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## CURRENT CONTENTS

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## CONTENTS

S. N.	Name of the Journals	Vol./Issue	Page No.
1.	Action Research	22 (04)	2
2.	Antim Jan (H)	7 (06) 56	3
3.	Current Science	127 (01,03,10,11)	4-11
4.	Desh (B)	68 (03-04)	12-13
5.	Down to Earth	33 (13-15)	14-17
6.	Economic & Political Weekly	59 (47-50)	18-21
7.	Edutracks	24 (04)	22
8.	Jhankar (O)	76 (09)	23
9.	Journal of Education Planning & Administration	38 (03)	24
10.	Journal of Teacher Education	75 (04)	25
11.	Katha (O)	37 (11)	26
12.	Navneet (H)	10 (04)	27-28
13.	Resonance: Journal of Science Education	29 (12)	29-30
14.	Review of Educational Research	94 (05)	31
15.	Science & Culture	90 (11-12)	32-33
16.	Science Reporter	61 (11)	34-35
17.	Shivira Patrika (H)	65 (06)	36
18.	University News	62 (47-51)	37-41
19.	Vanyajati	72(03)	42
20.	Yojana	68 (12)	43
21.	Yuva Bharati	52 (05)	44

\*H-Hindi, \*O-Odia, \*B-Bengali



---

## Contents

### Articles

- “Everybody’s talking about doing co-design, but to really truly genuinely authentically do it [...] it’s bloody hard”: Radical openness in youth participatory action research 307  
*Carla Liguetti, Juliana Ryan, Bill Eckersley, Amy Howard, Sarah Craig and Claire Brown*
- The experience of youth-participatory action research in a social innovation lab: A methodological and organizational approach 327  
*Eugenia Canas, Richard Booth, Romaisa Pervez, Alec Cook, Melissa Taylor-Gates, Abe Oudshoorn, Ross Norman, Renee Hunt and Arlene G. MacDougall*
- Antiracism in appreciative inquiry: Generative tensions and collective reflexivity 345  
*Amanda Gebhard, Willow Samara Allen and Fritz Pino*
- Heartbeat recordings in music therapy bereavement care following suicide: Action research single case study of amplified cardiopulmonary recordings for continuity of care 362  
*Claire M. Ghetti, Brian Schreck and Jeremy Bennett*
- University and democratization: A training project in action research with social movements 381  
*Izaro Gorostidi, Andere Ormazabal and Igor Ahedo*

[Back to Content](#)



# गांधी दर्शन अंतिम जन

वर्ष-7, अंक: 6, संख्या-56

नवम्बर 2024

**संरक्षक**

विजय गोयल

उपाध्यक्ष, गांधी स्मृति एवं दर्शन समिति

**प्रधान सम्पादक**

डॉ. ज्वाला प्रसाद

**सम्पादक**

प्रवीण दत्त शर्मा

पंकज चौबे

**परामर्श**

वेदाभ्यास कुंडू

संजीत कुमार

**प्रबन्ध सहयोग**

शुभांगी गिरधर

**आवरण**

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गांधी स्मृति एवं दर्शन समिति, राजघाट,

नई दिल्ली-110002, की ओर से मुद्रित एवं प्रकाशित।

लेखकों द्वारा उनकी रचनाओं में प्रस्तुत विचार एवं

दृष्टिकोण उनके अपने हैं, गांधी स्मृति एवं दर्शन

समिति, राजघाट, नई दिल्ली के नहीं।

समस्त मामले दिल्ली न्यायालय में ही विचाराधीन।

मुद्रक

पोहोजा प्रिंट सोल्यूशंस प्रा. लि., दिल्ली - 110092



## इस अंक में

**धरोहर**

रामनाम की महिमा - मोहनदास करमचंद गांधी 5

**भाषण**

स्वच्छता से संपन्नता - श्री नरेंद्र मोदी 9

**चिंतन**

समाज धर्म : सामाजिक सदगुण  
- काका साहेब कालेलकर 14

**विशेष**

'कहने से करना अच्छा': स्वच्छाग्रही महात्मा गांधी  
- सौरव कुमार राय 23

**विमर्श**

गांधी और पत्रकारिता - डॉ अंजनी कुमार झा 28

ग्रामीण विकास और गांधी के सपनों का भारत  
- नृपेन्द्र अभिषेक नृप 31

**पर्यावरण**

बिहार के बाढ़ में डूबती परम्परागत समझ  
- कुशाग्र राजेंद्र और नीरज कुमार 37

गांधीजी शाकाहार और वैश्विक तापमान-धीप्रज्ञ द्विवेदी 40

**कविता**

गंगाधर चाटे की कविताएं 45

कमलेश झा की कविता 48

**फोटो में गांधी**

गांधी क्विज-7 49

**बचपन**

घोष बाबू का स्कूल - प्रकाश मनु 51

**किताब**

महात्मा गांधी के जीवन मूल्य - रघु ठाकुर 57

**गतिविधियाँ**

60



# CURRENT SCIENCE



- 6 **In this issue**
- 
- EDITORIAL**
- 7 **United Nations Climate Change Conference COP 28 and beyond**  
S. K. Satheesh
- 
- NEWS**
- 9 **Current Science Reports**
- 
- OPINION**
- 13 **Emerging human–otter conflicts in the wetlands and rivers of Kerala, India**  
K. K. Jayasooryan and P. K. Chandini
- 
- COMMENTARY**
- 14 **Hundred years of research on *Drosophila ananassae* has revealed a number of unusual features of this species**  
Bashisth N. Singh
- 17 **Propelling Indian economy through space exploration and applications**  
Darshan Deshpande, Sibsankar Palit and Subhajit Hazra
- 
- SCIENTIFIC CORRESPONDENCE**
- 20 **Assessment of agricultural land area lost due to Brahmaputra riverbank line erosion in Assam**  
J. Goswami, V. Senpakapriya, K. K. Sarma and S. P. Aggarwal
- 23 **Setting up and operationalization of the real-time flood forecasting – spatial decision support system for Chennai, India**  
S. Antony Anbarasu, Elanchezhian Duraisekaran, D. Srinivasan, Kirthiga Murugesan, S. Richardson, Krushil Modi, B. Mohanakarthick, S. Santhosh Kumar, Biju Panicker, Sridharan Balakrishnan, Ranjit Kumar Injirapu, Harish Ravichandran, K. A. Joshy, Jeciliya Selva Kiruba Samuel, Sachin Dhiman, Soumendra Nath Kuiry, G. Mohan, Murty Bhallamudi, S. P. Manohar, A. Jeyaram and Balaji Narasimhan
- 
- GENERAL ARTICLE**
- 28 **Limitations of catchment area estimates and river basin boundaries from the Central Water Commission and the water resources information system**  
Gopi Goteti
- 
- RESEARCH ARTICLES**
- 35 **Fluid inclusion and EPR spectroscopic study of Ta–Nb mineralization in Kadavur, Tamil Nadu, India**  
S. Vijay Anand, R. Nagarajan and S. Balakrishnan
- 43 **Exploring activity concentration measurements of environmental samples containing heavy metals and their remediation**  
M. Margret, S. Chandrasekaran and C. V. Srinivas
- 50 ***Finkoella*: a sack-like Ediacaran soft-bodied fossil from the Marwar Supergroup, western Rajasthan, India**  
V. S. Parihar, Hukmaram, Pawan Kumar and Anshul Harsh



- 56 **A study on swarm-intelligence in group decision-making of farmers' self-help groups in Uttarakhand, India**  
Pragya Goswamy and S. K. Kashyap
- 65 **The Beas river floods 2023: a watershed moment for paradigm shift towards urbanization and development in the Higher Himalayan valleys**  
Raghuvveer Negi, Naresh Rana, S. P. Sati, Anil D. Shukla, Navin Juyal and Shubhra Sharma
- 78 **Resource dynamics and fitness strategy: *Anisolemnia dilatata*'s (Coleoptera: Coccinellidae) response to clumped woolly aphid patches on bamboo**  
Basant Kumar Agarwala
- 85 **Nesting activity of the predatory wasp, *Carinostigmus costatus* Krombein (Sphecidae: Hymenoptera) in pithy stems of *Caesalpinia pulcherrima* (L.) and its natural regulation of the population of fennel aphid, *Hyadaphis coriandri* (Das)**  
Amala Udayakumar, H. S. Venu, A. Kandan, M. Arvind, Sunil Joshi and Timalapur M. Shivalingaswamy
- 91 **Fumigation toxicity of phosphine against sawtoothed grain beetle, *Oryzaephilus surinamensis***  
K. Sangeeta, Suresh M. Nebapure, S. Rajna and S. Subramanian

---

#### RESEARCH COMMUNICATIONS

- 96 **Bumble bee visitation of Brahma Kamal (*Saussurea obvallata*, Asteraceae) in the Tawang District of Arunachal Pradesh, India**  
Jaya Narah, Jharna Chakravorty, Axel Brockmann and Karsing Megu
- 98 **Significance of radiocarbon AMS chronology of Bandhavgarh National Park and Tiger Reserve from an archaeological perspective**  
Nayanjot Lahiri, Binita Phartiyal and Karthick Balasubramanian
- 101 **Blending procedure is crucial for BG-II cotton hybrids to adhere to the prescribed 'Refugia in Bag' standards**  
Debashis Paul, Rishi Kumar and Y. G. Prasad

---

#### BOOK REVIEWS

- 105 **C.V. Raman's Student L.A. Ramdas: From Agricultural Meteorology to Discovery of Ramdas Layer.** Rajinder Singh; *reviewed by* Hardev Singh Virk
- 106 **Annual Review of Plant Biology, 2023.** Sabeeha S. Merchant, Wilhelm Grissemer and Donald R. Ort (eds); *reviewed by* Ramesh S. Bhat

---

#### PERSONAL NEWS

- 109 **Cherian K. Mathews (1935–2024),** P. R. Vasudeva Rao

---

#### HISTORICAL NOTES

- 111 **Remembering J. C. Bose on his 165th birthday,** K. R. Sreenivasan
- 



- ◀ **COVER.** The discovery of Ediacaran fossil remains of *Finkoella* organisms in India. These are sack-shaped soft-bodied *Finkoella* organisms (*Finkoella ukrainica* and *Finkoella oblonga*) recorded in Sonia Formation of the Jodhpur Group, Marwar Supergroup, western Rajasthan, India. See page 50 for more details.

Indexed in CURRENT CONTENTS/GEObase/CHEMICAL ABSTRACTS/IndMED/SCOPUS/  
WEB OF SCIENCE

# CURRENT SCIENCE

Volume 127 Number 3

10 August 2024



- 262 **In this issue**
- EDITORIAL**
- 263 **Hydrology in the Anthropocene: the Indian context**  
Rajiv Sinha and Sharad K. Jain
- CORRESPONDENCE**
- 265 **By-catch to multi cuisine: saleable breaks for eels in India**  
P. Kodeeswaran, A. Kathirvelpandian, T. T. Ajith Kumar and U. K. Sarkar
- NEWS**
- 266 **Current Science Reports**
- 270 **The 2023 Plasma Prizes by the Association of Asia Pacific Physical Societies**  
Sameen Ahmed Khan
- 271 **National conference on antimicrobial resistance held in Dehradun, Uttarakhand**  
Rajendra Dobhal, Bindu Dey and Pawan Sharma
- OPINION**
- 273 **Indiscriminate pesticide use for fishing in the River Ganga raises alarm**  
Ajoy Saha, Archisman Ray, Vikas Kumar, Kausik Mondal and Basanta Kumar Das
- 275 **Time to move to higher gears for better disaster management**  
K. Lenin Babu and K. B. Ramappa
- COMMENTARY**
- 278 **Attribution in substance abuse and dependence: does it matter?**  
Vasudha Singh and Geeta Singh
- 279 **Transforming earth science and engineering: the power of artificial intelligence, data science and machine learning**  
R. Sajeev
- SCIENTIFIC CORRESPONDENCE**
- 281 **Cause of ground subsidence in Machhlipatnam region**  
Shubham Rajewar, Akarsh Asoka, K. M. Sreejith, Ritesh Agrawal, N. Puviarasan, K. C. Sai Krishnan, Mudit Mathur, Kalpna Gahalaut and Vineet K. Gahalaut
- GENERAL ARTICLE**
- 284 **Will the global focus on methane reduction detract from the global attempts to reduce carbon dioxide emissions?**  
J. R. Bhatt
- REVIEW ARTICLE**
- 290 **Mitigation of environmental pollution using cellulose-based natural rubber latex composites**  
Amisha Verma and Sanjiv Arora
- RESEARCH ARTICLES**
- 297 **Optimizing the impact of spray characteristics of hybrid drone on spray deposition in cotton crops**  
P. Rajesh, A. P. Mohankumar, R. Kavitha, B. Suthakar and K. Ganesan



- 307 **Empirical evidence for shifting cultivation's role in indigenous food sovereignty in Manipur, Northeast India**  
Dileep Kumar Pandey, Francis Q. Brearley, Chabungbam Victoria Devi, Nongthombam Devachandra and Mark Haominthang Lhungdim
- 315 **Challenges and dynamics of athaphum: a longitudinal study of Loktak lake in northeast India**  
Stutee Gupta, T. Dharmaraj and K. Mruthyunjaya Reddy
- 322 **Complete mitochondrial genome profile of Randall's threadfin bream, *Nemipterus randalli* and its phylogenetic analysis**  
Neenu Raj, Sandhya Sukumaran, Lakshmi P. Mukundan, Anjaly Jose, Sujitha Mary, K. Nisha and A. Gopalakrishnan
- 333 **Evaluation of farmers' contentment with climate resilient agricultural technologies in Telangana, India**  
Boda Mahesh Naik, A. K. Singh, Saikat Maji, P. Venkatesan and Rohit Shelar
- 340 **Prediction of drought – risk zones in Tamil Nadu using historical and global climate model data**  
B. Santhoshkumar, N. K. Sathyamoorthy, V. Geethalakshmi, Ga Dheebakaran, K. Boomiraj, N. Manikandan and M. Selva Kumar
- 352 **Evaluating environmental and remote sensing factors in theileriosis risk prediction for bovine in Kerala, India: navigating post-flood climate dynamics**  
Kuralayanapalya Puttahnappa Suresh, Siju Susan Jacob, Pinaki Prasad Sengupta, Tarushree Bari, Dikshitha Jagadish, Paramanandham Krishnamoorthy and Sharanagouda Shiddanagouda Patil




---

#### RESEARCH COMMUNICATION

- 359 **Invasive plant in an anthropogenic disturbed and a community protected forest and their means as bio-resources**  
Khikeya Semy, M. R. Singh and Maongkala Walling

---

#### BOOK REVIEWS

- 364 **Youth and Shaping India's Future – M. S. Swaminathan Way.** N. Parasuraman; *reviewed by* P. C. Kesavan
- 365 **Parasite-Faunas of Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh (Indian Himalayas): Diversity, Impact & Importance.** Ramesh Chander Bhagat; *reviewed by* Khurshid A. Tariq

---

#### PERSONAL NEWS

- 367 **Peter Higgs (1929–2024),** Rohini M. Godbole
- 369 **M. V. S. Valiathan (1934–2024),** Subhash C. Lakhotia, Siddharth Lakhotia and Kishor Patwardhan



- ◀ **COVER.** Wheel of congrid eel genus *Ariosoma* spp. collected from the Indian waters. See page 265.

