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June, 2025

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गांधी दर्शन अंतिम जन

वर्ष-7, अंक: 11, संख्या-61
अप्रैल 2025

संरक्षक

विजय गोयल

उपाध्यक्ष, गांधी स्मृति एवं दर्शन समिति

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पल्लवी प्रशांत होळकर

सम्पादक

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पंकज चौबे

परामर्श

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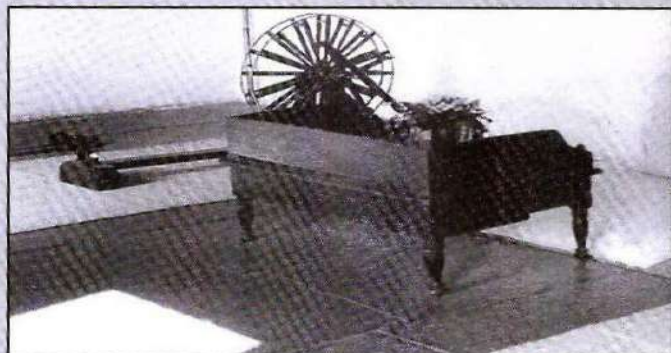
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गांधी स्मृति एवं दर्शन समिति, राजघाट,
नई दिल्ली-110002, की ओर से मुद्रित एवं प्रकाशित।
लेखकों द्वारा उनकी रचनाओं में प्रस्तुत विचार एवं
दृष्टिकोण उनके अपने हैं, गांधी स्मृति एवं दर्शन
समिति, राजघाट, नई दिल्ली के नहीं।
समस्त मामले दिल्ली न्यायालय में ही विचाराधीन।

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पोहोजा प्रिंट सोल्यूशंस प्रा. लि., दिल्ली - 110092



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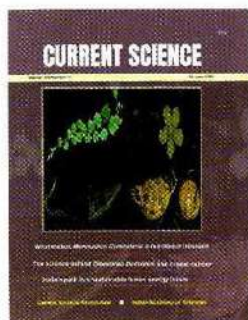
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মূল্য: পঁয়ত্রিশ টাকা

সম্পাদক জয়শ্রী রায়

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থেকে প্রকাশিত এবং আনন্দ অফসেট প্রাঃ লিঃ সিপি-৪, সেক্টর ফাইভ, সল্ট লেক সিটি,
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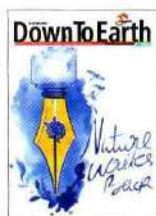
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- 14 Trump's tariffs have violated the World Trade Organization rule book in multiple ways, such that going back to the WTO disciplines now will be difficult. — *KN Harilal*

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- 19 A comparative legal analysis of panchayat delimitation frameworks highlights the structural inadequacies hindering democratic representation at the grassroots. — *Mayuri Gupta, Nivedhitha K*

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- 23 This article contextualises the farm laws and the subsequent protests, alongside the recommendations of the National Commission on Farmers' Report 2006. — *Sanjay V Deshmukh*

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- 32 Taking a closer look at the condition of Muslim women in Assam, this article tries to locate how they are often relegated to the private sphere in the politico-legal discourse of citizenship. — *Parvin Sultana*

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- 38 Seven papers on the themes of monetary policy, financial inclusion, financial stability, and markets. — *Partha Ray*

Managing the Impossible Trinity

- 39 In delivering on their inflation target, economies confront the challenge of the impossible trinity—the difficulty of conducting an independent monetary policy while maintaining an open capital account and a fixed exchange rate. — *Duvvuri Subbarao*

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- 49 This paper attempts to test the New Keynesian macroeconomic framework empirically and present a Kaleckian alternative, both empirically and theoretically, which is more suited to developing economies such as India, where structural constraints play a key role. — *Rohit Azad, Indranil Chowdhury*

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- 63 The process of financial inclusion in India is examined, arguing that the current drive for universalising and digitalising access to finance reflects a blend of the "activist" and "modernist" approaches. — *Pallavi Chavan*

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- 73 This paper examines the nexus between consolidation and financial stability in the context of a series of restructuring mergers. Employing a system-GMM two-stage panel regression model and a bias-corrected random effect model, it concludes that mergers increase financial fragility. — *Tasneem Chherawala, Gargi Sanati*

