narrated the examples of the experiments being undertaken in some districts of Kerala with remarkable results. A shift to the textbooks generated within and an informal evaluation system (as against a formal, print-based examination system) has been more successful in enhancing children’s cognitive skills than conventional methods. Complete decentralisation is essential in deciding the course and curricula. Government can prepare the guidelines but the choice should rest with the schools. Stephen Rudolph spoke on some of the experiments that were being carried out by JIVA, a voluntary institute committed to combining traditional Indian knowledge with modern scientific technology. He said that education under a centralised control gets stifled and ceases to be a liberating force.

The conference concluded with Dr. Parth J. Shah summarising the main points that came up for discussions. He said the consensus in the conference on deregulation and delicensing of education and the increased role of the private sector should be the focus point of any future reforms.

Manali Shah
Programme Coordinator, Centre for Civil Society, New Delhi.
Two days before Holij, more than thirty people from the public and private sector gathered in the India Habitat Centre for the closing workshop of the IDPAD project on "Energy Management and Environmental Protection in Small Scale Industries" undertaken by the Technology and Development Group, University of Twente and the Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad.

There is no doubting the important economic role of the Small Scale Industry (SSIs) sector in India. SSIs produce a wide range of more than 7500 products, which account for 40% of manufacturing output and 35% of exports and they are thought to employ more than 17 million people. There is evidence to suggest that the numbers of SSIs are increasing from 2082 million in 1991-92 to 3014 million in 1997-98.

Unfortunately, there is a negative aspect to the sound performance of SSIs, as they are significant contributors to environmental pollution, and they have poor energy efficiencies, relative to international best practice.

Energy efficiency and related issues are very much back into the international agenda linked to concerns about global warming and fossil fuels combustion. In 1995, India consumed 9106 PJ of fossil fuels, which produced 212 million tons (MT) of carbon emissions (Refer section 5). The major users of these fuels are the industrial and transport sectors. The gross energy consumption per unit of product is high (in 1987, 26 MJ/US$ of GDP, compared with, for example, the Netherlands at 17 MJ/US$ of GDP), which could be reduced with more efficient energy use. If the present trends in economic development and energy use continue, the emissions in India will more than double in the next two decades, and quadruple in the following two decades.

Tackling energy management in the SSIs sector brings with it interesting challenges such as the sheer numbers of the units, whose management often has a low level of awareness of the need for energy efficiency and approaches for improvement, as well as an institutional structure that struggles to deliver appropriate support. It is necessary to analyse the barriers to the dissemination of environmentally benign and energy efficient technologies to the SSIs sector in order to identify strategies and policies, at the state and national level, to overcome the barriers.

The team used case studies from the brick industry and the dyestuffs industry in India. The former is oriented to the internal market and the latter is partly oriented to the export market. Policy instruments and approaches in the Netherlands towards the promotion of energy efficiency and environmental impact reduction in the SSIs have also been analysed to identify options for transfer to India. This is not as surprising as it may seem since there are a lot of commonalities between SSIs in industrialised and developing countries, for example, low levels of investment in R&D and hence innovation.

In his opening address to welcome delegates, Dr. Prem Pangotra (previously at 11M Ahmedabad) reminded delegates not only about the

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The brick industry is an important rural industry producing 50 to 60 billion bricks a year and general economic growth is expected to see the demand grow. The technology currently employed is not the most energy efficient and that there are environmental problems caused by clay wining and smoke pollution from firing the kilns.

Dr. Pangotra presented the case study on the small scale dye industry and explained why this branch was selected. Its poor reputation for negative environmental impact made it interesting to identify what environmental management problems the industry is facing. Such an extreme case should offer lessons and conclusions relevant for many other industries. Gujarat was the focus of the study because it is the centre of the dye-stuff industry. It is an important export industry producing 4% of the world’s production and while only 2.5% of India’s total production is exported it brings Rs 2000 crore annually and provides 60000 jobs. On the other hand, it produces serious water pollution which affects agricultural productivity, skin problems for the workers and surrounding populations. End of pipe systems still create solid waste, which has to be disposed of, and represents a greater concentration of the toxins. A judicial action in 1995 in respect of the plants around Ahmedabad had finally forced a solution to the waste treatment. Units were threatened with closure, Common Effluent Treatment Plants (CETF) had to be established and in order to keep in operation a stuff unit had to be a member of a plant. However, these plants have not functioned efficiently and the responsible government bodies have not provided the necessary infrastructure, including roads and drainage facilities. Dr. Pangotra said that this was clearly a role for the private sector, which
Dr. Pangotra stressed that environmental improvements were not to be seen as additional costs. Removing pollution has to be seen as removing inefficiency which can be translated into real gains: the so-called win-win situation. This needs society at large to attach a premium to efficient use of natural resources.

would be more willing to provide a fee for service, and industry had indicated a willingness to pay a subscription fee to be part of the CETP.