Indexed in CURRENT CONTENTS/ GEOBASE/CHEMICAL ABSTRACTS/IndMED/SCOPUS/  
WEB OF SCIENCE



# CURRENT SCIENCE

Volume 127 Number 10

25 November 2024

## 1136 In this issue

### EDITORIAL

- 1137 **Women in geosciences: an Indian perspective**  
N. V. Chalapathi Rao

### CORRESPONDENCE

- 1139 **Ecological disaster in the tropical dry deciduous forests of Telangana, India: challenges and opportunities for restoration**  
Sateesh Suthari and Nagaraju Mulka

### NEWS

#### 1140 Current Science Reports

- 1144 **Deliberations on mountain ecosystem processes and sustainable livelihood**  
Vasudha Agnihotri, Sunil Nautiyal, Sarla Shashni, Kesar Chand, Manish Tripathi, Rakesh K. Singh, Renu Lata and Kishor Kothari
- 1145 **Harnessing the nexus of soil, water and society for nature-based ecosystem conservation in the North Western Himalayas**  
Trisha Roy, R. K. Singh, Gopal Kumar, Rajesh Kaushal, Ramanjeet Singh, S. S. Shrimali and M. Madhu

### OPINION

- 1148 **An unusual tornado strikes again in Assam: is it linked to climate change?**  
Kimlina Gogoi, Santanu Baruah, Nandita Dutta, Timangshu Chetia and Alan L. Kafka

### COMMENTARY

- 1150 **Extrafloral nectar: a tale of plants' sweet reward**  
M. Rakesh and Sirsha Mitra

### REVIEW ARTICLES

- 1153 **Ultra-processed foods and the risk of diabetes: a review**  
Thyparambil Aravindakshan PramodKumar, Ranjit Mohan Anjana, Natarajan Lakshmi, Polina V. Popova and Viswanathan Mohan
- 1159 ***Dehalococcoides*-assisted reductive dechlorination of xenobiotics and recalcitrant compounds**  
Jane Jacob and K. K. Krishnani

### RESEARCH ARTICLES

- 1173 **Comparative computational research on nanosized molecules of SARS-CoV-2 for validation of a verdant drug molecule**  
S. Hari Lakshmi and T. Devasena
- 1180 **Archaeological landscape of Thotlakonda and Bavikonda near Visakhapatnam, Andhra Pradesh: insights from remote sensing and GIS analysis**  
M. B. Rajani
- 1194 **CNN-GA: deep learning-based response surface modelling integrated with genetic algorithm for extracting optimal solutions in highly nonlinear response surfaces**  
Samarth Godara, Raju Kumar, Deepak Singh, Rajender Parsad and Sudeep Marwaha



- 1202 **Elucidating economic sustainability of organic vis-a-vis conventional vegetable production in North Western Himalayas**  
Niyati Thakur, Ravinder Sharma, Pinaki Roy, Shilpa, Sanjeev Kumar, Savita, Kinkar Kumar and T. N. Roy
- 1208 **Development of water lettuce (*Pistia* spp.) based biochar filter for the treatment of industrial wastewater: a green approach**  
K. M. P. I. Jayathilake, P. M. Manage and F. S. Idroos
- 1219 **Bio-augmentative antibacterial activity of *Pongamia pinnata* (L.) gall extract with lemongrass oil formulation against selected Gram-negative bacteria**  
B. K. Chithra, P. P. Anand, E. Pushpalatha, Y. Shibu Vardhanan and K. P. Mohammed Shareef
- 1227 **Development of allometric equations for grafted sapota (*Manilkara zapota*) through destructive tree sampling for non-destructive estimation of tree biomass**  
A. N. Ganeshamurthy, T. R. Rupa, Karusala Alivelu, S. Rajendran, R. H. Laxman, G. Ramanandan, S. Mohapatra and B. Aruna
- 1233 **Mustard price dynamics due to ban on blending: time series intervention model with nonlinear function**  
Subhankar Biswas, A. K. Paul, Md Yeasin, Ranjit Kumar Paul, H. S. Roy and Prakash Kumar

---

#### RESEARCH COMMUNICATIONS

- 1241 **Assessing air quality variation from a Himalayan forest fire event using space based observations**  
Nimisha Singh, Tejas Turakhia, Touseef Ahmad, Tejas V. Shah, Deepali H. Shah, Bipasha Paul Shukla and Mehul R. Pandya
- 1243 **Empowering marginal and small-scale farmers in Tamil Nadu, India through sustainable organic farming: a pathway to livelihood security**  
R. Jansirani and R. Krishnan
- 1246 **Mating-environmental designs for breeding trials using bi-hierarchical incomplete block designs**  
Nehatai Wamanrao Agashe, Cini Varghese and Mohd Harun
- 1251 **Addendum: Ayurveda pulse monitoring and diagnostic systems: a systematic review**  
Monika Shah, Anuja Nair, Aryan Yashu, Deep Patel, Madhav Kanakhara and Nishi Patel [*Curr. Sci.*, 2024, 127(8), 904–915]
- 



- ◀ COVER. The 3D image of a protein molecule (6W9C) chosen from the protein data bank to assess cubebinol as a potential antiviral against SARS-CoV-2. See page 1173.

Indexed in CURRENT CONTENTS/GEOTitles/CHEMICAL ABSTRACTS/IndMED/SCOPUS/  
WEB OF SCIENCE/JSTOR

[Back to Content](#)

# CURRENT SCIENCE

Volume 127 Number 11

10 December 2024

---

**1264 In this issue****EDITORIAL**

- 1265 Desertification, climate change and food security**  
S. K. Satheesh and K. Krishnamoorthy

**CORRESPONDENCE**

- 1267 State-wise area estimation of agroforestry in India**  
A. Arunachalam, R. H. Rizvi, A. K. Handa and S. Suresh Ramanan

**NEWS**

- 1268 Current Science Reports**
- 1272 Nobel Prize in Chemistry 2024**  
M. S. Madhusdhan and Raghavan Varadarajan
- 1274 Critical zone studies for sustainable development**  
K. Sreelash and N. V. Chalapathi Rao

**OPINION**

- 1276 The growing threat of strokes in India**  
Suman Ray
- 1276 Chaya (*Cnidocolus aconitifolius*): a nutritive forage crop for the rainfed regions**  
R. Mohan Kumar and Yamanura

**SCIENTIFIC CORRESPONDENCE**

- 1277 The Chooralmala landslide: a comprehensive analysis of the 2024 Wayanad event**  
R. Sajeev

**GENERAL ARTICLE**

- 1279 How to make agricultural innovation and extension system effective in delivering agro-advisories?**  
Madhusmita Sahoo, Souvik Ghosh and Santosh Kumar Rout

**REVIEW ARTICLE**

- 1287 Osteosarcoma: concepts and prospects through the lens of translational science**  
Shweta Shukla, Hina Masroor, Sarita Pandey, Ramesh Chaurasiya, Rahul Gupta, Md. Arshad, Aparna Misra and Madhu Gupta

**RESEARCH ARTICLES**

- 1301 Ces: a new stellar spectral noise reduction algorithm**  
Yang Jiaming, Tu Liangping, Liu Hao and Zhao Jian
- 1310 From evolutionary relics to diabetic mellitus sentinels: a Mendelian randomization study of endogenous retrovirus group V member 1**  
Mingtong Wei, Xiangyi Bu, Anmin Wang, Juanzi Gao, Haoyuan Tan and Weidong Jia
- 1315 Synthesis and application of curcumin-based zinc complex for corrosion inhibition of mild steel in alkaline media**  
V. Nayana Senan, K. S. Beena Kumari and O. Lekshmy



- 1322 **Comparative studies on heat and stress build up in jointed and intact granites at depth of 220 m, Bhima Basin, India**  
Binu Kumar, R. K. Bajpai and T. N. Singh
- 1330 **Impact of climate change on water requirement and yield of tomato over different agro-climatic zones of Tamil Nadu**  
V. Guhan, V. Geethalakshmi, K. Bhuvaneshwari, N. Kowshika, V. Vinothkumar, S. Nithila and M. Marimuthu
- 1335 **Design and evaluation of an automatic control system for hydroponics cultivation of mint**  
Ajay N. Satpute, N. Patel, A. K. Mishra, D. K. Singh, Viswanathan Chinnusamy and Cini Varghese
- 1344 **Development of an IoT-based pumping control system for withdrawal of freshwater from brackish groundwater zone**  
Manpreet Singh, J. P. Singh, Y. B. Kalnar and Mahesh Chand Singh

---

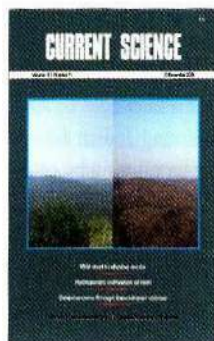
#### RESEARCH COMMUNICATIONS

- 1352 **CMIP5 multi-model ensemble-based future climate projection for the Odisha state of India**  
S. Vijayakumar and A. P. Ramaraj
- 1357 **Comparing two sensor data to perceive landscape phenology dynamics at Gir Wildlife Sanctuary, Gujarat, India**  
Dhruvi P. Phadke, Amrita N. Chaurasia, Sheshakumar Goroshi, Mohan Ram, C. P. Singh, Bimal K. Bhattacharya and N. S. R. Krishnayya

---

#### BOOK REVIEW

- 1363 **Annual Review of Nutrition, 2023.** Rudi Balling and Patrick J. Stover (eds); *reviewed by* G. Bhanuprakash Reddy
- 



◀ COVER. Phenology: capturing nature's rhythm. See page 1357.

Indexed in CURRENT CONTENTS/GEOBASE/CHEMICAL ABSTRACTS/IndMED/SCOPUS/  
WEB OF SCIENCE/JSTOR

[Back to Content](#)

## সূচিপত্র

সম্পাদকীয় ৭

মন্তব্য ৮

প্রচ্ছদকাহিনি

হৃদয়ভিক্ষুর নিত্যপ্রসাদ • নবকুমার বসু ১৬

দেখি দেখি ফিরে • প্রচৈত গুপ্ত ২০

সমরেশ বসুর খোঁজে • ইমদাদুল হক মিলন ২৪

বিক্ষৎসী পুরুষের অত্যাচার • শাশ্বতী ঘোষ ২৮

যে-হাতের খোঁজ মেলেনি • সুপ্রিয় চৌধুরী ৩১

নৈহাটি, ভাটপাড়া, জগদল আর সমরেশ • গৌতম রায় ৩৪

গল্প

মুক্তিপণ • তীর্থঙ্কর দাশ পুরকায়স্থ ৩৮

টিকিট • সায়িককুমার গঙ্গোপাধ্যায় ৪৪

কবিতা

প্রবহণ চক্রবর্তী • সজলকুমার টিকাদার • পার্থসারথি চক্রবর্তী

শাশ্বত গঙ্গোপাধ্যায় • শামিম আখতার • যুধাজিৎ বসু ৫০

ধারা বাহিক উপন্যাস

কুমারী রানির ডালার • মৈত্রী রায় মৌলিক ৫৩

ধারা বাহিক রচনা

মহাপ্রলয়ের সম্ভাবনায় • নিখিল সুর ৬১

ভ্রমণ

পাটিয়ালায় শিল্পবাসনার সন্ধানে • অভিজিৎ চট্টোপাধ্যায় ৬৮

গ্রন্থলোক ৭৭ • শিল্পসংস্কৃতি ৮০ • চিঠিপত্র ৮৫ • সুদোকু ৮৮

নামমাত্র ৮৯ • শেষকথা ৯০

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এবিপি গ্রা: লিমিটেডের পক্ষে জাহারা বসরাই কর্তৃক ৬ প্রফুল্ল সরকার স্ট্রিট, কলকাতা ৭০০০০১