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- 91 Indian NBFCs are more susceptible to tail events in the given political economic set-up and should be encouraged to build up macroprudential reserves as the countercyclical buffer against downside risks. — *Rupa Rege Nitsure*

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- 99 Using both event study and differences-in-differences methodologies, the paper identifies that the adoption of a T+0 settlement cycle has not had a significant impact on either price efficiency or market liquidity in Indian markets. — *Sashi Krishnan, Mohd Merajuddin Inamdar & Mohammed Reyhan Kalim*

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Extending the POSH Act to Political Parties

- 10 The relevance of the plea filed in the Supreme Court on the question of bringing political parties under the ambit of the Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act, 2013 is discussed. —*Shreya K Sugathan*

Consumption and Investment Expenditures in Growth

- 14 An investment-led growth strategy is the best choice and government expenditure still holds the key for stabilisation or short-term stimulation. —*C Rangarajan, D K Srivastava*

Uniform Civil Code and Individual Freedom

- 17 With the implementation of a uniform civil code in Uttarakhand, there is a new trend in legal reform that pushes an ideology of paternalism. —*Qudsiya Contractor*

The Tamil Nadu Verdict

- 19 The Supreme Court's judgment in the *State of Tamil Nadu v the Governor of Tamil Nadu* (2025) raises critical constitutional questions that go beyond the conduct of the governor. —*Shruti Bedi, Ashutosh Kumar*

COVID-19 and Reverse Migration

- 23 Many migrant workers undertook reverse migration during COVID-19 lockdowns. Family support, rural social institutions and government programmes were important for reverse migrants. —*Piyush Tiwari, Saumen Majumdar*

India's Offshore Wind Energy Policy

- 26 India's National Offshore Wind Energy Policy 2015 is evaluated, highlighting its role in advancing renewable energy as part of the National Action Plan on Climate Change. —*Nirmal John*

The Middle Class in India

- 36 This article uses consumption as an indicator based on purchasing power parity to identify the middle class. Further, it categorises the middle class into different groups based on their economic standing within its class, from the emerging middle class to the higher middle class. —*Shivani Giri, S Subramanian*

Labour Market Inequality

- 44 The evolution of labour market inequality in India is examined from 1987–88 to 2021–22, using a multi-tiered approach to labour markets, differentiating between self-employment and wage employment and between formal, upper-tier and lower-tier informal jobs. —*Kunal Sen*

Strategies in India's Technological Self-reliance

- 52 India's drive for technological self-reliance has shaped its development since the five-year plans began. This paper examines the evolution of this agenda through three key policy areas: patent policy, R&D tax incentives, and human resource development in science and technology. —*Sunil Mani*

Ritual Politics and Political Movements

- 62 The dominant perspective has reinforced the notion of ritual as static and conservative, making it easy for authoritative institutions to manipulate. However, a different view recognises the potential of ritual for change and transformation, particularly in political contexts and protest movements. —*Rajkumar Jackson Singh*

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- 71 *Ayushi Singhal* on listening to the litigant; *Rajat Sebastian* and *Subhangi Mukherjee* on Instagram-worthy desserts and Bengaluru's cultural identity; *Aratrika Bhadra* on Hang Kang's *Human Acts*; and Last Lines by *Ponnappa*.

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Evidence from Maharashtra's Ladki Bahin Scheme

- 10 Despite its goals, the Ladki Bahin scheme has faced criticism for offering only temporary relief, neglecting structural challenges, and being fiscally unsustainable. — *Lalitagauri Kulkarni, Anjali Radkar*

Preferential Trade Agreements

- 14 Preferential trade agreements are a prevailing characteristic of the international trading landscape. This article argues that PTAs are building blocks for the multilateral trading regime. — *Anisha Buragohain*

Public Opinion of the Partition

- 17 Muslims in the United Provinces assembly elections of 1946 did not vote overwhelmingly for the Muslim League, which was spearheading the movement for the creation of Pakistan. — *Anil Maheshwari*

Cultural Politics of the Anglo-Indian Identity

- 21 Distanced from the "invisible" male feringhee in her patrilineage, the author turns inward to unpack the maternal, regionally rooted traits of the Anglo-Indian identity. — *Maria Anne Fitzgerald*

Union Budget and India's Quest for Inclusive Cities

- 25 While the increased allocation for urban transformation appears promising, this article critically examines its effectiveness in building inclusive cities. — *Soumyadip Chattopadhyay, Arjun Kumar*

Whose Dance Is It Anyway?