Dr. Joy Clancy, the project team leader, who is with the Technology and Development group, University of Twente outlined the development of energy and environmental policy in the Netherlands. Energy policy had begun in the 1970s as one of conserving oil as a response to political events in the Middle East. This had now evolved into a policy very much driven by environmental considerations, in particular efforts to reduce carbon dioxide emissions to try to mitigate climate change effects. Policy had been formulated in response to a growing public awareness of environmental issues. In which the media had played an important role in creating that awareness. Environmental policy is increasingly being driven by outside forces, including European policy..and international protocols such as Agenda 21 and Kyoto. The instruments used by the government have moved from command and control to soft regulations. The government and industry form a partnership to reach agreement on environmental targets, with the focus on the worst polluting industries. The agreement is set out in a covenant which is the main instrument of environmental and energy policy. Industry is then left to implement the agreement, which government holding in reserve server last resort penalties. The Government has taken a risk. It has introduced into a firm. There is a need for a lengthy period of “hand-holding” to ensure that people are trained and really understand the technology.

Dr. Pangotra stressed that environmental improvements were not to be seen as additional costs. Removing pollution has to be seen as removing inefficiency which can be translated into real gains: the so-called win-win situation. This needs society at large to attach a premium to efficient use of natural resources.

Mr. Tuteja closed the workshop by reminding participants that a small-scale entrepreneur is definitely a businessperson. He or she is not here for making losses. You have to demonstrate that this technology intervention will enable the entrepreneur to make more money, otherwise, he or she has no time, patience or interest in it. It is a question of how well we are able to communicate that it is in his or her economic interest to take up the technology. Information and communication technology can play an important role in convincing entrepreneurs.

Joy Clancy
Technology & Development Group, University of Twente
Exchange of Scholars

July 2001 - June 2002

Scholars from India

Urban water and sanitation issues
Dr. C. Ramachandraiah (CESS, Hyderabad) paid a two-week visit to the Netherlands from 13-28 August 2001. He visited libraries of selected institutes, collected information on globalisation and urbanisation, urban water issues and sanitation for further research, and contacted resource persons. The following organisations were visited: Institute of Social Studies (The Hague), IRC International Water and Sanitation Centre and the International Institute of the Urban Environment (in Delft), Greenpeace International and the International Institute of Asian Studies (Amsterdam) and the Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies (HIS) in Rotterdam.

Asian approaches to mental health in the Netherlands
Dr. Krishna Mohan (Archives and Research, Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry) visited the Netherlands from 24 September-24 December 2001 to conduct research on Asian religious and spiritual approaches to mental health and well-being with implications for culture based mental health interventions in India. The purpose of the research is to better understand the use of Asian approaches in mental health interventions in India and their implication for community mental health in India. The scholar was hosted by Prof. Ria Kloppenborg at Utrecht University.

Sustainable utilisation of medicinal plants
Dr. Muthu Velayutham (Covenant Centre for Development, Madurai; affiliated with the Foundation for the Revitalisation of Local Health Tradition (FRLHT)), was provided with a travel grant to attend a botanical conference in Pietermaritzburg, South Africa on 15 and 16 November 2001, and to subsequently develop a research proposal with South African and Dutch partners on sustainable utilisation of medicinal plants. The partners involved are Dr. Henk van Wilgenburg, AMC-University of Amsterdam, and Prof. van Staden, University of Pietermaritzburg. This is an example of a tripartite collaboration (India, South Africa and the Netherlands) and a south-south exchange visit.

Economic co-operation between India and ASEAN
Prof. A. Sarma conducted research on the subject of promoting economic co-operation with the ASEAN during a visit to the Netherlands from 14 February-15 March 2002. He was hosted by the International Institute of Asian Studies, Amsterdam branch office. The main purpose of the visit was to collect information on investment and technology co-operation between India and ASEAN as part of a larger research project.

Informalisation of women’s work in Kerala
Dr. M. Eapen, Center for Development Studies, Trivandrum visited from Netherlands 21 May-20 June 2002. She collected information on informalisation/flexibilisation of women’s work with special reference to Kerala and interacted with the gender and development group staff at the Institute of Social Studies in the Hague.

Customary and personal law in South Asia
Dr. P. Ghosh, Indian Council of Social Science Research, New Delhi, visited the Netherlands in the period 30 June - 30 July 2002 to do research on the issue of customary and personal law in south Asia. He was hosted by the International Institute of Asian Studies, Amsterdam branch office.