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কলকাতা ৭০০০৯১ থেকে মুদ্রিত।

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সম্পাদক

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অতিথি সম্পাদক

কুমার রাণা ও বিষ্ণু বসু

দাম: ৬৫০

সডাক: ৭৫০

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ভট্টাচার্য, তোয়া বাগচী, দিলীপ ঘোষ ও উদ্দালক, দেবব্রত রায়, স্বাভী ভট্টাচার্য,  
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এ-ছাড়াও প্রকাশিত হবে তিরিশ জন প্রখ্যাত লেখকের উল্লেখযোগ্য বই ও  
সংকলন। এখনও পাওয়া যাচ্ছে বিশেষ সংখ্যা: বিষয় ফ্যাসিবাদ, দলিত  
ভারত, দেবীপ্রসাদ চট্টোপাধ্যায় এবং শারদীয় ২০২৩। অনুস্তুপ-এর বই ও  
উল্লেখিত পুরোনো সংখ্যার জন্য যোগাযোগ করুন।

অনুস্তুপ-এর কয়েকটি উল্লেখযোগ্য প্রকাশনা

কুমার রাণা/ভগ্নসন্ধি সময়ের ভাবনা	৪০০
কুমার রাণা ও বড়ো বাক্তি সম্পাদিত/আদিবাসী ভারত	৭৫০
ধনগোপাল মুখোপাধ্যায়/ দেশে বিদেশে ধনগোপাল মুখোপাধ্যায়	৬০০
আখ্যানকথা, তথ্য সংগ্রহ, উপস্থাপনা: সঞ্জাত ভদ্র	
অনিরুদ্ধ লাহিড়ী/পাঠ্যের অভিমুখে: কয়েকটি পঠন	৪৫০
হরনাথ বসু/ উম্মাদের অতিথিশালা (সম্পা: অমিতরঞ্জন বসু)	২৫০
বাদল সরকার/প্রবাসের হিজিবিজি ৪০০, বিষয়কর শ্যামদেশ ৩৫০	
সুশান্ত মজুমদার, ছুপ্তিচক্রবর্তী ও প্রসাদরঞ্জন রায় সম্পাদিত	
আধুনিক বিজ্ঞানের ক্রমবিকাশ (পরিবর্তিত সংস্করণ)	৫০০
দেবকুমার সোম সম্পা. আখতারজ্জামান ইলিয়াস-এর শ্রেষ্ঠ গল্প	৬০০
মোহিত রায় সম্পাদিত: পরিবেশ চর্চা: ইতিহাস ও বিবর্তন	৩৫০
দেবীপ্রসাদ চট্টোপাধ্যায় ও রমাকৃষ্ণ মৈত্র/ পৃথিবীর ইতিহাস	৬০০
Mihir Rakshit/The Village, The Town and The Metropolis: Memoirs of a Social Scientist	600.00
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[Back to Content](#)



## সূচিপত্র

সম্পাদকীয় ৭

প্রচ্ছদকাহিনি

বাংলাদেশের মুখ আমি দেখিয়াছি • মোহিত রায় ৮  
 নতুন ভোরের স্বপ্ন • মাসউদ আহমাদ ১২  
 ন্যায়বিচার ফিরুক, আসুক মর্যাদা ও সমতা • হামিদুর রহমান আযাদ ১৬  
 স্মৃতি ও ইতিহাসে বাংলাদেশের বিবর্তন • সুগত বসু ১৮  
 অনিশ্চিত ভবিষ্যতের দিকে বাংলাদেশ • পিনাকরঞ্জন চক্রবর্তী ২২  
 দ্বेष, দেশ ও রাজ্য • সুমন দে ২৮  
 'তোমায় ভালবাসি' • ঈশানী দত্ত রায় ৩২

মন্তব্য ৩৪

কবিতা গুচ্ছ

কবিতার রিপাবলিক • সুবোধ সরকার ৪০

গল্প

ফ্রুশবাহক • নলিনাক্ষ ভট্টাচার্য ৪৪  
 রোবট • সৌরভ হাওলাদার ৫০

ধারাবাহিক রচনা

মহাপ্রলয়ের সম্ভাবনায় • নিখিল সুর ৫৭

ধারাবাহিক উপন্যাস

কুমারী রানির ডাক্তার • মৈত্রী রায় মৌলিক ৬৩

স্মরণ

রবীন্দ্র-অনুবাদে অনুভবী স্বর • মার্টিন কম্পশেন ৬৯

প্রবন্ধ

আবেগের স্মারকলিপিকার • অমিতাভ নাগ ৭১

গ্রন্থলোক ৭৭ • শিল্পসংস্কৃতি ৮০ • চিঠিপত্র ৮৪ • সুদোকু ৮৮  
 নামমাত্র ৮৯ • শেষকথা ৯০

প্রচ্ছদ: অমিতাভ চন্দ্র

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এবিপি প্রাইং লিমিটেডের পক্ষে দ্বাহারা বসরাই কর্তৃক ৬ গ্রন্থের সরকারি প্রিন্ট, কলকাতা ৭০০০০১  
 থেকে প্রকাশিত এবং আনন্দ অফসেট প্রাইং লিঃ সিপি-৪, সেক্টর ৫, ফাইভ, সল্ট লেক সিটি,  
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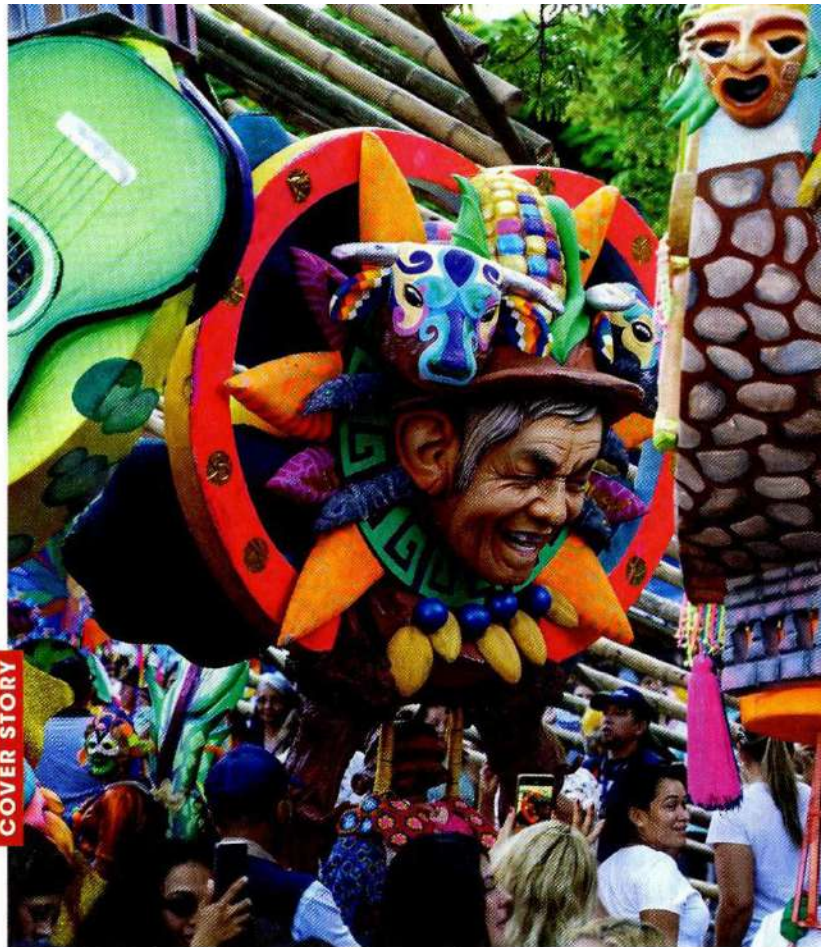
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COVER STORY

32 In a historic decision, the UN Biodiversity Conference 2024 has decided to include indigenous people's voice in biodiversity conservation

12 Digest  
 What Donald Trump's win means for global climate action

16 Carbon Credit  
 A multi-million dollar fraud hits carbon offset industry

30 Climate Goals  
 Rationing can be an emissions-reduction strategy



46 Patently Absurd  
 Why women scientists are way behind in inventions

58 Civil Lines  
 Brace for chronic poverty in a warming world



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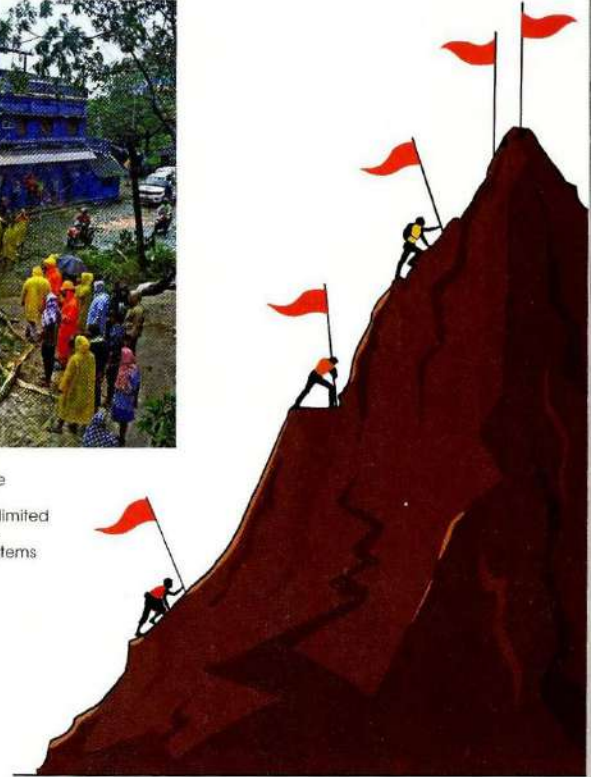
[Back to Content](#)



# Contents

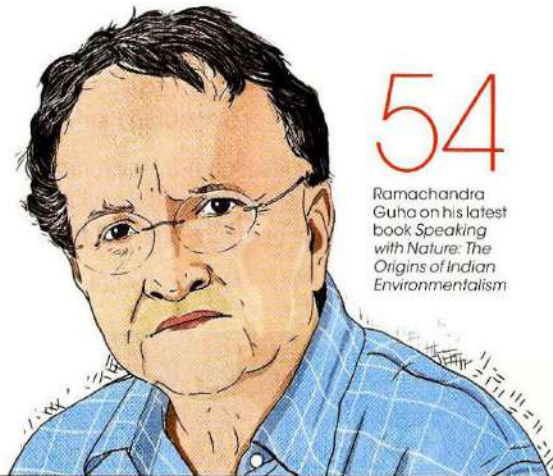


22 India's cyclone forecasts are hampered by limited and outdated monitoring systems



50 A network of over 1,000 *jai sahelis* in Bundelkhand has managed to achieve great feats in water conservation

26 Nations must collectively commit to cut 42% of annual emissions by 2030 and 57% by 2035, says the UN's Emissions Gap Report 2024



54 Ramachandra Guha on his latest book *Speaking with Nature: The Origins of Indian Environmentalism*

[Back to Content](#)



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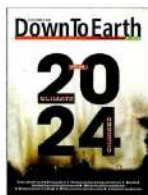
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# 2024

World leaders drop all pretence to save the planet at climate talks in Baku, even as the year is on track to breach the 1.5°C warming threshold

CLIMATE

**04 Dawn of a dark era**  
Sunita Narain on the beginning of the epoch of climate change

**10 Age of global boiling**  
Youngest human generation is enduring a climatologically changed world

**19 Attribution mounts**  
Record number of extreme weather disasters linked to climate change; heatwaves and extreme rains top the list

**24 Moisture, the missing piece**  
In a warming atmosphere, increasing load of moisture adds a new layer to climate crisis

**40 Costly inaction**  
World leaders nowhere close to reducing emissions or ensuring adaptation

**46 COP out at Baku**  
Developing countries left disappointed as new climate finance goals fall drastically short of their needs

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[Back to Content](#)



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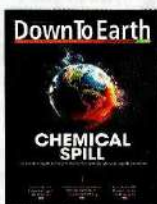
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# Contents



22 We have breached Earth's threshold for chemical pollution

10 Digest  
Relocation helps a village make a sustainable start

14 Riverbed mining  
Kashmir's natural springs dry up due to illegal mining, trigger water scarcity

18 Sweet smell of success  
Revival of Rambhog paddy brings huge profits for Uttar Pradesh farmers

48 Patently Absurd  
India's One Nation One Subscription to spur research comes at a huge cost



50 Narratives  
Must-watch documentaries, movies and books from 2024

54 Rural focus  
Films, web series are once again being set against rural backdrops

58 Civil Lines  
Why the US sees high levels of hunger and food insecurity

Down To Earth does not endorse the content of advertisements printed in the magazine. All disputes are subject to the exclusive jurisdiction of competent courts and forums in Delhi/New Delhi only.