- 35 A casteist remark by a Kerala-based Mohiniyattam performer sparked public outrage in Kerala. In light of this controversy, this article attempts to trace the development of Mohiniyattam, showcasing its evolution from a stigmatised tradition to a classical dance form of Kerala. — *Sreebitha P V*

Social Sector Convergence for Inclusive Urbanisation

- 41 A survey of slums in four different-sized cities in Telangana reveals the need to integrate bottom-up approaches in schemes that are currently top-down. Non-economic factors are critically important for urban poverty reduction. Urban poverty must be thought of differently from rural poverty. — *Alok Kumar Mishra, Iti Vyas*

Trade Integration in South and Southeast Asia

- 49 The possibility of deeper trade integration among South Asian and Southeast Asian nations is examined using a general equilibrium analysis. By relaxing the full employment assumption in the standard global trade analysis project model, the possibility of meaningful regional welfare gains through trade integration is explored. — *Mustajab Khatir, Archana Srivastava*

Pastoral Economics, Policies and Ecologies

- 57 The ecological, economic, and policy challenges facing pastoralism and grassland ecosystems in India, particularly in the context of climate change and evolving land-use pressures, are critically examined. Drawing upon a global literature, the paper contextualises Indian pastoralism and its grassland dynamics, highlighting the ecological factors shaping pastoralism across the country. — *Aniruddh Sheth, Mayank Kohli, Jayashree Ratnam, Vasant Saberwal & Mahesh Sankaran*

A Tale of Two Sub-plans

- 66 The Scheduled Caste Sub Plan and Tribal Sub Plan have achieved limited success towards fulfilling their objectives due to underallocation of funds, diversion of SCSP and TSP funds towards general and notional schemes, and underutilisation of SCSP-TSP allocations. — *Akhil Alha, Savita Garwa*

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- 10 A caste census could have other ramifications from a constitutional perspective that have not yet been fully explored or understood, including a change in the very conception of the phrase "socially and educationally backward."
— *Alok Prasanna Kumar*

Will the King Reclaim His Throne in Nepal?

- 13 While media outlets framed recent demonstrations in Nepal as a sign of growing public frustration with the post-monarchy political set-up, they were not genuine calls for the restoration of monarchy. — *Gaurav Bhattarai*

Burial Mounds as a World Heritage Site

- 16 The *moidams* of Charaideo, the royal burial mounds of the Ahom dynasty (13th–19th centuries), represent a distinctive funerary tradition in Assam. The article traces their history, architectural and cultural symbolism, and recent global recognition. — *Ritika Sahu*

Horizontal Distribution of Federal Transfers

- 19 Investigating the nature of the population criterion used by successive finance commissions, this article argues that the assignment of equal weightage to active and inactive populations in a state increases horizontal fiscal imbalance. — *Pareswar Sahu*

CBAM and Steel Decarbonisation in India

- 30 The extent to which the carbon border adjustment mechanism may induce enhanced decarbonisation on the big steel players would depend on how they are positioned and what strategy they adopt. — *Kaushik Ranjan Bandyopadhyay, Kasturi Das*

Technological Competition and the World Order

- 113 Acknowledging that competition and monopolisation dominate technological development in global capitalist history, the necessity of cooperation in meeting contemporary global challenges and staving off new forms of devastating warfare are underscored. — *Dev Nathan, Rahul S*

India's Maritime Challenges in the Era of Climate Change

- 122 The impacts of climate change on India's maritime industries include significant disruptions in fisheries, especially in the north-west zone. The shipping industry is significantly affected by extreme weather events. Additionally, maritime infrastructure is increasingly vulnerable to sea-level rise, storm surges, and coastal erosions. — *Prasanta Moharaj*

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- 131 Examining the relationship between income inequality and economic growth across different countries from 1991 to 2022, it is found that a positive and significant relationship between income inequality and growth exists overall. However, an opposite relationship is observed for high- and low-middle-income countries. — *Priyanka Muchahary, Manish Kumar Sharma*