Scholars from the Netherlands

Education and child labour in India
Dr. Rekha Wazir (International Child Development Initiatives, Leiden) paid a one-month visit to India to research on ‘The Interface between Education and Child labour: Review of Intervention Strategies’. She visited selected NGOs that are developing innovative strategies for achieving the twin objectives of universalising primary education and eradicating child labour, and also contacted relevant resource persons, research institutions and international agencies working in this field. The purpose of the research is to review the different initiatives to address these issues in a comparative framework and to learn lessons from it. It is intended to publish a research report, to be used for further discussion and dissemination. The research took place in the period October-December 2001. (see also article on ‘The Interface between Education and Child labour: Some Reflections from Andhra Pradesh’)

Since the beginning of the fourth phase, a total of 42 exchange visits have taken place. This number can be broken down as follows:
-number of exchange scholars from India: 31 (74% of the total number of visits)
-number and percentage of female scholars: 8 (26% of the exchange scholars from India)
-number of exchange scholars from the Netherlands: 11 (26% of total number of visits)
-number and percentage of female scholars: 4 (36% of the exchange scholars from the Netherlands).-
In large parts of Ranga Reddy district of Andhra Pradesh entire village communities are saying a firm 'no' to child labour and opting to put their children in school instead. Many of these villagers are poor landless labourers who have not had the benefit of a school education themselves. Until a few years ago, they argued that their children's income and labour was crucial for the survival of their families. A good number of these children were bonded for petty sums of money to local landlords, others worked in factories or as wage labourers plucking flowers and in the cottonseed farms, and many were supplementing family labour by herding goats or performing domestic tasks. In a fairly short span of time, these very families are joining forces to make their villages child labour free and to ensure that all children are in school. Far from being dependent on their children's income, parents are now contributing towards the salary of an extra teacher in the school or pooling their labour to improve the school infrastructure. The message is clear and is spreading as more communities join in this movement and pledge to make their village child labour free.

Who is providing the impetus for this grassroots movement and how is it different from other attempts to universalise education and eliminate child labour? The catalyst is the Mamidipudi Venkatarangaiya Foundation (MV Foundation) - a local NGO - that has been working in Ranga Reddy district of Andhra Pradesh since 1991. My first visit to the MV Foundation was in October 1998 when I was collecting information for a volume on the role of NGOs in delivering basic education in India. Then, I had gone in with a lot of questions. How do poor families cope without their children's income and labour? How real is the focus on the poor? How do they interact with the programme? Do the children revert back to labour after the initial enthusiasm of schooling has worn off? Can the formal school system deliver? These doubts had been quelled in a fairly comprehensive manner. A return visit in December 2001 as part of the project "The Interface between Education and Child Labour: A Review of Intervention Strategies" allowed me to see new developments in the programme at first hand, and confirm if my earlier reading and enthusiasm had been well founded.

A few impressions stand out on the basis of this last visit and are worthy of note. The success and impact of MV Foundation's approach is both visible and measurable. By 1999, its presence was firmly established in 500 villages, covering more than half of the district. In 400 of these villages, every child in the 5-11 age group was in school. Nearly 150,000 children had been enrolled and retained in schools, more than 4000 bonded child labourers had been released, and 168 villages were child labour free.

The success and impact of MV Foundation's approach is both visible and measurable. By 1999, its presence was firmly established in 500 villages, covering more than half of the district. In 400 of these villages, every child in the 5-11 age group was in school. Nearly 150,000 children had been enrolled and retained in schools, more than 4000 bonded child labourers had been released, and 168 villages were child labour free.
district. In 400 of these villages, every child in the 5-11 age group was in school. Nearly 150,000 children had been enrolled and retained in schools, more than 4000 bonded child labourers had been released, and 168 villages were child labour free. The programme had grown in scope and complexity and new themes like easing the transition of children to secondary school and reaching the girl child had been incorporated. The last two years have seen a further consolidation of the programme in terms of impact and coverage, both within Ranga Reddy district as well as in other districts. By the end of 2001 MV Foundation was active in a total of 8 districts and 2,500 villages in Andhra Pradesh including its traditional base in Ranga Reddy.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of MV Foundation’s approach is that it challenges mainstream views on the related issues of child labour, education and poverty. The organisation recognises poverty as a determinant of child labour but it holds social and cultural factors to be equally responsible for creating a climate that condones the existence of working and non-school going children. Rather than taking the passive approach of waiting for poverty to be eradicated, it works towards the creation of an awareness and demand for education among the poor. This demand is not restricted to parents of poor children alone but includes all stakeholders such as teachers, employers of children, youth groups, women’s groups, elected local representatives and district and state government officials. This means turning around deep-seated value systems and changing mindsets of the poor, as also of society at large. This working philosophy is expressed in MV Foundation’s charter of ‘non-negotiable’ principles that can be summed up in one single sentence: no child should be at work and all children should be in school.

The MV Foundation has developed a set of inter-linked strategies to achieve these results. Briefly stated, the programme starts by stimulating an awareness and demand for education. Since MV Foundation does not believe in setting up a parallel school system, it works towards strengthening the existing school system. At the core of the Foundation’s strategy for transforming children from labourers to students are the residential bridge camps where prepare children who have never been to school to enter the formal school system in the class appropriate to their age. A special attempt is made to recruit and retain girl children and to involve the entire community in developing strategies for reaching out to this group. Additional teachers -trained in pedagogy, mobilisation and motivation techniques - are as-signed to schools to enable them to cope with the influx of students who enrol as a result of the Foundation’s efforts. The entire community is made responsible for defining the needs of the school and for making sure that children don’t drop out. The issue of quality of education is also beginning to emerge as an important agenda item.