[Back to Content](#)



NOVEMBER 23, 2024 | VOL LIX NO 47

**COP29: Choosing Low-hanging Fruits Unfit for Purpose**

- 10 In a surprise first-day declaration at COP29, a “deal” on the institution of carbon markets with clear rules for ensuring the assessment of claims and integrity of data was announced. — *C P Chandrasekhar*

**Excavating the ‘Minority Character’ of an Institution**

- 13 The Supreme Court in *Aligarh Muslim University v Naresh Agarwal (2024)* has not yet decisively affirmed the status of Aligarh Muslim University. — *Alok Prasanna Kumar*

**The 2024 Assembly Elections in Jammu and Kashmir**

- 16 Besides providing an opportunity for different political parties to test their ground, the assembly elections held after a gap of 10 years were important for the people of the state. — *Rekha Chowdhary*

**The Macho and the Malayalam Film Industry**

- 20 Ideas of normalisation and practices of power sabotage the democratic requirements of the Malayalam film industry that even the Hema Committee report as a social document is not free from. — *Lakshmi Priya N*

**Beyond the Medal**

- 23 The article explores the challenges faced by disability researchers in India, where issues of survival and poverty overshadow debates about identity and inclusion, as seen in Western contexts. — *Amitabh Vikram Dwivedi*

**Disparity in Asset Holdings of the Household Sector**

- 26 The definition of household adopted by the National Sample Survey does not always serve the intended purpose, prompting an examination of its suitability for estimating the distribution of rural and urban household assets. — *Dipankar Mitra, Alope Kar*

**Women in Cinema and the Patriarchal Deep State**

- 35 In light of the recent release of the Hema Committee report, this article analyses women’s continuous disadvantages with regard to labour, exploitation, and workplace conditions within the cinema industry and its institutionalised networks of male dominance. — *Meena T Pillai*

**The Scholarship of K N Raj**

- 40 This paper revisits Raj’s approach to scholarship. The primary focus is not to address the content of his key arguments and findings or to evaluate whether they have stood the test of time. Rather, the purpose is to revisit Raj’s approach to learn what it might offer us today. — *Suraj Jacob*

**Caste and Socio-economic Inequality in Bihar**

- 48 The absence of caste-level data has been a pressing issue in India, with the long-standing demand for a caste census emerging as a major political point in the 2024 general elections. This paper aims to provide an overview of the insights gained from the Bihar caste census and its implications for understanding caste and tribe inequality. — *Christophe Z Guilmo, Himanshu*

**Why Do Farmers Leave Nutri-cereal Crops?**

- 60 In recent years, the government has been trying to popularise nutri-cereal crops through various policy measures. However, data reveals that farmers have not reaped any appreciable profit in terms of cost c2 in any of these crops. — *A Narayanamoorthy, K S Sujitha & R Suresh*

**Postscript**

- 70 *Geethu Thomas* on elderly intimacy in Malayalam cinema; *Shashank Pandey* on deconstructing benevolent ableism through *Srikanth*; *Anannya Dasgupta*’s poem “Daughters like me”; and Last Lines by *Ponnappa*.

**Economic & Political WEEKLY****EDITORIAL**

- The Bugbear of Food Inflation ..... 7

**COMMENT**

- Bulldozer Justice? ..... 8

**FROM 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO..... 9****HT PAREKH FINANCE COLUMN**

- COP29: Choosing Low-hanging Fruits Unfit for Purpose  
— *C P Chandrasekhar* ..... 10

**LAW & SOCIETY**

- Excavating the ‘Minority Character’ of an Institution—*Alok Prasanna Kumar* ..... 13

**COMMENTARY**

- The 2024 Assembly Elections in Jammu and Kashmir  
—*Rekha Chowdhary* ..... 16  
The Macho and the Malayalam Film Industry: A Response to the Hema Committee Report  
—*Lakshmi Priya N* ..... 20  
Beyond the Medal: Paralympic Athletes and the Ableist Gaze  
—*Amitabh Vikram Dwivedi* ..... 23  
Disparity in Asset Holdings of the Household Sector: AIDIS and NSS Definitions  
—*Dipankar Mitra, Alope Kar* ..... 26

**BOOK REVIEWS**

- Changing Affinities: Ecologies of Human–Mithun Relationships in Northeast India*—Environment and Human–Animal Interactions  
—*Thomas Malsom* ..... 30  
*Provincialising Bollywood: Bhojpuri Cinema in the Comparative Media Crucible*—Province and Its Inexact Calculi: A Study in Media and Infrastructure  
—*Shriya Raina* ..... 32

**PERSPECTIVES**

- Women in Cinema and the Patriarchal Deep State  
—*Meena T Pillai* ..... 35

**SPECIAL ARTICLES**

- The Scholarship of K N Raj: Humanist Vision, Grounded Theorising, and Focus on Institutional Context  
—*Suraj Jacob* ..... 40  
Caste and Socio-economic Inequality in Bihar: A Disaggregated Analysis of the 2023 Census  
—*Christophe Z Guilmo, Himanshu* ..... 48  
Why Do Indian Farmers Leave the Cultivation of Nutri-cereal Crops? A Temporal Analysis of Selected States  
—*A Narayanamoorthy, K S Sujitha, R Suresh* ..... 60

**CURRENT STATISTICS ..... 68****POSTSCRIPT**

- Denial of Desire: Depictions of Elderly Intimacy in Malayalam Cinema—*Geethu Thomas (70)*, Deconstructing Benevolent Ableism through *Srikanth*—*Shashank Pandey (71)*, Daughters like me (Poem)  
—*Anannya Dasgupta (73)*, Last Lines (73)

**LETTERS ..... 4**[Back to Content](#)



NOVEMBER 30, 2024 | VOL LIX NO 48

**A New Financial Architecture**

10 The 16th summit of BRICS took significant steps in developing a financial architecture that is distinct from the Bretton Woods institutions. — *Anuradha Chenoy*

**Punjab's Draft Farm Policy**

14 An agricultural policy for Punjab has been long overdue given that it has been facing an agrarian crisis for the last 30 years. — *Sukhpal Singh*

**A Tool for Transparency or Exclusion?**

17 The impact of the NREGA Mobile Monitoring (NMMS) is examined two years after its deployment. — *Chakradhar Buddha, Laavanya Tamang*

**Catalyst of a New Global System**

21 While Russia is contributing to the erosion of a Western order and a return to the rules in the United Nations charter, it is ironically doing so by violating the same charter. — *Branko Milanovic*

**Is Indian Food Import Safety Regulation Opaque?**

30 Opacity in the working of the Food Safety and Standards Authority of India, regulatory gaps, and irregularities pose obstacles to India's food import safety. — *Surbhi Kapur*

**General Elections 2024**

Nine papers undertaking a thematic analysis of the 2024 general elections, highlight campaign trends, dynamics of alliances, electoral competition, and implications for political processes.

**Continuity and Change**

35 The results of the 2024 general elections have restored the parliamentary process and changed the country's political atmosphere. However, they were more a product of tactical alliance-building than any major shift in the social base of coalitions. — *K C Suri, Subrata Mitra & Rahul Verma*

**A New Chapter in Pre-electoral Coalition Politics**

45 The formation of the INDIA bloc, the dynamics of pre-electoral coalitions in India and their significance for electoral results are analysed. — *Adnan Farooqui, E Sridharan*

**An Analysis of Election Manifestos**

53 The analysis combines insights from spatial theory and salience theory to investigate where parties differ in their positions (spatial) or emphasis (salient) placed on issues. — *Ajit Phadnis, Abhishek Priyadarshi*

**The Place of History in Election Speeches**

64 Campaign speeches given by the Prime Minister routinely included references to the past. Given that elections are understood in transactional or material ways, references to abstract historical topics require interpretation. — *Andrew Wyatt*

**'Nationising' India**

71 Moulding India's diversity into a cohesive nation based on Hindu nationalism is the main ideological plank of the BJP. However, this strategy fell short of the expected electoral dividend in 2024. — *Subrata Mitra*

**Technology for Votes**

79 Technology disintermediates traditional political structures and centralises political attribution into the personal authority of party leaders. The paper calls this phenomenon "techno-patrimonialism" and examines its implications. — *Yamini Aiyar, Neelanjan Sircar*

**Gendering Loyalty**

87 Through a constructivist approach to populist political representation, this paper studies the conceptual terrain of the relationship between voter loyalty and populist democracy in the context of female voting in West Bengal. — *Proma Raychaudhury*

**The Oligarchisation of Democracy**

96 Employing data on the wealth and background of politicians, it is shown that over the last 20 years, India's politicians have not only become much wealthier but also more commonly have a business background. — *Ward Berenschot, Leiden Sarthak Bagchi & Vignesh Karthik K R*

**Signalling Revival?**

103 The Congress continues to lag behind in a head-to-head contest against the BJP, and its improved performance is largely in states where it was a junior partner in the alliance. — *Rahul Verma, Pawas Pratikshit*

**Economic & Political WEEKLY**

**EDITORIALS**

Maharashtra: A Trend Reversed and Moment That Never Arrived ..... 7  
Ethnic Cleansing in Gaza ..... 8

**FROM 50 YEARS AGO** ..... 9

**STRATEGIC AFFAIRS**

The BRICS Plan for a New Financial Architecture — *Anuradha Chenoy* ..... 10

**COMMENTARY**

Punjab's Draft Farm Policy Missing Markets for Cooperative Model—*Sukhpal Singh* ..... 14  
MGNREGA's Attendance App: A Tool for Transparency or Exclusion? — *Chakradhar Buddha, Laavanya Tamang* ..... 17  
Catalyst of a New Global System: Geopolitical Implications of the Russia-Ukraine War — *Branko Milanovic* ..... 21

**BOOK REVIEWS**

*Kaṭṭaikkūttu: A Rural Theatre Tradition in South India—Embodied Knowledge System of Kaṭṭaikkūttu—Swathi Sudhakaran* ..... 25  
*Children's Books: An Indian Story—Growing Landscape of Children's Literature in India* — *Sidra Fariah* ..... 27

**INSIGHT**

Is Indian Food Import Safety Regulation Opaque? — *Surbhi Kapur* ..... 30

**GENERAL ELECTIONS 2024**

India's 2024 General Election: Continuity and Change — *K C Suri, Subrata Mitra, Rahul Verma* ..... 35  
INDIA and the 2024 Elections: A New Chapter in Pre-electoral Coalition Politics — *Adnan Farooqui, E Sridharan* ..... 45  
Do the Policy Proposals of the BJP and Congress Differ from Each Other? An Analysis of Election Manifestos — *Ajit Phadnis, Abhishek Priyadarshi* ..... 53  
The Place of History in Narendra Modi's Election Speeches—*Andrew Wyatt* ..... 64  
'Nationising' India: Electoral Democracy and the BJP's Riddle of Nation-building — *Subrata Mitra* ..... 71  
Technology for Votes: Techno-patrimonialism and the Rise of Competitive Welfareism in India — *Yamini Aiyar, Neelanjan Sircar* ..... 79  
Gendering Loyalty in Indian Electoral Democracy: The Trinamool Congress and Its Construction of a Female Constituency in West Bengal—*Proma Raychaudhury* ..... 87  
The Oligarchisation of India's Democracy: Evidence from Andhra Pradesh and Odisha — *Ward Berenschot, Leiden Sarthak Bagchi, Vignesh Karthik K R* ..... 96  
Does Congress Party's Performance in 2024 General Elections Signal Its Revival? — *Rahul Verma, Pawas Pratikshit* ..... 103

**CURRENT STATISTICS** ..... 113

**LETTERS** ..... 4

[Back to Content](#)

DECEMBER 7, 2024 | VOL LIX NO 49

## 'Eminent' versus 'Illegible'

- 10 The Forest (Conservation) Amendment Act, 2023 contradicts the fundamental principles of earlier legislation and emboldens the state's eminent domain, reverting the progress of social movements. — *Rama Naga*

## Unified Lending Interface: A Game Changer?

- 14 The recent launch of the Unified Lending Interface by the Reserve Bank of India is an important step towards the further development of digital public infrastructure. — *Deepankar Roy, Partha Ray*

## Beyond the Guaranteed Minimum Support Price

- 17 The issue of a legal minimum support price guarantee has divided not only political parties and governments but also the large community of farm experts, economists and commentators. — *P Alli*

## How Will Banks Recognise a Significant Increase in Credit Risk?

- 22 One of the most innovative components of the Reserve Bank of India's proposed expected credit loss provisioning framework for commercial banks is the concept of a significant increase in credit risk. — *Arindam Bandyopadhyay*

## Assessing India's Production-linked Incentives

- 26 The production-linked incentive scheme has emerged as a cornerstone of India's industrial policy. However, the scheme has many design and structural flaws and missing links. — *Surendar Singh, Bibek Ray Chaudhuri*

## Suma Chitnis (1933–2024)

- 32 With the passing of renowned sociologist Suma Chitnis, the country lost another academic who belonged to that early distinguished category of social scientists. — *Padma Velaskar*

## A Reflection on Urban Informality

- 41 Delhi's e-coupon relief programme saw the state come face-to-face with unaddressed forms of vulnerability in the urban informal economy. The article attempts to reflect on this administrative experience of the existing state systems and policy apparatus to draw possible insights for policy considerations in the present urban context. — *Hari Raghunath*

## On the Futures of Caste

- 48 Caste persists, often manifesting with much greater vigour, even in modern urban contexts. The paper attempts to examine the futures of caste, arguing for a revisiting of its mainstream framings, both popular and academic, that remain "trapped" in a moral language while uncritically accepting the colonial and Orientalist imaginations that treat caste as an exceptional institution, unique to the Hindus of India. — *Surinder S Jodhka*

## Applying OECD Policy Evaluation Criteria

- 58 The intergovernmental fiscal transfers and state-specific targeted programmes for children in need of care and protection and children in conflict of law are evaluated using the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development criteria. Using the theory of change, various fiscal interventions for child protection are analysed with activities, outputs, intended outcomes and impacts. — *Lekha Chakraborty, Amandeep Kaur, Jitesh Yadav & Balamuraly B*

## Growth Slowdown in West Bengal

- 66 A political economy explanation of the growth trend post-2011 in West Bengal is provided based on a framework to understand the impact of corruption on economic growth. The difference-in-difference analysis shows that the economic growth rate has significantly declined post-2011, and has remained lower than the nation as a whole and significantly below other major Indian states. — *Debajit Jha, Jagadish Prasad Sahu & Parinita Singh*

## Economic & Political WEEKLY

### EDITORIALS

- Past Continuous, Present Tense ..... 7  
Balancing Mitigation and Adaptation ..... 8

### FROM 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO..... 9

### ALTERNATIVE STANDPOINT

- 'Eminent' versus 'Illegible': The Contradictions and Implications of the Forest (Conservation) Amendment Act, 2023  
— *Rama Naga* ..... 10

### COMMENTARY

- Unified Lending Interface: A Game Changer?  
— *Deepankar Roy, Partha Ray* ..... 14  
Beyond the Guaranteed Minimum Support Price  
— *P Alli* ..... 17  
How Will Banks Recognise a Significant Increase in Credit Risk for IFRS-9 Purpose?  
— *Arindam Bandyopadhyay* ..... 22  
Assessing India's Production-linked Incentives: A Case for Realignment of Objectives  
— *Surendar Singh, Bibek Ray Chaudhuri* ..... 26  
Suma Chitnis (1933–2024)  
— *Padma Velaskar* ..... 32