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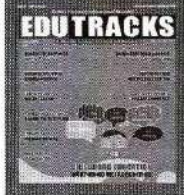
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आवरण : यह रंगों की छटा नहीं, न आग की लपटें हैं; यह पत्थरों का वह संगीत है जो कोई 225 मिलियन (22.5 करोड़) वर्ष पहले रहस्यमयी प्रकृति ने रचा. अमरीका के नेवाडा शहर के पूर्वी छोर से पत्थरों का यह बहुरंगी संसार शुरू होता है— ग्रैंड कैनियन; जो तब के जंगलों, वृक्षों के फॉसिल्स को अनोखा रूपाकार देता है. हमारी सुपरिचित लेखिका प्रेरणाजी ने हाल-फिलहाल के अमरीका प्रवास के दिनों में यह फोटो खींचा. हमें लगा कि धर्मों के संगठन की सारी परिकल्पना भी फॉसिल्स में बदलती जा रही है जिसने मेरे मरहूम दोस्त निदा फाजली को यह लिखने पर मजबूर किया : तुम्हारी इबादत, तुम्हारा खुदा, तुम जानो/ हमें पक्का यकीन है ये कतई इस्लाम नहीं है. आवरण सज्जा हमेशा की तरह कीर्ति ने की है.

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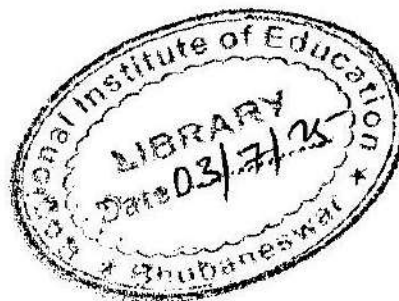
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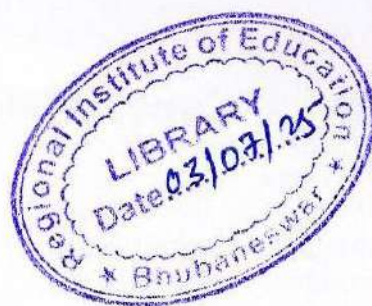
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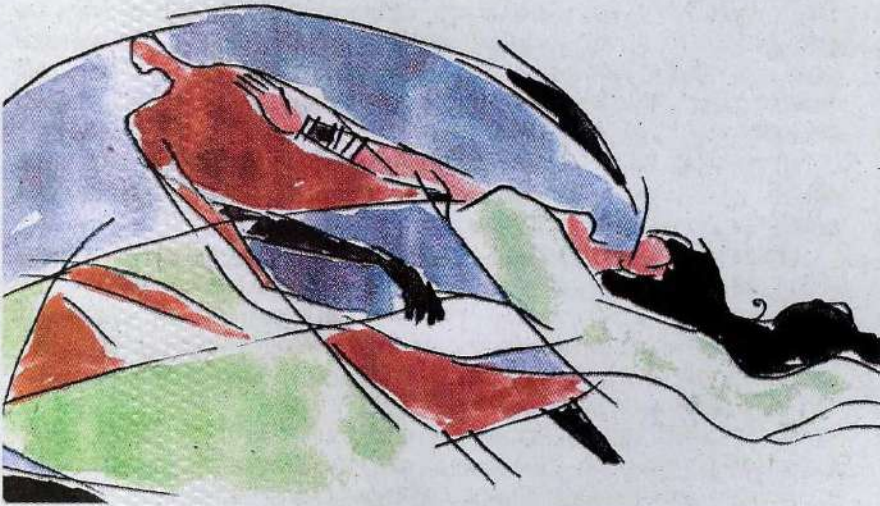
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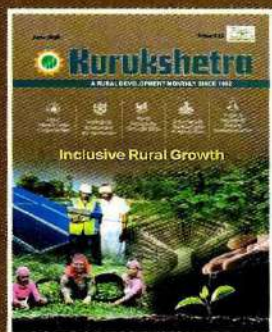
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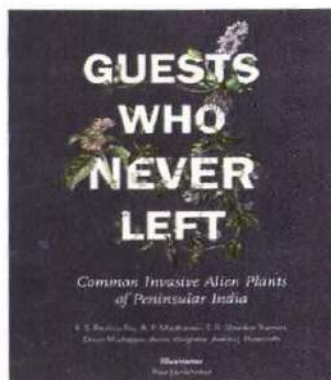
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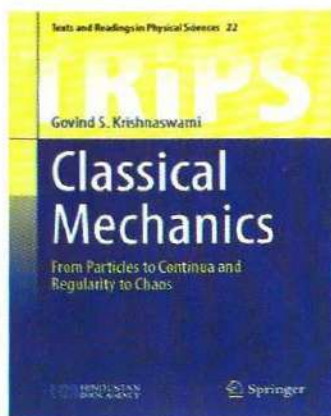
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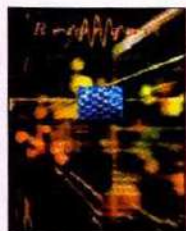
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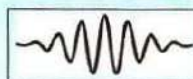
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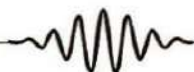
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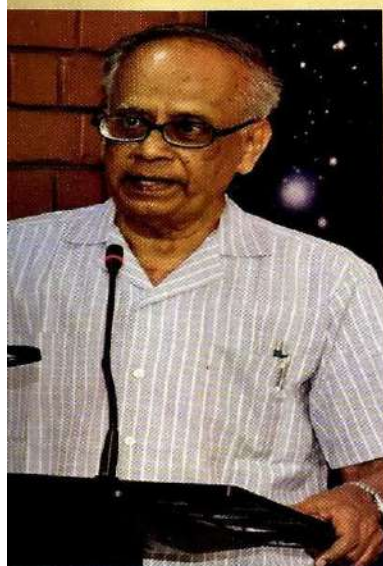
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A Critical Review of the Binary Accreditation System by NAAC