A participatory approach is used to create a consensus about the programme at all levels of society and to involve the community in its ownership and management. On this last visit to Ranga Reddy district, I was perplexed by the fact that my questions about the value of education did not elicit the same enthusiasm as they had done on the first occasion. I soon realised that this was no longer an issue for most villagers as it was taken for granted that children should not work but should be in school.

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ExCHANGE OF SCHOLARS.

Youth groups. The government sponsored Chittoor study had revealed that only 15 percent of the children were up to the mark in each class, and this finding was used as the basis for triggering discussion. On the basis of these discussions the Learning Guarantee Programme has been launched in 8 villages on an experimental basis. An external consultant is working intensively with these schools to train them in evaluation techniques, activity-based learning and academic planning. The entire community, including parents are involved in this process. The headmasters have had to convene meetings with parents to explain to them that the school has been falling behind in guaranteeing education to children. The MV Foundation is preparing the community simultaneously to understand the objectives of the Learning Guarantee Programme and to ask technical questions about quality. Once this experimental period is concluded and the results are evaluated, a major campaign on quality will be launched throughout the project area. This drive for quality is likely to stand a better chance of success than other top down attempts to improve education in the government school system.

The process of gathering field material for this project gave me a rare glimpse into the unfolding of a genuine people's movement. In my travels through Ranga Reddy district, I often found it difficult to distinguish between villages that were part of the M.V. Foundation's programme and those that were not. After all interesting discussion in one of the schools with the headmaster, panchayat members and the Village Education Committee, I was surprised to hear that the programme did not cover this village. Yet, their achievements in terms of school enrolment and the involvement of the community and the school in realising this were very impressive. I soon learnt that this had been made possible by the headmaster who was a member of the Teacher's Forum Against Child Labour—a platform inspired by MV Foundation and committed to eradicating child labour wherever he went.

Conversely, in other villages that did belong to the programme, a group of villagers or panchayat members would tell me about 'their' programme and the innovative means they had found for getting children out of bonded labour, encouraging girls to join school, or stopping or postponing child marriages. Sometimes this entire conversation would take place without once mentioning the M.V. Foundation. I found this a very encouraging example of the fact that the movement triggered off by the M.V. Foundation is beginning to be owned by the people. It has also sparked off a ripple effect that is going beyond its original project base. Local groups in neighbouring villages and districts are taking the initiative to replicate the MV Foundation programme in their own villages and on the basis of their own resources. Achieving 100 percent enrolment and eradicating child labour have become a source of prestige and pride for villagers and there is a healthy spirit of competition in making villages child labour free.

I was keen to put the MV experience in a comparative framework that would include other NGO initiatives. It was with this in mind that I undertook the project "The Interface between Education and Child Labour: A Review of Intervention Strategies". Apart from the MV Foundation, five other NGOs that are active in the field of education and child labour were identified. These are: Pratham (Bombay), CINI-Asha (Calcutta), Sankalp (Allahabad), MAYA (Bangalore) and Creda (Mirzapur). Field visits were made to each of them to gather first hand information about their programmes, see their work in action and collect available reports and documentation. These organisations were carefully selected as they have different entry points and approaches to achieving the objectives of universalising education and eliminating child labour. This re-search will bring them together into a common evaluative framework that will identify points of difference as well as areas of overlap and synergy. In addition, it will allow one to address the issue of what are the real, binding constraints to the universalisation of education from the perspective of poor families.

The following outputs have been produced and are envisaged from this project:

1. A preliminary paper entitled "Pathways from Child Labour to Education: A Selective Review" was presented at the IDPAD seminar on Child Labour in South Asia, New Delhi, 15-17 October 2001. It will be included in the volume edited by K. Leiten, R. Srivastava and S. K. Thorat, with the working title "Child Labour in South Asia".

2. A second paper "No to Child Labour, Yes to Education: The Unfolding of a Grassroots Movement in Andhra Pradesh" which looks more in depth at the strategies used by the MV Foundation is currently being considered for publication.

3. Finally, a paper reviewing the strategies of all six NGOs will be included in the Indian Journal of Labour Economics special issue on Child Labour planned for July-September, 2002.

Rekha Wazir

Notes

2 These have been elaborated in Rekha Wazir (2002) "No to Child Labour, Yes to Education: The Unfolding of a Grassroots Movement in Andhra Pradesh".

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Cross-border Migrations in South Asia

Dr. Partha S. Ghosh on his visit to Holland under programme ExCHANGE OF SCHOLARS

Of all the bilateral programmes that the ICSSR has initiated over the years, either directly or through the Cultural Exchange Programmes (CEPs) of the Government of India, the most active and innovative is the one with the Netherlands. Popularly known as the IDPAD (Indo-Dutch Programme on Alternatives in Development) it has various facets of cooperative research, one of which is the Exchange of Scholars (EoS). Under this scheme Indian scholars and their Dutch counterparts visit each other’s country for a period of 30 days to pursue research in their own areas of specialisation and meet and discuss matters of mutual interest with fellow colleagues. Prior to the visits their visit plans are considered and approved by the Joint Committee governing the IDPAD. I visited Holland in July 2002 under this scheme.