### BOOK REVIEWS

- Absent in Politics and Power: Political Exclusion of Indian Muslims—Is the 'Mother of Democracy' Inclusive Enough for the Muslims?*  
— *Manjur Ali* ..... 36  
*Freedom in Captivity: Negotiations of Belonging along Kashmir's Frontier—Captive Landscapes: Stories of Belonging in Contemporary Kargil*  
— *Amit Kumar* ..... 38

### INSIGHT

- Revisiting COVID-19 Food Relief Scheme in New Delhi: A Reflection on Urban Informality  
— *Hari Raghunath* ..... 41

### SPECIAL ARTICLES

- On the Futures of Caste  
— *Surinder S Jodhka* ..... 48  
Applying OECD Policy Evaluation Criteria to Child Protection Schemes in Odisha, India  
— *Lekha Chakraborty, Amandeep Kaur, Jitesh Yadav, Balamuraly B* ..... 58  
A Political Economy Analysis of Recent Growth Slowdown in West Bengal  
— *Debajit Jha, Jagadish Prasad Sahu, Parinita Singh* ..... 66

### CURRENT STATISTICS ..... 73

### LETTERS ..... 4

[Back to Content](#)



DECEMBER 14, 2024 | VOL LIX NO 50

**The 'Third' Balance Sheet**

- 10 Can we create a third balance sheet just for investments in climate resilience that generates savings, and have it financed through a combination of global levies and equitising these future fiscal savings? — *Avinash Persaud*

**From Overtime to Overreach**

- 13 The proposed amendment to the Karnataka Shops and Commercial Establishments Act, 1961, aiming to extend the information technology sector's working time to 14 hours, is critically analysed. — *Shonima Nelliatt*

**Disaster Management by Panchayats**

- 17 Policy and planning for preparedness to disasters could be moulded well to suit local communities, if only grassroots-level institutions are actively involved in the process. — *K R Sastry*

**Changing Contours of Global Climate Justice**

- 20 Interrogating the framework of just energy transition partnership, the article examines its contribution to a reshaping of climate justice. — *Garima Maheshwari*

**Nagaland State Transport: A Spatial History**

- 29 In a tortuous landscape, a spatial history of Nagaland State Transport enables a different history of modernity in Nagaland: the emergence of new towns, roads, and social mobility. — *Vizokhole Itu*

**Review of Labour and Employment**

- 35 Five papers explore key themes surrounding employment in India, including long-term shifts in the labour market, youth unemployment, technology, and the evolving role of digital work. — *Alakh N Sharma*

**India's Growth and Employment Patterns**

- 38 The paper analyses the patterns and trends in India's labour markets from 1983 to 2024. It also examines the long-term trends in labour force participation rates with a focus on the recent surge in women's work participation, structural change, employment quality and labour market inequalities. — *Alakh N Sharma, Balwant Singh Mehta*

**Education, Employment, and the Youth Labour Market**

- 54 While the demand for higher education is driven by the positive relationship between education, employment quality, and market returns, this paper shows that returns are getting moderated over time, and more and more highly educated young people are overqualified for the jobs they hold. — *Ravi Srivastava, Siddharth Dhote*

**New Technologies, Employment, and Inequality**

- 65 During the last two decades, technological change in India has increased the demand of high-skilled labour while reducing employment opportunities for low-skilled labour across both manufacturing and services sectors, modestly contributing to income inequality. — *Ajit K Ghose, Balwant Singh Mehta*

**Precarity or Empowerment?**

- 75 There is heterogeneity of workers on digital platforms with varying work contracts; not all are precarious. Digital wage and salary work, characterised by structured employment arrangements, may be economically more precarious. In contrast, self-employed workers leveraging platforms to enhance market reach may exhibit greater economic security and control. — *Jeemol Unni, Ravikiran Naik*

**Ruptured Rural Transformation**

- 84 The analysis suggests worsening of India's rural transformation, aggravating from "being stunted" to a rupture. Labour movement from agricultural to non-agricultural sectors had weakened since the early 2010s. Signs of reverse mobility are visible since the 2020s, with significant addition in unpaid family work. — *Vinoj Abraham*

**Postscript**

- 95 *Pratiti Roy* on understanding mourning and melancholy through *Pieces of a Woman*; *Tapas Mitra* on revisiting Ritwik Ghatak's *Komal Gandhar*; *Basundhara Roy's* poem *Dietary Prescription*; and *Last Lines* by *Ponnappa*.

**Economic & Political WEEKLY****EDITORIAL**

75 Years of the Banking Regulation Act, 1949 .....7

**COMMENT**

India's Pollution Crisis: Time for a Reset .....8

FROM 50 YEARS AGO .....9

**HT PAREKH FINANCE COLUMN**

The 'Third' Balance Sheet for Global Public Goods  
— *Avinash Persaud* ..... 10

**COMMENTARY**

From Overtime to Overreach: Decoding  
Karnataka's Move to Extend IT Industry's  
Working Hours  
— *Shonima Nelliatt* .....13

Disaster Management Plan Preparation  
by Panchayats: The Case of Kerala  
— *K R Sastry* .....17

Changing Contours of Global Climate Justice  
— *Garima Maheshwari* ..... 20

**BOOK REVIEWS**

*Nuskha-i Hafeezuddin Ahmad*—Understanding  
the History of Early Colonial Writings about Delhi  
— *Amar Farooqui* ..... 24

*A Part Apart: The Life and Thought of  
B R Ambedkar*—Tracing the Evolution of  
Ambedkar's Life and Ideas in Their Context  
— *P Srinidhi* ..... 26

**INSIGHT**

Nagaland State Transport, 1960s–90s:  
A Spatial History  
— *Vizokhole Itu* ..... 29

**REVIEW OF LABOUR AND EMPLOYMENT**

Persistent Challenges of Employment and  
Decent Work  
— *Alakh N Sharma* ..... 35

India's Growth and Employment Patterns:  
A Four-decade Perspective (1983–2024)  
— *Alakh N Sharma, Balwant Singh Mehta* ..... 38

Education, Employment, and the Youth Labour  
Market in India  
— *Ravi Srivastava, Siddharth Dhote* ..... 54

New Technologies, Employment, and Inequality  
in the Indian Economy  
— *Ajit K Ghose, Balwant Singh Mehta* ..... 65

Heterogeneity of Labour on Digital Platforms  
in India: Precarity or Empowerment?  
— *Jeemol Unni, Ravikiran Naik* ..... 75

Ruptured Rural Transformation: From Non-farm  
to Mixed Households in Rural India  
— *Vinoj Abraham* ..... 84

CURRENT STATISTICS ..... 93

**POSTSCRIPT**

*Pieces of a Woman*: Understanding Mourning and  
the Melancholia of Loss—*Pratiti Roy* (95),  
Revisiting Ritwik Ghatak's *Komal Gandhar*: Orion  
and the Polestar—*Tapas Mitra* (97),  
*Dietary Prescription*—*Basundhara Roy* (98),  
*Last Lines* (98)

LETTERS .....4

[Back to Content](#)

**EDUTRACKS**

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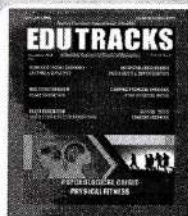
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subject to the jurisdiction of Hyderabad courts  
only.*Inside***Articles****05 .. Psychological Crisis & Physical Fitness***Dr. B.G. Sudha***11 .. How to Make Students' Learning Lasting & Effective***Dr. Amit Sharma, Dr. Ajay Sharma***16 .. Multiculturalism & Education for Peace***Dr. Usha Rao***18 .. Peace Education in Action: Fulfilling SDG 4.7  
for a Better Tomorrow***Dr. K. Sudhakar Rao, Dr. Jagan Mohan Guduru &  
V. Srinivas Rao***22 .. Artificial Intelligence (AI) For Sustainability:  
Challenges and Opportunities***Dr. Mohsin Ali Khan***Research****33 .. Role of Social Media in Shaping  
Political Opinions among Young Adults***Dr. Puja Tripathi***38 .. Role of Digital Tools in Enhancing Student Participation in  
Learning***Dr. Prasanth. SR***50 .. Health Track****53 .. News Track**





ପ୍ରବନ୍ଧ ଓ ସାହିତ୍ୟ-ସମାଲୋଚନା	
ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଆଧୁନିକତା ଓ କବି ଭୀମ ଭୋଇ । ଦିଲ୍ଲୀପ କୁମାର ସ୍ୱାଇଁ	୨୪୩
ପ୍ରାଚୀର ପ୍ରତୀତି ଓ ସଂପ୍ରାଚୀର ପ୍ରତିଶ୍ରୁତି ଗୁରୁପ୍ରସାଦ ମହାନ୍ତିଙ୍କ	
ପ୍ରାରମ୍ଭିକ କବିତାର ଭିତ୍ତି-ଭୂତି ଓ ଭାରତୀ । ସତ୍ୟନାଥ କୁମାର ନାୟକ	୮୪୧
ପ୍ରେମ ସୁଧାନିଧି କାବ୍ୟରେ ଚନ୍ଦ୍ର ପ୍ରସଙ୍ଗ । ସୁରେଶ ଚନ୍ଦ୍ର-ପଣ୍ଡା	୮୫୮
ସାହିତ୍ୟ ସମୀକ୍ଷକ ଚିରରଞ୍ଜନ ଦାସ । ହୃଷୀକେଶ ମହାଶୁଭ	୮୬୨
ହରିତ ବିମର୍ଶ : ବଦଳୁଥିବା ଓଡ଼ିଆ କବିତାର ନକ୍ସା । ମାନସ କୁମାର ଦାସ	୮୬୮
କବିତା	
ଦୁଇଟି କବିତା । ଶ୍ରୀହରି ଧଳ	୮୭୩
ଅପାଦନ । ଲକ୍ଷ୍ମଣ ଶତ୍ତରୀ	୮୭୪
ଶେଷଦୃଶ୍ୟ । ଫକୀର ଚନ୍ଦ୍ରଶେଖର ନନ୍ଦ	୮୭୫
ଭୋଇ ଭୋଇ । ଗଂଗାଧର ବିଶ୍ୱାଳ	୮୭୬
ସ୍ୱାକାରୋକ୍ତି । କ୍ଷୀରୋଦ ପରିଡ଼ା	୮୭୭
ଛାଇଦୌଡ଼ । ପ୍ରଶାନ୍ତ ଦାସ	୮୭୮
'O' । ବିଜୟ ମହାପାତ୍ର	୮୭୯
ନବଘନର ଘର । ମୋହିତ ଚକ୍ରବର୍ତ୍ତୀ	୮୮୦
ଉତ୍ସବ । ସତ୍ୟ ସାହୁ	୮୮୧
ଗୀତି	
ଖରା-ଛାଇର ଜୀବନ । ଉମାକାନ୍ତ ନାୟକ	୮୮୨
ତୁମେ ଆପଣାର ଲାଗ । ସୁଜାନ୍ତି ମହାନ୍ତି	୮୮୨
ଗଳ୍ପ	
ଅଶ୍ରୁ ଅନେଶତ । ଦେଶବନ୍ଧୁ ସ୍ୱାଇଁ	୮୮୩
ବୁଢ଼ା ରାଜା । ବିକ୍ରମ ଦାସ	୮୯୦
ପ୍ରାପ୍ତି । ସୁତି ପଟ୍ଟନାୟକ	୮୯୫
ସେଇ କାଳରାତ୍ରୀ । ସୋହାଗିନୀ ବେହେରା	୮୯୮
ଅନ୍ତଃସ୍ୱର । ଦେବକୃତ ଧଳ	୯୦୨
ପ୍ରତିବେଶୀ ସାହିତ୍ୟ	
ନିଜ ନିଜର ଛିଦ୍ର । ମୂଳ ରଚନା : ଅମ୍ବିତା ପ୍ରିତମ	
ଭାଷାନ୍ତର : ସ୍ୱିଷ୍ଟା ନାୟକ	୯୦୬
ସଂପାଦକୀୟ	
ପ୍ରଫେସରଙ୍କ ଭାଷାନ୍ତର ଓ ତଥ୍ୟଗତ ବିକୃତି । ସରୋଜିନୀକନ ମହାନ୍ତି	୯୦୯
ଲେଖକ ପରିଚିତି	୯୧୧

JOURNAL OF  
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Vol. XXXVIII No. 3 (July 2024)

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

Student Loans in Financing Engineering Education: Some New Evidence from India <i>Pradeep Kumar Choudhury and Amit Kumar</i>	193
Steering Architecture Curricula towards National Education Policy 2020: A Transformative Pedagogical Approach <i>Vidya Srikanth, Vimala Swamy and Vikas Vithal Shinde</i>	217
Classroom Assessment Practices of Secondary School Teachers in Delhi <i>Ananthula Raghu</i>	237
Unveiling the Influence of Peer Interactions on Learning Experiences: Insights from IIT Undergraduates <i>Kumari Archana</i>	255
BOOK REVIEWS (See overleaf)	275

[Back to Content](#)



## Contents

### Editorial

- Engagement Matters: Reimagining Family, School, and Community Relations in Teacher Education to Improve Student Outcomes 365  
*Christopher Day, Darla Edwards, Valerie Hill-Jackson, Trudy Cardinal, and Cheryl J. Craig*

### Invited Commentary

- From Classroom to Community: A Commentary on Preparing Educators for Family and Community Engagement 369  
*Margaret Caspe and Reyna Hernandez*