Karunesh Saxena*, Mukesh K Sharma** and Neha Sabharwal***

"Plants are shaped by cultivation and men by education"

-Jean-Jacques Rousseau

Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) are key players in promoting academic development, knowledge advancement, and preparing people to contribute meaningfully to society. These education institutions include universities, colleges, and specialized professional schools, are important centers for teaching, research, and community engagement. Their effectiveness and integrity are often related to their adherence to rigorous standards, which are evaluated and certified through accreditation processes.

However, the assessment of particular academic and administrative elements, accreditation guarantees the caliber of academic performance by HEIs. Accreditation agencies evaluate the effectiveness of the institution's governance, faculty, facilities, and programs before awarding HEIs a certificate based on their performance. For the public's assurance, accreditation systems are made up of both internal and external assessors who make sure that pertinent standards and criteria are being followed. For about forty years, the ISO 9000 family of standards has been used to standardize industrial processes (Misal, 2023). Most significantly, accreditation fosters a culture of ongoing development in which educational institutions improve their research output, community service initiatives, and teaching strategies on a regular basis.

The foundation of quality control in higher education is accreditation. While some nations have opted for binary accreditation, others have opted a 7-point grading scheme. The article examines the benefits and drawbacks of using data from Indian higher education where the universities and colleges that are functional have NAAC accreditation. This article also analyzes how these frameworks affect the institution's operations, its policies, and the trust of the public

The significance of accreditation is multifarious. It assures the worth of an institution to all parties involved, including parents, employers, students, and legislators. Additionally, it forces organizations to meet the highest standards in the world and make constant improvements. It serves as a way for the government and monitoring organizations to guarantee responsibility and appropriate financial distribution.

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India's *Arthashastra* Vs Economics of the West: A Recourse for Sustainability[#]

A D N Bajpai*

In the literature of Economics, we generally discuss about Indian Economics and within Indian Economics, we simply focus upon Indian economy, its structure, features and related parameters implying that the applied side of economics dominates. Moreover, it is presumed that everything on Indian soil will be Indian, may be individual, subject matter, thought, etc.

However, to be credited as Indian, some conditions are to be fulfilled viz it must belong to India; it must originate from Indian ethos, value system, culture, behavioral pattern, etc., it must respect Indian heritage, worship places, scriptures, legacy, etc. It must try to connect the individual with the society-- society with the universe -- and universe with the divinity. There should be three main conditions essentially associated with India when we attribute Indianness to any ideology namely eternality, universality and all-inclusiveness. In this paper, it has been attempted to compare present day economics which is predominated by western philosophy with India's economics which is universal, natural and sustainable.