My original plan was to work on ‘The Issue of Personal Law in South Asia’. But I later realised that I might not be able to do justice to the subject during such a short visit and, therefore, should rather concentrate on my other ongoing project on ‘Cross-Border Migration in South Asia’. Since I had already with me a semi-baked manuscript on the subject I thought that it would be worthwhile to further work on it during my stay in Holland. I informed Prof. Peter van der Veer, Co-chairperson of the IDPAD Joint Committee, about this change in my plan. He appreciated the idea and asked me to interact with his colleague, Prof. Willem van Schendel, who was also working on migrations, so that we could benefit from each other’s expertise. Prof. Willem van Schendel’s specialised area of interest was migrations across the India-Bangladesh border and the enclaves that dotted that border on both sides. In retrospect I think I did the correct thing by changing my research plan. My discussions with him were extremely useful. One of his recent writings on the enclaves that appeared in the Journal of Asian Studies (Ann Arbor) was simply fascinating. To my reckoning it was the most original research on the subject that I have so far encountered.

I concentrated upon organising and copyediting the migration manuscript, besides, of course supplementing data wherever required and what ever was available there in Amsterdam. The result was that by the time I left Holland I had with me a manuscript, though still incomplete, of about 350 typed pages. It is hoped that by the end of this year it would be completed and submitted for publication as a full-length volume.

Taking advantage of the conducive academic atmosphere of the University of Amsterdam I also finalised two other research papers, the first entitled ‘Kashmir: From Legalism to Realism’ and the second entitled ‘The Muslims, South Asia and the United States: A Post Nine Eleven Analysis’. Both these papers were communicated to professional journals, which would hopefully publish them in due course after their referral processes are complete.

I also visited the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) in Leiden. I met the Director, Prof. Wim Stokhoff, with whom I had a very useful scholarly exchange although our fields of specialisation differed. Since the ICSSR is now in the process of developing institutional linkages with the IIAS and has already signed an MoA with them much of our discussion was in the light of what all could be done to initiate a long term collaborative programme. I was informed that the IIAS has already developed some mutually beneficial collaborative programme with the ASEAN region and we optimistically wondered whether the same pattern could be replicated in respect of the SMRC region.

In the second week of July I visited Germany for a couple of days where I delivered a lecture at the South Asia Institute, Heidelberg University on ‘The Role of the Observers in Indian Election’. If one goes by the lively discussions that followed, I may conclude that the lecture was well received. Since Heidelberg University is the place where I had spent two long years in the eighties as a Humboldt Fellow I met many of my old colleagues and friends. They were memorable reunions.

Before departing for India, on the advice of Prof. Stokhoff, I submitted a short write-up on my research on ‘Cross-Border Migrations’ for publication in the IIAS Newsletter. Probably the forthcoming number of the journal would carry it.

On the whole I gained more from the visit than I had actually expected. I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to IDPAD for making this possible. I must go on record to appreciate the efficiency and alacrity with which my visit was handled by both the Indian and the Dutch secretariats of the IDPAD. The secretariat of the IIAS, both in Amsterdam and Leiden, was also extremely cooperative and friendly. Otherwise it would not have been possible that within 48 hours of my arrival in Amsterdam, which included 24 hours of a non-working Sunday, I was in complete command of the tools a scholar needs - my study room, my computer, a library card, photocopying tokens and so on. My special thanks are due to Dr. Sanchita Dutta of the Indian secretariat of the IDPAD and Dr. Heleen van Minne of the secretariat of the IIAS, Amsterdam branch. From my experience I would say that the EoS scheme of the IDPAD is a valuable component of the overall programme.

Dr. Partha S. Ghosh
Down and out is a unique publication in a number of ways. First, it is not an academic volume containing findings of a research project. It is a photo book with coloured pictures on art paper. It is about life and work of labourers in the informal sector (in South Gujarat), rarely a subject of a colourful coffee table book to be displayed in a drawing room. Second, it is the product of a team of researchers assisted by a photographer and a designer. While the text is written by Jan Breman (a Dutch sociologist) and Arvind N. Das (the late Indian historian and journalist), pictures are contributed by Ravi Agarwal, and the book is designed by Brinda Datta. All four together have contributed to the attractive end result. At places the pictures speak much more effectively than the text. Third, although a coffee table book in format, it is not meant just for decoration. Some of its observations are as serious as in an academic volume. Fourth, it is a part of the publications of the ICSSR's IDPAD programme, perhaps the most successful of its international collaboration ventures. Fifth, this is a tribute to the imagination and dedication of Arvind N. Das who passed away soon after the publication of the book. Perhaps this was his last book. It symbolizes the tragic end of a life full of energy and creative spirit. Last but not the least, the book reveals the sober phase in Jan Breman's career. A bitter critic of 'development' in South Gujarat all his life, he admits in this volume (grudgingly or otherwise) that the poor have generally become less poor, and expresses modest optimism about India's development. It is a pleasant surprise for those who are familiar with Breman's negative (sometimes biased) and bitter observations all these years. Unlike some other coffee table books, this one is packed with facts and figures indicating the diversity of workforce and its economic activities. With the decline of the textile industry in Ahmedabad and Mumbai, there was a phenomenal growth in powerlooms in Surat, rising to a few lakhs within a short period. In art silk industry alone, there is now a workforce of 215,000. Of these, 170,000 work on powerlooms and 45,000 in dyeing and printing (p.64). About 35,000 workers, 70 per cent of whom are women, are engaged in jari handwork. They together contribute to 80 per cent of the total jari handwork in the country (p.63). Moreover, the city has 20 textile markets with 3,000 shops (p.61). Surat is also known as the diamond city of India due to the concentration of diamond polishing industry. There are over 10,000 units employing about 90,000 workers to polish diamonds (p.78). Another activity attracting workers is the sugar-cane harvest and transport labourers working for the co-operative sugar factories in South Gujarat. Over 15,000 labourers are involved in the hard work of cutting and transporting cane (p.86). Nearly 40,000 labourers are also engaged by about 750 brickyards in the area in making bricks (p.98). What is significant to note is that the majority of these workers are migrants from outside, often from distant places. A bulk of the powerloom operators are from Orissa.