### Research/Empirical

- Walking the Talk: Engendering a “Community of Teachers” in an Educator Preparation Program in the Southern United States 382  
*Nicholas D. Hartlep, Jon C. Saderholm, Julian Viera Jr., Maggie Robillard, Keesha Greer-Effs, Lisa Rosenbarker, Shaniqua Robinson, Cinda Holland, Herbie Brock, Collis R. Robinson, Angela J. Cox, Heather Chapman, Joshua Woodward, Noé R. Guevara, Jennifer Whitt, and Julia Allen*
- Epistemic and Deontic Authority in Parent–Teacher Conference: Referring to the Expert as a Discursive Practice to (Jointly) Undermine the Teacher’s Expertise 397  
*Letizia Caronia*
- Preparing Cherokee Language Teachers: Lessons Learned From an Innovative Licensure Program 412  
*Scott Kissau, Kristin Davin, and Kristen Moore*
- Family Perspectives of University Reading Clinic/Literacy Lab Experiences: What Matters 424  
*Theresa A. Deeney, Cheryl L. Dozier, Barbara Laster, Tiffany L. Gallagher, Rachael Waller, Joan A. Rhodes, Tammy M. Milby, Debra Gurvitz, Mary Hoch, Leslie Cavendish, Shelly Solomon Huggins, Shadrack Msengi, Stephanie L. McAndrews, Erika S. Gray, Ryan McCarty, and Paul Ferrara*
- Community-Based Teacher Education: The Experiences of Teacher Candidates Learning Alongside Grassroots Youth Organizers 438  
*Kaitlin E. Popielarz*

### Theoretical/Conceptual

- For Such a Time as This: Community Members as Architects of Imagination in Teacher Education Reform 452  
*Eva Zygmunt, and Wilisha Scaife; With the Architects of Imagination*

[Back to Content](#)

# ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଗଳ୍ପ ନବଜାତକ କଥା

ଡିସେମ୍ବର ୨୦୨୪

## ଏ ସଂଖ୍ୟାରେ

- |                           |                     |
|---------------------------|---------------------|
| ୧୪ ବୁଲା କୁକୁର ଟମିର ଅଭିମାନ | ବିଶ୍ୱଭୃଷଣ ହରିଚନ୍ଦନ  |
| ୧୭ ତୁମେ ଖୁବ୍ ଭଲ ଦିଶୁଛ     | ଗୌରହରି ଦାସ          |
| ୨୩ ଶୋଷ                    | ଗୋଲାପ ମଞ୍ଜରୀ କର     |
| ୩୩ ଦଶହାଣ୍ଡି               | ଚିତ୍ତରଞ୍ଜନ ଚିତ୍ତଚିତ |
| ୩୮ ପ୍ୟାଟରସକ୍ରେ ସନ୍ଧ୍ୟା    | ଗିରିଜା ଶଙ୍କର ମିଶ୍ର  |
| ୪୪ ସେଇ ପକ୍ଷୀଟିର ସ୍ମୃତିରେ  | ପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣଚନ୍ଦ୍ର ଦାଶ   |
| ୪୭ ଛାଗଲର ପାଗଳ             | ଶଶାଙ୍କ ପ୍ରିୟସଖା     |
| ୫୬ ରତନପୁର କୋଠି            | ରମାକାନ୍ତ ସାମନ୍ତରାୟ  |
| ୫୯ ଦୁଇ ରହିଯିବା ଭଲ         | ସାଇ ରମେଶ ରାଓ        |
| ୬୨ ପାଙ୍ଗଣିଆଣୀ             | ସୁଜାତା ମହାପାତ୍ର     |



## ମିନିଗପ

- |              |                       |
|--------------|-----------------------|
| ୧୬ ସମୟ       | ଛନ୍ଦା ମିଶ୍ର           |
| ୨୨ ପ୍ରେମ     | ପ୍ରଣିତାରାଣୀ ବେହେରା    |
| ୨୪ ସଂଚୟ      | ନଗେନ୍ଦ୍ର ନାଥ ପଟ୍ଟନାୟକ |
| ୩୨ ମାଛ ଲାଞ୍ଜ | ସ୍ମୃତି ମିଶ୍ର          |
| ୪୩ ନିରୁତ୍ତର  | ଅଶୋକ କୁମାର ଷଡ଼ଙ୍ଗୀ    |
| ୫୮ ସମ୍ପର୍କ   | ସତ୍ୟନାରାୟଣ ପ୍ରଧାନ     |

୦୫

ଆପଣଙ୍କ ଚିଠି

ଏ ମାସର କଥାକାର

କାପାଳିକ ୧୧

ଅଖିଳମୋହନ ପଟ୍ଟନାୟକ

କଥାକାରଙ୍କୁ ଚିହ୍ନଟୁ

ଗଣ୍ଡ ୨୫

ବିଜୟକୃଷ୍ଣ ମହାନ୍ତି

ଏ ମାସର କଥାକାର

ମାନବ ଓ ଦାନବ ୨୯

ବାମନଚରଣ ମିତ୍ର

କଥା ଝରକା

ପାଗଳ ୫୧

ବ୍ରହ୍ମାନନ୍ଦ ପଣ୍ଡା/

ପବିତ୍ର ବ୍ରହ୍ମପୁତ୍ର ନାୟକ

ଧାରାବାହିକୀ

ଜନକ ନନ୍ଦିନୀ ୬୬

ମୂଳ ରଚନା: ଦେବଦତ୍ତ ପଟ୍ଟନାୟକ

ଅନୁସୂଚନ: ତପନ କୁମାର ପଣ୍ଡା

ଧାରାବାହିକ ଉପନ୍ୟାସ

ଅପତ୍ୟ ୭୩

ଦେବବ୍ରତ ଦାସ

କଥା ଅଙ୍କୁର

ସିଏ ବି ଗୋଟିଏ କାହାଣୀ ୭୮

ରୋଜାଲିନ୍ ବେହେରା



# भवन्स नवनीत

समय... साहित्य... संस्कृति...

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वर्ष : 10 अंक : 4 • दिसम्बर 2024



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6 ♦ भवन्स नवनीत ♦ दिसम्बर 2024

## एक नज़र

कुलपति उवाच

03 विज्ञान का अंतर्द्वन्द्व  
के.एम. मुनशी

अध्यक्षीय

04 आप वही हैं जो आप सोचते हैं  
सुरेंद्रलाल जी. मेहता

पहली सीढ़ी

11 कोई अधूरा पूरा नहीं होता  
विनोद कुमार शुक्ल

धारावाहिक उपन्यास (भाग - 11)

114 हिन्देन्दु  
श्याम बिहारी श्यामल

शब्द-सम्पदा

126 कुरमीटोला और चमारटोली  
अजित वडनेरकर

व्यांग्य

90 अंधों का, अंधों के लिए  
शशिकांत सिंह 'शशि'

आलेख

33 फूल मत मारो  
विद्यानिवास मिश्र

[Back to Content](#)

## आवरण-कथा

- 12 अंततः गांधी  
सम्पादकीय
- 14 गांधी हैं विकल्प  
नंदकिशोर आचार्य
- 18 गांधी एक चुनौती है!  
रामशरण जोशी
- 24 गांधी दर्शन की प्रासंगिकता  
गौरीशंकर वैश्य
- 30 जब बापू गुरुदेव के बाद...  
प्यारेलाल
- 40 गांधी ने पत्रकारिता की...  
कमल किशोर गोयनका
- 46 निर्बल के बल राम  
मो. क. गांधी
- 53 कैसे कहूँ कि मैंने गांधी को नहीं देखा  
रमेश जोशी

- 79 चेखव के चार पत्र
- 85 उड़ीसा की पाम लीफ एचिंग कला  
निर्मला डोसी
- 109 हंसने का विज्ञान  
लोकेंद्रसिंह कोट
- 125 समय, साहित्य और समाज का  
एक बड़ा कालखण्ड  
पवन कुमार
- 127 अंधे और अंधेरे समय में धर्म  
नंद चतुर्वेदी
- 133 किताबें

## कथा

- 64 अमलतास नहीं फूलेगा  
मनमोहन सरल

- 114 भगवान के दस्तखत  
रजनी शर्मा 'बस्तरिया'

## कविताएं

- 45 तकली  
गयाप्रसाद शुक्ल 'सनेही'
- 52 गांधी पथ वहीं ठहरा रहा...  
मंजुल भारद्वाज
- 84 एकांत शरण -- अम्बिकादत्त
- 108 रूप का जादू -- बुद्धिनाथ मिश्र

## समाचार

- 136 अध्यक्ष का उद्बोधन
- 140 भवन समाचार
- 144 संस्कृति समाचार

अक्टूबर 2024 ♦ भवन्स नवनीत ♦ 7

[Back to Content](#)



**Resonance** journal of science education

December 2024 Volume 29 Number 12

**GENERAL ARTICLES**

1611



**1611 Agnes Arber: Towards a Dynamic Perspective on Plant Morphology**

R Geeta

**1627 Simulation Study of Arbitrary 1D Periodic Potentials by Modified Marsiglio's Matrix Approach using Gnumeric Spreadsheet**

Aditi Sharma, Arushi Sharma and O S K S Sastri

1643



**SERIES ARTICLE**

**1643 Chemistry Behind the Mystery of Colors of Different Objects – Part 1**

Udita Das, Ankita Das, Monirul Islam, Ruhi Das and Asim K Das

**1669 Tracing the Roots of Molecular Biology**

*Part 1: Genesis of Cell Theory*

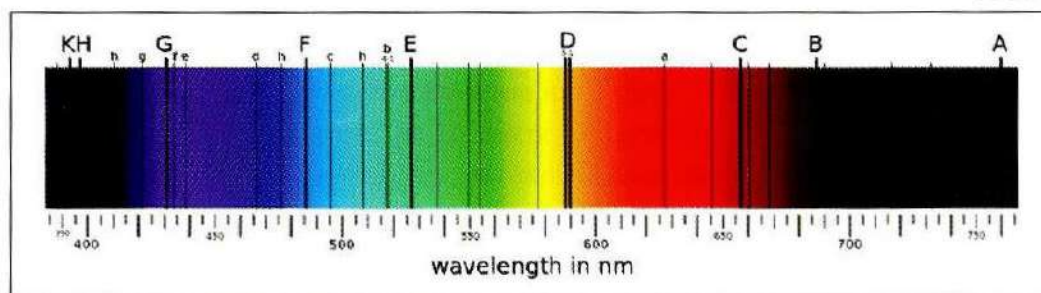
Subhash C Lakhotia

**1689 The Interaction of Matter and Radiation: The Physics of C.V. Raman, S.N. Bose, and M.N. Saha**

*Part 2: Physics Highlights*

Arnab Rai Choudhuri

1689



[Back to Content](#)



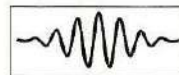
## CLASSROOM

**Optical Illusion: Capturing Light Interactions via a Semi-reflective Glass Window** 1709

Sanjoy Kumar Pal and Pradipta Panchadhyayee

**A CBS inequality in  $\mathbb{Z}$**  1713  
Cristinel Mortici

## DEPARTMENTS



**Editorial** 1597  
*R Geeta*



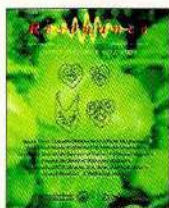
**Science Smiles** 1603  
*Ayan Guha*

**Article-in-a-Box** 1605  
**Agnes Arber**  
(1879–1960): **Botanist, Artist, Historian, Philosopher**  
*R Geeta*

**Crossword** 1717

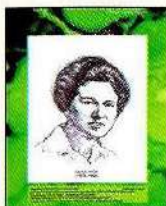
**Life Under Water**  
*Aniruddha Datta-Roy*  
*Avrajjal Ghosh*

### Front Cover



Broad-leaved monocots *Dioscorea* (external form, background) and *Smilax* (internal structure, forefront, after Arber's sketches in A Arber, *Botanical Gazette*, Vol.69, No.5, pp. 438–442, 1920).