Colonial Mind Set of Economics¹

There is a complete contrast between western and Indian view of Economics. The Western Economics is dominating the world economics, including India. When the modern education system was being induced in India by the British, there was no option but to opt their model and behavioural patterns.² After achieving Independence, India could have opted for her own indigenous path of studying, researching, focusing, prognosticating, recommending and finally implementing her own age - old, time - tested economic behaviour. But India could not, may be due to many internal and external pressures. With the passage of time, western academics as well as behaviour, both kept on strengthening their roots in Indian soil and now everybody is under the clutches of the western cult, both psychologically as well as physically. This is generally termed as *colonial mind - set*.³ More dangerous thought which has overshadowed the minds of the policy makers, premiers and intellectuals of the world that the 'western models' maybe the academic or practical are the panacea for solving the problems. It means, there is no other way.⁴ Most of the countries have surrendered totally to this 'narrative'.

Here there is a humble attempt to analyse the fact, and print a comparative picture, how western models are limited in nature,

[#]The article is extracted by the Author from his Presidential Address delivered at Gujarat Economic Association organised by Kachh University, Bhuj, Gujarat, 21st -23rd February 2025.

*Professor of Economics, Vice-Chancellor, Atal Bihari Vajpayee University, Bilaspur Chhattisgarh, 495009, bajpaiadn9@gmail.com.

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Educational Programmes Audit for Effective Implementation of National Education Policy—2020

B L Gupta*

The educational programmes are the building blocks of quality education at the department and institute levels. The students graduate from educational programmes. The educational programmes of the same department may have varying degrees of quality because of many factors such as the entry level of students, the competence of faculty members, the industry connect of the programme, the availability of research labs and the employability opportunities for graduates. Students spend most of their time during graduation participating in programme learning activities. Therefore, an academic audit is conducted at the programme level, which is helpful for continuously improving the quality of education and internal and external comparison of programme performance.

The educational programmes are designed using the principles of quality by design and not by chance, quality is the responsibility of all internal and external stakeholders, continuous improvement in the quality of education with time and experience, focus on quality assurance on a sustained basis and value addition through educational innovation and the use digital technology.

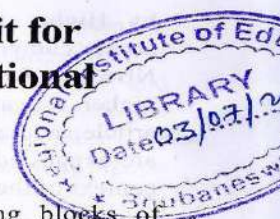
The National Education Policy (NEP) 2020 has introduced a paradigm shift in education, removing obsolete education concepts. NEP-2020 has taken the roots from ancient Indian culture and aspires to satisfy the twenty-first-century requirements using the principles of designing and implementing educational programmes in higher education.

The NEP-2020 and follow-up documents issued by the Ministry of Education (MoE), University Grants Commission (UGC), All India Council for Technical Education (AICTE), National Assessment and Accreditation Council (NAAC) and National Board of Accreditation (NBA) introduced the innovative concepts and principles of designing and offering educational programmes across the disciplines, institutions, and county.

Educational programme is a holistic educational experience for learners to develop intended learning outcomes at graduation. The educational programme is a scientifically designed framework of courses following the provisions of NEP-2020 and guidelines issued by statutory bodies for assuring the quality of education. As O'Neill (2015) described, the programme is a series of learning units that lead to a qualification.

The NEP-2020 has been implemented for the last four years. Now is the right time to audit the educational programmes offered

*Professor, Education Management, Department of Management Education, NITTTR, Shamla Hills, Bhopal- 462002. E-mail: badrilalgupta72@gmail.com

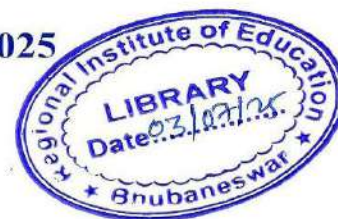


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Rig Veda

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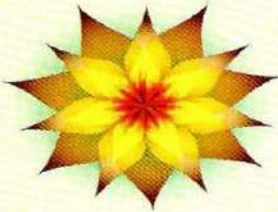
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