There are over 200,000 Oriya workers in Surat. The sugarcane harvesting labourers are from the rural areas of neighbouring Khandesh region in Maharashtra. Initially the diamond cutters came from Kathiawad region of Gujarat, mostly kanbi Patels. Now they come from allover. Many of those working in stone quarries and road repairs come from the tribal district of Panchmahals. A substantial number of workers have come from such distant places as Solapur in southern Maharashtra, and northern parts of Karnataka. Breman and Das highlight some of the characteristics of the work and life of labour in south Gujarat. According to them, it is wrong to think of the formal and informal dichotomy in relation to labour. It is more a case of continuum. Moreover, it is a myth to think of rural labour as predominantly agricultural. According to them, even in rural areas over 80 per cent labour works outside agriculture, in small industries, construction work, transport and service industries. A vast majority of workers are migrants from villages to other villages or to towns and cities. But few of them are permanent migrants. They come and go very often to their villages of origin. It is more a case of circulation of labour. The workers do not enjoy any security of employment. They are paid low wages and made to work hours. They are not allowed a fair share of the final product which they contribute to create with their hard labour and skill. They receive at the most 10 per cent of the final price of the product while the employer claims 50 per cent as profit. As a result, the worker's life is 'nasty, brutish and short' (p.16).

For Breman and Das, the origin of deprivation and degradation of the poor is in the politics and policies of development itself, characterized by low wages and long hours of work (p.19). It has nothing to do with unemployment or defects in their labour power. Globalization has meant increased informalization (p.24). The informal sector workers are transitory, mobile and unsettled (p.50). It is also characterized by crude technology, low capital investment and excessive manual nature of production (p.56). The authors conclude that the poverty that is manifest in south Gujarat is quite often the poverty of development, not of backwardness and stagnation. Gujarat is a land of predatory capitalism based on primitive mode of extraction (p.144). There are several quotable quotes in the text in this regard. For example, they say "post-industrialism both borrows from and mimics pre-industrialism" (p.154). Or better still, a worker handling chemical dyes says, "I can show you the wounds on my
hands, but not the pain that I feel inside my body” (p. 75).

The high quality pictures convey the spirit and feelings of the persons represented within. They look natural and spontaneous, and not in anyway contrived or posed.

Breman and Das end on an optimistic note. For Breman, his moderate optimism is based on the growing diversification of the economy which has created more space and strengthened the bargaining power of rural labour. Das is optimistic because he believes not only work but life must go on. And dignity and hope, protest and resistance, honour and optimism must be asserted even in these dismal conditions.

I have only a few criticisms against the efforts of the team. The authors contradict their own assumption of conspiracy against local labour when they say that the Halpatis and Dhodhiyas who used to migrate to Mumbai earlier now stay in the area due to employment opportunities in brick yards nearer home. All labour is treated as undifferentiated with no details about their caste background and other social characteristics. There is also no good word for the Gujarati (or Surati) entrepreneur who has created employment opportunities for so many, and helped them survive in difficult conditions. Their exploitative nature is repeatedly mentioned but not their contribution to the vibrant economy of south Gujarat.

These criticisms do not in any way reduce the contribution this volume makes to our understanding of rural labour and development in south Gujarat in a very imaginative and innovative manner.

A BRIEF LOOK
Policy, Technocracy and Development: Human Capital Policies in the Netherlands and India
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James Warner Bjorkman
Kuldeep Mathur
IDPAD I Manohar

The twentieth century was characterized by major advances in science and technology, and the pursuit of ambitious developmental goals strengthened the technocratic orientation of public administration. This study addresses technocratic factors in policy formulation and implementation by examining Indian and Dutch policies in primary education and primary health for establishing and sustaining human capital. While comparisons between India and the Netherlands may appear to be a mismatch due to substantial differences in levels of socio-economic development, similarities are nevertheless manifest. Deeply democratic, the two countries and their systems of government are not far apart despite one being a de-centralized unitary state and the other a quasi-federal state. Likewise, technocratization in decision-making in both countries has been stimulated by changes in the past decade: the Netherlands is adjusting to membership in the European Union while India has adopted liberalized economic policies. This book provides opportunities for learning from experience as well as generalizations about patterns of change.