### Back Cover



Agnes Arber  
(1879–1960)  
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[Back to Content](#)



# Review of Educational Research

---

Volume 94

Number 5

October 2024

---

## CONTENTS

- 627 What Is the Empirical Research Base of Early Childhood Coaching?  
A Mapping Review  
*Rachel E. Schachter, Lisa L. Knoche, Molly J. Goldberg,  
and Junrong Lu*
- 660 The Evolution of “Loaded Moments” Toward Escalation or  
De-Escalation in Student–Teacher Interactions  
*Brianna L. Kennedy and Robin Junker*
- 699 Exposure to Adversity and Trauma Among Students Who Experience  
School Discipline: A Scoping Review  
*Jane Sanders, Andrea Joseph-McCatty, Michael Massey,  
Emma Swiatek, Ben Csiernik, and Elo Igor*
- 743 Assessing Teachers’ Culturally Responsive Classroom Practice in  
PK–12 Schools: A Systematic Review of Teacher-, Student-, and  
Observer-Report Measures  
*Meredith P. Franco, Jessika H. Bottiani, and Catherine P. Bradshaw*

[Back to Content](#)

# SCIENCE AND CULTURE

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## EDITORIAL

Antimicrobial Resistance (AMR)

— *Shanta Dutta* ... 417

## ARTICLE

Antibiotic Resistance and Neonatal Sepsis in  
India: A Storm in the Cradle

— *Sharmi Naha, Rajlakshmi Viswanathan  
and Sulagna Basu* ... 420

Unraveling Genetic Variability in Antimicrobial  
Resistance Among Intracellular and Extracellular  
Bacteria

— *Kajal Kamboj, Nishtha Bhardwaj and  
Bhabatosh Das* ... 432

Contours of CRISPR-Cas System to Alleviate the  
Antimicrobial Resistance

— *Thandavarayan Ramamurthy,  
Goutam Chowdhury,  
Asish K. Mukhopadhyay,  
Shanta Dutta and Amit Ghosh* ... 445

Selected Traditional Remedies and Their Role in  
the Management of Antimicrobial Resistance

— *Ananya Das Mahapatra, Soma Sarkar,  
Oliva Roy, Partha Palit, Saptarshi Biswas  
and Debprasad Chattopadhyay* ... 452

Antibiotic or No Antibiotic; Myths Around  
Medicine

— *Debjit Chakraborty and  
Enna Dogra Gupta* ... 468

One Health Solution to the Problem of  
Antimicrobial Resistance; It's Much More  
Than One

— *Debjit Chakraborty, Falguni Debnath  
and Shanta Dutta* ... 472

Phage Therapy: A Renewed Hope in Infectious  
Disease Management Under the Threat of  
Anti-Microbial Resistance

— *Alok Kumar Chakrabarti and  
Shanta Dutta* ... 478

[Back to Content](#)





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Phage Therapy: The Ultimate Alternative Against Antibiotic Resistance (ABR) - Challenges, Advantages, Opportunities and the Pivotal Role of DNA-Binding Proteins in Steering Modern Strategies Through Lytic-Lysogenic Control  
— Mousumi Hazra, R. C. Dubey and Saugata Hazra ... 490

### OPINION

Bose's Letter to Einstein  
— Sushanta Dattagupta ... 507

### NOBEL PRIZES: 2024

2024 Nobel Prize Winners: Groundbreaking Contributions  
— Tosin Oyediran ... 518

### NOTES AND NEWS

- i) Inauguration of XXXVII Training Programme: Certificate Course on Basic Training on Science Communication and Media Practice 2024 of Indian Science News Association ... 521
- ii) Prof. Naresh Chandra Datta and Prof. Samir B. Bandyopadhyay Memorial Lectures ... 522
- iii) Insights from the "Plant Science and Molecular Biology World Conference (PMBWC - 2024)" at Barcelona, Spain ... 523

### Cover photo : Explanation in pages

- A: Page 423, Fig. 1
- B: Page 496, Fig. 1 and Fig. 2
- C: Page 434, Fig. 1
- D: Page 454, Fig. 2
- E: Page 480, Fig. 2
- F: Page 473, Fig. 3

[Back to Content](#)

# Science Reporter

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National Institute of Science Communication and Policy Research (NIScPR)

Council of Scientific & Industrial Research (CSIR), New Delhi

## CONTENTS

### COVER STORY

#### 21st Century Skills for Students' Future Success

AK Bakhshi and Vinita Kapoor

14



#### Anxiety in Children

Parul R Sheth

20



#### Screen Time and Sight: Protecting Young Eyes in a Digital World

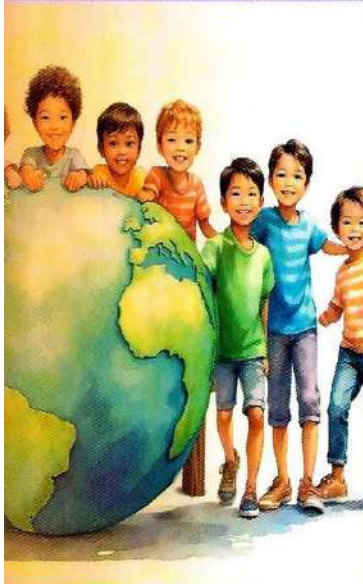
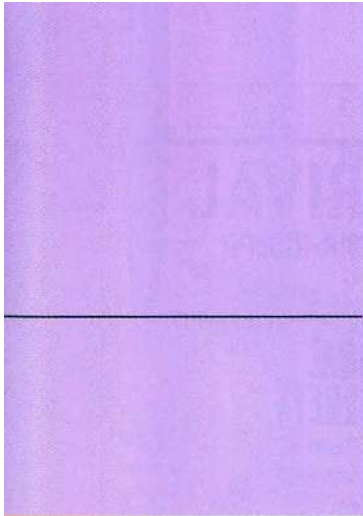
Neha Tripathi

24



[Back to Content](#)





#### EDITORIAL

**Every Child Deserves a Brighter Tomorrow**

*Nurture the Future!*

Sonali Nagar

9

#### FEATURES

**Emotional Intelligence: The skill you need**

Ajai Chawla

36

**Holistic Nutrition for Child-health and Well-being**

Malvika Dekhane

42



**Snowballing Sustainability through Schools**

*Skilling Students to Grow Food*

Neetika W Chhabra and Livleen K Kahlon

46

#### GLOW GUARD

*Brighten, Alert, Protect*

Raghav Karthick

52

#### INFOGRAPHICS

**Impact of Air Pollution on Children's Health**

30

**E-waste and Children Health**

50

#### INTERVIEW

**In conversation with Dr Suja K Kunnath,**

**Executive Director, NISH**

Biju Dharmapalan

32

#### SCIENCE FICTION

**The Quantum Breakthrough**

Shakunthala Natarajan

54

Spectrum

10

Indian S&T Breakthroughs

34

Nature's Marvels

56

What's New

58

Test Your Knowledge

60

Puzzle Corner

62

[Back to Content](#)





# शिविरा पत्रिका

मासिक

न हि ज्ञानेन सदृशं पवित्रमिह विद्यते- श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता ४/३८

इस संसार में ज्ञान के समान पवित्र करने वाला निःसंदेह कुछ भी नहीं है।

In this world there is no purifier as great as knowledge.

वर्ष : 65

अंक : 6

मार्गशीर्ष-पौष २०८१-८२

दिसम्बर, 2024

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### अपनों से अपनी बात

- बालवीर जोरावर सिंह और फतेह सिंह 3
- दिशाकल्प : मेरा पृष्ठ**
- समाज और शिक्षा 4
- महापुरुषों की जीवनी**
- स्वामी विवेकानंद : एक विस्तृत दृष्टिकोण 7
- सरदार वल्लभ भाई पटेल : भारत की एकता और अखंडता के शिल्पकार 9
- आलेख**
- शिक्षा में नवाचार समय की जरूरत, मातृभाषा का समावेश हो 11
- मधु आचार्य 'आशावादी'**
- जापान के हिबाकुशा को शान्ति का नोबेल पुरस्कार 13
- सुभाष जोशी**
- कबीरा "ना कुछ" बन जाना 14
- किशनगिरि गोस्वामी**
- शिक्षा में एक नवाचार : हवाई भ्रमण 15
- डॉ. गोविन्द लाल मंडावरिया**
- शिष्टाचार-व्यवहार का नैतिक मापदंड एवं अनिवार्य अंग 16
- शीशराम यादव**
- विद्यार्थी के सर्वांगीण विकास के लिए स्वाध्याय के साथ-साथ अध्यात्म और योग का महत्त्व 17
- महेन्द्र बाना**
- राष्ट्रीय एकता और अखण्डता के प्रकाश स्तम्भ: सरदार वल्लभ भाई पटेल 19
- गोविन्द जोशी**
- विश्व दिव्यांग दिवस: समावेशिता और समानता की ओर एक कदम 21
- शिव शंकर चौधरी**
- शील निधान धनुर्धर राम 22
- रेणुबाला चौहान**
- विद्यार्थियों को शिक्षा के साथ कौशल प्रशिक्षण जरूरी 23
- मदनलाल मीणा**
- राष्ट्रीय एकीकरण की बाधाएं और उन्हें दूर करने में शिक्षा की भूमिका 24
- डॉ. रघुनंदन शर्मा**

- सशस्त्र सेना झंडा दिवस 25
- गौरव राठौड़**
- हमारी सकारात्मक सोच का जीवन पर प्रभाव 26
- विष्णु दयाल शर्मा**
- भारत में नारी शिक्षा 29
- वीणा देवी**
- दिव्यांगों के लिए शिक्षा और रोजगार के अवसर 30
- संजय भारद्वाज**
- सबसे बड़ा कैमरा 31
- सुभाष रणवा**
- आजादी के अमृत महोत्सव में... 32
- डॉ. राजपाल जोईया**
- वैश्विक चिन्तन की दरकार 36
- देवेन्द्र पण्ड्या**
- महामना मालवीय जी का शिक्षा दर्शन 38
- गौरी शंकर 'वैश्य' विनम्र**
- कैसे पहचाने दिव्यांगता 40
- स्नेहलता शर्मा**
- रपट**
- शिक्षा में निवेश खोलेंगे डिजिटल लर्निंग और रोजगारोन्मुखी कौशल शिक्षा के द्वार 28
- डॉ. नीरू पोटलिया**
- स्तम्भ**
- पाठकों की बात 6
- शिविरा पंचांग 27
- आदेश-परिपत्र: दिसम्बर 2024 27
- बाल शिविरा 44-45
- शाला प्रांगण से 46-47
- भामाशाहों ने बदली विद्यालय की तस्वीर 48-49
- कांता कुमारी**
- हमारे भामाशाह 50-52
- पुस्तक समीक्षा**
- युग विभीषिका 42-43
- कवि : मुहम्मद कुरैशी 'निर्मल'
- समीक्षक : सुशील निर्वाण
- नन्हीं किरण
- कवि : सी.एल. साँखला
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In This Issue		PAGE
ITEMS		
<b>Articles</b>		
Indian Knowledge System: Lessons from Mahabharata		3
Transforming School Education in the Context of National Education Policy-2020—Part-II*		7
The Status of English in the Education System Envisioned in National Education Policy-2020		21
Gauging Disaster Preparedness through Disaster Safety Audit in Higher Education Institutes		26
<b>Convocation Address</b>		
National Institute of Technology, Delhi		33
<b>Campus News</b>		
		37
<b>Communication</b>		
Reviving the Polymath: How Holistic Education Can Shape Tomorrow's Innovators		40
<b>Theses of the Month (Humanities)</b>		
		42
<b>Advertisement</b>		
		45

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## Indian Knowledge System: Lessons from Mahabharata

Upinder Dhar\* and Santosh Dhar\*\*

The Mahabharata is an epic that dates back thousands of years and is one of the greatest literary works. It tells the story of the battle between the Kauravas and Pandavas, two wings of a royal family competing for control of the throne of Hastinapur. The story is not only about a battle, but also about the complex relationships between family members, friends, and allies, and thereafter the consequences of their actions.

The characters in the Mahabharata are multi-dimensional, and their motivations, desires, and conflicts are explored in detail. With 100,000 verses, the Mahabharata is the longest epic poem ever written, and it covers a wide range of topics such as politics, warfare, religion, philosophy, and morality. It is an unparalleled source of knowledge and wisdom, with valuable lessons for managers to improve their effectiveness and efficiency. Some of the key lessons are:

### Good Strategies

One of the key lessons that the Mahabharata offers to managers is the importance of having good strategies in place. The Kauravas boasted a vast army, led by experienced and competent generals. They were determined to crush any opposition from the considerably smaller army of the Pandavas, who had only seven divisions (*Akshouhini*) against the eleven divisions (*Akshouhini*) of the Kauravas, along with one strategist: Lord Krishna. One *Akshouhini* meant 21,870 chariots, 21,870 elephants, 65,610 horses, and 1,09,350 soldiers on foot (the ratio being 1:1:3:5).

Kauravas were in power for 13 years. They had a lot of wealth and power, which grew further when Karna went on a nationwide entourage to conquer on behalf of Duryodhana. On the other hand, Pandavas had no kingdom and were in exile for 13 years. Their friends and relatives like the Panchalas, the Yadavas, the Magadhas, and the Chedis were the only strength both in terms of politics and finance. When all the things were in favour of Kauravas, how did Pandavas win? Why did Kauravas lose even after having Bhishma (peerless and unconquerable), *Dronacharya* (the master of military arts), *Karna* (a great warrior and archer), and others on their side?

The answer lies in the fact that despite the odds being in favour of the Kauravas, it was Lord Krishna who masterminded the strategy that inspired the Pandavas to achieve victory. This shows that with limited resources, an intelligent and well-thought-out strategy can

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In This Issue		
ITEMS		PAGE
<b>Articles</b>		
Renaissance of Bhartiya Bhasha: Reviving India's Linguistic Heritage		3
Gurudev Ramachandra Dattatreya Ranade: Remembering an Eminent Philosopher—Mystic of Modern India—Part-I*		12
NIRF India Rankings: Some Revealing Facts about the State of Higher Education in India		18
Scientific Temper for Achieving Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions (SDG 16)		26
<b>Convocation Address</b>		
Bharathiar University, Coimbatore		35
<b>Campus News</b>		
AIU News		40
<b>Book Review</b>		
The Transformative Vision		42
<b>Theses of the Month (Science &amp; Technology)</b>		
Advertisement		50

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## Renaissance of *Bhartiya Bhasha*: Reviving India's Linguistic Heritage

Smita Rao Deshmukh\*

The idea of a *Renaissance* for *Bhartiya Bhasha* (Indian languages) is not just a call to revive ancient tongues but a broader, more profound movement aimed at reestablishing Indian languages as a cornerstone of culture, identity, and intellectual growth in the modern world. As India continues to emerge as a global economic and cultural force, its linguistic heritage—spanning over 1,600 languages—holds the key to understanding the nation's historical contributions to human civilization, its rich traditions, and its future potential.

To foster the renaissance of *Bhartiya Bhasha*, we must acknowledge the central role that language plays in shaping culture, thought, and identity. Each Indian language carries within it centuries of wisdom, philosophies, scientific discoveries, and artistic expressions that transcend geographical and temporal boundaries. The *Bhāratīya* linguistic tradition, from the ancient Sanskrit texts to the regional literatures in Tamil, Bengali, Kannada, and Marathi, forms a rich repository that connects generations, informs social values, and shapes contemporary discourse.

However, the path to reviving these languages is not solely about preserving relics of the past—it's about empowering these languages to adapt to the digital age, thrive in educational systems, flourish in global communication, and maintain their relevance in an interconnected world. This renaissance must be built on the pillars of education, technology, cultural engagement, and policy advocacy.

This article explores the significance of *Bhartiya Bhasha* in today's context — why it matters, how it shapes our collective consciousness, and how we can ensure its preservation for future generations.