Living in India’s Siums- A Case Study of Bangalore
B.S. Baviskar
Institute of Social Sciences
New Delhi

Many differences exist between slums and slum dwellers. Slums near central urban areas or beyond municipal boundaries, and older and newer slums. Differences between households within slums may exist concerning environmental factors and socio-economic conditions, while distinctions between slum and non-slum residential areas may get blurred. One basic characteristic of slums and their inhabitants remains: insecurity of tenure due to illegal settlement. This forms the basis of the other problems and delineates the needed policies and solutions for tenure security and urban poverty alleviation. The problems as well as solutions cannot be understood with-out looking at the current re-treat of state involvement in the development process as well as general economic and social issues.

The essays in this book focus on the inter-slam differentials, the view of slum-dwellers on a slum, the gender dimensions of slum life, and the lack of basic infrastructural facilities. Research includes qualitative and quantitative methods and varies from all slum analyses to attitudes and activities of slum dwellers, politicians and others. The book starts with an out-line and conceptual framework of the phenomenon 'slum' in Indian society and polity from Independence, and concludes with an integration of research findings and their policy relevance. The book is a result of research by a team of Indian and Dutch anthropologists, sociologists, geographers and urban planners.

NEW PUBLICATIONS
1. And the bamboo flowers in the Indian forest- what did the pulp and paper industry do? Vol I & II, Manorama
2. The Labouring Poor in India- Patterns of Exploitation, Subordination and Exclusion
Jan Breman, Oxford, Delhi
3. Work and Well-being in the Age of Finance
Jayati Ghosh and C.P. Chandrasekhar, Tulika, Delhi

Hans Schenk, ed. (2001)
IDPAD/Manohar
APPLICATION GUIDELINES

DOCUMENT- I

IDPAD Seminars/ Workshops

General
The Indo-Dutch Programme on Alternatives in Development (IDPAD) promotes social science research that is of relevance to India. With a view to increase relevance and utilisation of research, the programme stimulates interaction between researchers and users of research, including policy makers from government and NGOs.

IDPAD favours collaboration between research and most of its activities are carried out jointly by researchers in India and in the Netherlands. Female and young scholars are encouraged to participate in the programme.

IDPAD's main activities are the promotion and funding of research projects, seminars and exchange visits. In addition, the programme provides funding for dissemination of research results, and publishes working papers and a newsletter.

For its fifth phase (July 2002-June 2006), IDPAD has adopted the overall perspective of 'improving the quality of life in a globalising world' with the following research themes:

- Employment and social security
- The contested environment, urban and rural
- Population and health
- Education
- Information and communication technologies
- Mega cities

SEMINARS
IDPAD invites seminar proposals from scholars in India and the Netherlands. IDPAD intends to select a minimum of two proposals each year. Proposals will be assessed by the IDPAD joint steering committee and, when necessary, by external referees. Seminar proposals will be considered twice a year in May and November.

Applications have to be submitted before 1 March (for the May meeting) or 1 September (for the November meeting). Applicants will be informed of the committee's decision in early June/December.

Costs that will be funded
Funding will be provided up to a maximum of Indian Rupees 2,250,000 (or Euro 45,000) per seminar. Financial support can be provided for the following: (1) travel, (2) accommodation and meals of the participants, (3) honorarium for paper writers/ eminent speakers (max Rs 5,000 or Euro 100 per paper/speaker), (4) conference facilities, (5) materials, and (6) secretarial support. All other costs, including contingencies, do not qualify for funding. The budget should be effective but modest, avoiding unnecessary expenses. Seminar format.

A two to three day meeting bringing together a group of about 20-30 participants (male and female), with a balance of senior experts and promising junior researchers.

The workshop should be organised by an institute in India and in one of these countries. A seminar organised jointly by an institute in India and in the Netherlands is preferred.

- The seminar should not be part of a larger conference. Participation should be both from India and the Netherlands and may involve other Asian and European countries.

Contributions from policy makers, NGOs and other potential users of research are encouraged.

Content of the seminar
The seminar should focus on a contemporary topic and, preferably, relate to one or more of the current IDPAD themes (see above). The topic should be of relevance to the development debate in India and stimulate dialogue between researchers and users of research.

Format of the proposal
The seminar proposal should be formulated in the English language. A proposal should contain the following information, and be presented in the order given below.