### Key Steps Towards the Renaissance

#### Educational Integration

The future of *Bhartiya Bhasha* lies in its inclusion in formal education—both in India and globally. By promoting multilingualism and offering Indian language programs in schools and universities, we can ensure that these languages are not only preserved but actively used by future generations.

#### Technological Empowerment

The digital age offers unprecedented opportunities for Indian languages to flourish. By developing digital platforms, AI tools, and

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 Universities

In This Issue

ITEMS	PAGE
<b>Articles</b>	
Liberating Faculty from Traditional Roles in the Age of FLEXPHER Learning: A Blueprint for New Age Education	3
Issues and Challenges in Internationalisation of Higher Education with Special Reference to University Cluster Pilot Study	8
Gurudev Ramachandra Dattatreya Ranade: Remembering an Eminent Philosopher-Mystic of Modern India—Part-II*	13
Artificial Intelligence and Human Interactions: Present and Future Prospects in Indian Higher Education	21
<b>Convocation Address</b>	
National Academy of Medical Sciences (India)	29
<b>Campus News</b>	33
<b>AIU News</b>	36
<b>Theses of the Month (Science &amp; Technology)</b>	39
<b>Advertisement</b>	44

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## Liberating Faculty from Traditional Roles in the Age of FLEXPHER Learning: A Blueprint for New Age Education

Neeraj Saxena\*

The landscape of higher education is undergoing profound shifts, driven by rapid technological advancements, evolving societal needs, and the demand for a workforce equipped with 21st-century skills. These changes necessitate a rethinking of faculty roles and responsibilities, moving away from traditional instructional models toward more dynamic, learner-centric approaches. This transformation became a formalized pursuit in India with the announcement of the National Education Policy (NEP) 2020, which marked a paradigm shift in the nation’s educational philosophy, emphasizing learner-centred, flexible, and experiential learning frameworks.

Hon’ble Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi, while introducing NEP 2020, outlined a new “mantra” for Indian education—*Engage, Explore, Experience, Express, and Excel*—which advocates a progressive learning model focused on creating active and empowered learners rather than passive recipients of information. This approach meant to liberate faculty from conventional teaching constraints, aligns with India’s vision of Viksit Bharat 2047, an aspirational roadmap to prepare India’s youth as global citizens ready to contribute to a developed India by the 100th year of independence.

Within this broader transformation, the (FLE)Xible, EXperiential, and PERsonalized (FLEXPHER) Learning model emerges as a critical framework. FLEXPHER, by design, liberates faculty from outdated roles, adopting heutagogy—a learner-determined approach that values self-directed, experiential, and affective learning over rigid, standardized instruction. The model echoes the Gurukul system of ancient India, which placed the learner at the centre and viewed the teacher as a mentor, guiding students in discovering and cultivating their potential. In this contemporary adaptation, faculty transition from mere transmitters of information to facilitators of inquiry, guides, and co-learners in problem-solving and reflective thinking processes.

The FLEXPHER model underscores that transformation in higher education is not merely about adopting technological tools or flexible teaching methods. Rather, it involves a complete overhaul of how education is structured for *adult learners*, recognizing that their learning needs differ fundamentally from those of children or adolescents. Unlike younger students, who often thrive through structured exploration and memorization, adults bring with them a wealth of life experiences, self-motivation, and well-defined perspectives. Consequently, adult learners are better suited for experiential learning approaches that mirror real-world problem-solving scenarios. A heutagogical model acknowledges this distinction by focusing on fostering self-directed inquiry, reflective

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A Weekly Journal of Higher Education  
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In This Issue		PAGE
ITEMS		
<b>Articles</b>		
NIRF Perception Score: A Storm in a Teacup?		3
Decoding Multidisciplinary Education: A Comprehensive Analysis		6
Inclusive Education in Jammu and Kashmir: A Study on Infrastructure, Policies, and Teacher Preparedness		13
A Comparative Analysis of the Collection and Services Offered by NCERT Regional Center Libraries		17
<b>Convocation Address</b>		
Dayalbagh Educational Institute (Deemed-to-be-University) Dayalbagh, Agra		28
<b>Campus News</b>		
		30
<b>Theses of the Month (Social Sciences)</b>		
		35
<b>Advertisement</b>		
		40

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## NIRF Perception Score: A Storm in a Teacup?

M Bhaskara Rao\*

*Where is the wisdom we have lost in knowledge?  
 Where is the knowledge we have lost in information?*

-T.S. Eliot, The Rock (1934)

Academicians, administrators, policy-makers, regulators, researchers, journalists, and others have a paradoxical relationship with rankings. Rankings are good as they are informative and objective. Rankings are bad as they are biased and subjective. Worse, sometimes rankings are alleged to be rigged, managed, or manipulated. The foundation for rankings, as is known, is comparisons. Institutions would like to compare themselves with peers to determine who is good at teaching-learning, research, student outcomes, inclusivity, sustainable practices, and perception or reputation. Deep down, our passion for ranking is driven by our love for comparisons. Thus, whether we like rankings or not, they are here to stay. Yet, we fear rankings. Question their objectivity. Question their meaning – whether it reflects an institution’s real standing, values, and achievements.

After the announcement of India Rankings 2024, a storm is brewing in a teacup on perception scores. Criticism is pouring on perception scores, and some are even casting aspersions on NIRF about the perception scores’ veracity, transparency, and objectivity. NIRF has relatively less weightage for perception or reputation scores, i.e., 10 per cent. This is against 45 per cent in the QS World University Rankings for Academic and Employer reputation scores and the Times Higher Education World University Rankings 33 per cent. The process followed by NIRF is as transparent as that of the QS and the THE. The weightage for perception score in NIRF is thus far lower than that of international ranking agencies. Thus, the criticism of the NIRF perception score by various stakeholders may not be entirely justified.

Then, why is this storm in a teacup?

Peer perception scores are inherently subjective. They can vary widely based on individual biases, bounded rationality of the respondents, limited information, or personal experiences rather than objective quality measures. Perception as a metric may not accurately reflect true academic or institutional excellence, as it can be influenced by factors unrelated to educational quality, such as visibility or historical reputation. Nevertheless, it indicates the reputation enjoyed by the institution among academics and employers. Hence, a reputation or perception score as a part of the institution’s ranking is welcome despite its subjectivity and variability.

Although peer perception is a component of the NIRF rankings, its relative weight compared to other factors like teaching (30%),

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In This Issue

ITEMS	PAGE
<b>Articles</b>	
From the President's Desk	3
Setting the Tone for AIU West Zone Vice Chancellors' Meet-2024-25 on Leadership and Governance in Higher Education	4
D Y Patil University (Deemed-to-be University) Navi Mumbai: A Profile	8
Governance Reforms in Higher Education @NEP-2020	13
Leadership and Communication Skills	18
Importance of Life Skills and Leadership Courses for Engineers	20
Facilitation of Rural Health Care at the Doorsteps by Focusing on India-centric IPR Innovations: A Tribute to Atmanirbhar Bharat Abhiyan	29
Global Citizenship in Higher Education: Preparing Students for Leadership and Social Responsibility in a Connected World	35
Harmonising Democracy: Exploring the Feasibility and Implications of One Nation One Election in India	39
One Nation One Subscription	52
Corporate Governance and University Governance: A Review	60
<b>Convocation Address</b>	
Nirma University, Ahmedabad	65
<b>Campus News</b>	68
<b>Theses of the Month (Humanities)</b>	72
<b>Advertisement</b>	75

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	Inland		Foreign	
	Institutions	Academics/ Students	Airmail	Surface Mail
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**From the President's Desk**

Vinay Kumar Pathak\*

I am delighted to extend a warm welcome to all the esteemed Vice Chancellors and distinguished participants attending the AIU West Zone Vice Chancellors' Meet-2024-25 on the theme 'Leadership and Governance in Higher Education', to be held at DY Patil University (Deemed-to-be University), Navi Mumbai during December 20-21, 2024. This pivotal gathering is an opportunity for us to engage in meaningful dialogue, share best practices, and collectively explore the challenges and opportunities that shape the landscape of higher education today. As leaders in the education fraternity, our roles extend beyond administrative functions; we are custodians of academic excellence and catalysts for innovative changes.

The main theme of this West Zone Vice Chancellor's Meet, 'Leadership and Governance in Higher Education' is particularly pertinent, as it underscores the critical importance of visionary leadership and robust governance in navigating the complexities of our educational institutions. Through effective leadership, we can foster an environment conducive to learning, research, and community engagement, ensuring that our universities not only meet but exceed global standards. Additionally, the meeting will include technical sessions on the following subthemes:

- Role of Leadership in Promoting Innovations and Ranking in HEIs.
- Autonomy and Accountability in HEIs.
- Leadership and E-Governance.

As part of this zonal meet, AIU has introduced round table discussions and will feature the following parallel round table discussions:

- Stakeholder Engagement: Balancing Expectations for Sustainable Growth.
- Future Ready Campuses for Next Generation Learning: Infrastructure, Training, and Technology.
- Role of Technology in Teaching, Learning, Assessment, and Healthcare.
- AI in Academia: Revolutionizing Research, Learning, and Governance.

I am confident that the discussions and deliberations at this meet will inspire new ideas, forge stronger collaborations, and pave the way for actionable strategies that will benefit our institutions and the broader academic community. Let us seize this opportunity to reflect on our collective experiences, reimagine the future of higher education, and reaffirm our commitment to excellence.

I extend my heartfelt gratitude to D Y Patil University for hosting this significant event and to all the participants for their valuable contributions. Together, we can shape a brighter future for higher education in India and beyond. □

\*President, Association of Indian Universities, New Delhi and Vice Chancellor, Chhatrapati Shahu Ji Maharaj University, Kanpur-208024(Uttar Pradesh). E-mail: president@aiu.ac.in

## VANYAJATI

JULY 2024

Vol. LXXII	JULY 2024	No. 3
<b>Office Bearers</b>		
<b>President</b> Shri N. C. Hembram	1. Bhagwan Birsa Munda (1875-1900) and his Ulgulan tracing features of the pioneer work on Birsa Munda and his movement	
<b>Vice-President</b> Shri Bal Vijayji Shri Nahar Singh Wakhla Padamshri Tulsi Munda	* Dr. Dinesh Narayan Verma (Retd. Prof.)	4
<b>Chief Advisor</b> VACANT	2. Environment Development through control of Shifting Cultivation : A case study of Koraput Region of Odisha	
<b>Advisor</b> Shri C.S. Batra Dr. Professor A.B. Otta, IAS (R)	*Dr. Narendra Kumar Ratth	11
<b>Treasurer</b> Smt. Ilaben Desai	3. Changing Livelihood Patterns of Tribal communities: An analytical study	
<b>General Secretary</b> Shri A. K. Chaubey	*Dr. Jayanta Kumar Behera	26
<b>Secretaries</b> Shri R. K. Malviya, Dr. R.M. Kuberappa, Shri Surendra Singh Chouhan	4. आदिम जनजातियों में राजनीतिक नेता के निर्माण की समस्याएँ * प्रविण भीमराव शेंद्रे	36
<b>Office Secretary</b> Shri Ravi Kant Jha	5. भतरा आदिवासी के लोक-परम्पराओं में औद्योगिकीकरण का प्रभाव : एक मानवशास्त्रीय अध्ययन * डॉ० स्वपन कुमार कोले ** डॉ० रामचंद्र साहू	39
<b>P.R.O.</b> Shri Anil Sharma	6. कपरिया * डॉ० राजेश कुमार पाल ** कुमार यशवन्त	51
<b>Editorial Board</b> Shri N. C. Hembram, Dr. Ramesh Chandra, Dr. S. S. Shashi, Dr. S. K. Naik	7. 'मरंग गोड़ा नीलकंठ हुआ' 'उपन्यास' एक मील का पत्थर है!? * डॉ० बोंद्यालु बानोथ	54

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SUBSCRIPTION-RELATED DETAILS : Page 53

## IN THIS ISSUE

6 REAPING INDIA'S  
DEMOGRAPHIC DIVIDEND

Suman Bery

11 VISION AND ROADMAP FOR  
SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY

Abhay Karandikar

17 INDIA'S EMERGENCE AS A HUB OF  
KNOWLEDGE AND TECHNOLOGY

Dr VK Saraswat

23 ROADMAP FOR INDIA'S  
GEOPOLITICAL RECALIBRATION

Subjan Chinoy

## 54 MILESTONES &amp; INITIATIVES IN SCIENCE &amp; TECHNOLOGY

Dr Nimish Kapoor

28 2024 : THE YEAR OF INDIA'S  
STRATEGIC EMERGENCE

Dr Ramanand Garge

34 INDIA'S MISSION-MODE APPROACH  
AGAINST SICKLE CELL DISEASE

Dr Manisha Verma

41 MAKING INDIAN AGRICULTURE  
FUTURE-READY

Dr Jagdeep Saxena

46 GOVERNMENT INITIATIVES IN  
CLIMATE CHANGE: SUSTAINABLE  
PATH FOR VIKSIT BHARAT@2047

Prof Roli Misra



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Details of the Sales Outlets of the Publications Division on Page 22

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[Back to Content](#)

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**CONTENTS**

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<b>Editorial</b>	<b>07</b>
<b>Swami Vivekananda - The Sculptor Par Excellence</b>	
Dr. M. Lakshmi Kumari	<b>12</b>
<b>Bhagavad Gita Phrases In Mottos</b>	
Madhav Joshi	<b>16</b>
<b>Jnana Yoga-Maya</b>	
N. Krishnamoorti	<b>21</b>
<b>Kumbhamela- A Festival, Beyond Time</b>	
N. Krishnamoorti	<b>28</b>
<b>Blaming the blameless; shielding the culprits -II</b>	
Manoj Shankar Naik	<b>33</b>

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