1. Title of the seminar
2. Proposed date and venue
3. Name(s) of convener(s) and organising institution(s), and one contact address (including e-mail)
4. Main topic
5. Introduction to the topic to be addressed/key issues
6. Scientific objectives
7. Relevance to the development debate in India
8. Publications envisaged, if applicable
9. Draft seminar programme
10. A list of expected participants, indicating for each participant his/her affiliation and disciplinary competence in relation to the seminar's topic
11. An itemised, detailed budget indicating expenses as well as expected as well as expected income (including possible other donors).
12. Summary bio-data of the convener(s)

The size of the proposal should not exceed ten pages (A4, Arial 11 point font).

DOCUMENT- II

IDPAD Exchange of Scholars Programme

The main purpose of the exchange programme is to establish new contacts between researchers in India and in the Netherlands (and other European countries), leading to an expansion of the exchange network and generation of new research proposals. Researchers from India are especially invited to submit proposal to do research on issues in European society that have a relevance to development in India. Scholars from India visiting the Netherlands may involve other Asian and European countries as part of the programme (with proper justification).

Participants will be required to submit a report on the visit and IDPAD may publish output resulting from the visit as an IDPAD working paper or as an article in the IDPAD newsletter.

Procedure
IDPAD invites proposals from scholars in India and in the Netherlands for an exchange visit of a short term duration to the other country. IDPAD intends to select a minimum of ten proposals each year. Proposals will be assessed by the IDPAD joint steering committee and, when necessary, by external referees. Proposals will be considered twice a year,
in May and November. Applications have to be submitted before 15th March (for the May meeting) or 15th September (for the November meeting). Application will be informed of the committee's decision in early June/December.

Eligibility criteria

A General criteria
1. The exchange of scholars programme can be used by scholars for one or more of the following purpose: to undertake research of a short term duration;
   to given public lectures;
   to prepare a research proposal;
   to link with specialists working in a particular field and/or to prepare links between the institutes involved.

Attending a conference does not qualify for funding but it can be part of the visit.
2. The exchange visit should preferably be related to one of the IDPAD themes (as mentioned above) and be of relevance to India.
3. Scholars have to be affiliated with one of the research institutes in the country of destination. If scholars are not able to arrange affiliation by themselves, IDPAD can play a facilitating role upon request.

B. Application
Researchers with a PhD degree and/or of proven merit, associated with an institution of academic research or with an NGO active in development-related work, in India or in the Netherlands, are eligible to apply for a grant.

Costs that qualify for funding:

A. Travel (international and domestic)
IDPAD will provide for necessary travel expenses. Reimbursement for air travel is on the basis of economy class, excursion fare. Costs of visa, insurance and vaccinations will also be reimbursed.

B. Living allowance (for accommodation and meals)
IDPAD will reimburse a maximum of 75% of the applicable UN rate for the first 30 days of the visit and 50% thereafter. In case economical accommodation is available IDPAD will pay the real cost of accommodation and add a maximum of 75% of the applicable UN rate for meals.

C. Research costs
IDPAD will reimburse research costs incurred during the visit (e.g. paper, photocopying).

Duration of the visit
The maximum duration of an exchange visit is three months. On average, exchange visits have a duration of one month. Visits exceeding a period of one month need to be properly justified.

Format of the proposal
Proposals should be formulated in the English language. A proposal should contain the following information, and be presented in the order given below:

A Applicant(s) and institution(s) (university/research institute/NGO):
   .name of the applicant and his/her institutions(s) of employment or affiliation
   .address, telephone number, fax number and e-mail address of institutions(s) involved.
   .current position
   .date of birth
   .male/female
   .nationality
   .academic degree
   .date(s) of graduation/doctorate/PhD
   .university
   .field of academic specialisation
B. Purpose of visit
C. Proposed duration of visit.
D. Affiliation/receiving organisation:
E. Activity plan and time schedule; description of activities that will be undertaken during the visit, including time frame.
F. Information on research to be undertaken (if applicable):
   .hypothesis/research question(s)
   .research methodology
   .originality of the research
   .background/history of the research project
   .co-operation with other national and international universities/research groups
   .the social relevance of the research and the interaction with potential users
G. Funding requested from IDPAD: estimate the amounts (in the currency of the country where the expenditure will be incurred) needed for:
   .travel: international and/or domestic.
   .living allowance (for accommodation and meals)
   .research costs
H. Summary bio data of the applicant
The size of the proposals should not exceed seven (7) pages (A4 Arial 11 point font)

DEADLINE FOR PROPOSALS
Proposals should be received by IDPAD no later than 1st March (for a decision in May) or 1st September (for a decision in November).
Proposals must be sent by regular mail or courier service to both the IDPAD secretariat in India and in the Netherlands. We would also appreciate receiving the application by email (as a word document).
Address in India:
Dr. Sanchita Dutta
IDPAD, India Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR) Aruna AsafAli Marg, P. O. Box 10528
New Delhi 110067, India.
Telefax : +91 (0) 11 26169459
E-mail: ratna26@hotmail.com

Address in the Netherlands:
Marc Verhagen
Co-ordinator IDPAD
NWO WOTRO, P.O. Box 93120
2509 AC The Hague, The Netherlands.
Phone: +31 (0) 70 344 07 63
Fax: +31 (0) 70 381 9874
E-mail: verhagen@nwo.nl

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