



THE EDITORIAL PAGE

WORDLY WISE

THE MOST IMPORTANT THING IN THE OLYMPIC GAMES IS NOT WINNING BUT TAKING PART.

— PIERRE DE COUBERTIN

The Indian EXPRESS

FOUNDED BY

RAMNATH GOENKA

BECAUSE THE TRUTH INVOLVES US ALL

Mending fences

Goodwill amongst Assam, Mizoram, all Northeast states, holds key to Act East Policy



SANJOY HAZARIKA

THE RISING FLAME

Tokyo 2021 busts many myths about Indian sports, points to the country's emergence as a sporting nation

AUGUST 7, 2021, Tokyo would be as much of a watershed moment for Indian Olympics sports lore as June 25, 1983, Lord's was for cricket. In its magnitude and potential influence, Neeraj Chopra's Olympic gold-medal-winning feat has only one parallel in the country's sporting heritage, the World Cup victory 38 years ago, a moment that changed India's sporting sensibilities. In a similar way, Chopra's accomplishment could alter perceptions of how Indians perceive athletes. This is a myth-busting gold medal, a testimony that Indian, or even Asian, athletes can not only match their European adversaries but also beat them, provided they get access to world-class facilities, top-draw coaching and unfettered support of the sporting fraternity. The unscientific assumption about Indians having inferior athletic DNA, something that undermines their medal-winning chances on the global stage, was hurled out the window and it landed 87.58 metres far. Chopra's gold would not only draw a clear route-map to global success but also banish the inferiority complex that Indian athletes carry to elite events. Athletics now has the momentum to jump in the sand pit of global competition and wrestle with the best.

Though India improved the London count by just one medal, the significance of that one medal cannot be overstated enough. Each of the medals they won was a statement of India's incremental rise as a sporting nation. It is foolhardy to expect India to match the US or China overnight, but the trajectory of the graph is constantly moving upwards. That those medals came in various streams is a further reason for optimism. In badminton and wrestling, it's time India is considered among the powerhouses; in weightlifting, there is a generational talent in Mirabai Chanu; in boxing, there is finally someone to look beyond Mary Kom. The revival of men's hockey would not have been better timed, the often-ignored women's hockey too blazed in promise. Shooting was an aberration — expect many of those who left in tears to bounce back stronger and hungrier. Overall, the Tokyo Games could leave a long-lasting influence on Indian sports.

The Olympics itself would be remembered as a metaphor of hope in the Covid-altered world. There were fears that the event would emerge as a super-spreader of the virus, it would see a stoppage and the competition wouldn't be top-notch. It has answered negatively to each of those doubts. With no runaway leader on the medals tally — just one gold separated the US and China — this was the most closely fought Games in recent times. Tokyo showed that with coaches seamlessly crossing borders and sporting knowhow spreading, the Olympic world was flattening. Top German coaches sitting in Chopra's corner as he left his Dresden-born arch-rival, Johannes Vetter, far behind was a frame that best captured the levelling of the playing field.

STANDING WITH KABUL

UNSC meet exposes duplicity of Taliban and Pakistan, who talk peace and pursue war at the same time

A SPECIAL MEETING of the United Nations Security Council on Afghanistan convened under India's presidency last Friday, did not produce a new international consensus on arresting the tragedy triggered by Taliban's military offensive with the full support of the Pakistan army. On Afghanistan, there is no unanimity among the five permanent members, which is critical for any consequential decisions by the world body. An ambitious China seeking to extend its regional footprint, and an opportunistic Russia that tags behind Beijing seem to support Pakistan's game plan to reinstall the Taliban in Kabul. Given its special ties to the Pakistan army, London tends to be wobbly on the Taliban. The US, which spent much blood and treasure in rebuilding Afghanistan after ousting the Taliban from power in 2001, has ceded much ground by deciding to withdraw all its troops in Afghanistan by the end of this month. In Europe (represented by France which has a permanent seat in the UNSC) too there is a decline in political support for a continued Western military intervention in Afghanistan.

Although the UNSC discussion may not have moved the political needle on Afghanistan, it has laid bare the depth of the crisis there and the duplicity of the Taliban and Pakistan that talk peace and pursue war at the same time. Addressing the UNSC, the head of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan, Deborah Lyons, pointed to the "dangerous turning point," in the nation. "Ahead lies", she added, "either a genuine peace negotiation or a tragically intertwined set of crises: An increasingly brutal conflict combined with an acute humanitarian situation and multiplying human rights abuses." That the Taliban could not have mounted the massive military operations on its own was the burden of the presentation by the Afghan envoy to the United Nations, Ghulam M Isaczi. He told the Council that more than 10,000 foreign fighters are in the country, including from a number of UN designated terror organisations, participating in the Taliban's military offensive. He also pointed to long-standing Taliban sanctuaries in Pakistan and Rawalpindi's massive logistical support for the Taliban's current military offensive in Afghanistan.

Although the world was optimistic about the peace talks in Doha ending the prolonged conflict in Afghanistan, the Taliban and Pakistan have merely used them to delay negotiations on devising a new political order in Afghanistan while stepping up their violent campaign to overthrow the legitimate government in Kabul. India must continue to stand with the people of Afghanistan, whose dreams for a peaceful future are being shattered. Delhi must continue to mobilise international opinion in all global forums as well as work with its close partners to mount pressure on Pakistan and the Taliban to stop fighting and start talking peace with Kabul.

FREEZE FRAME

E P UNNY



THE INITIAL STEPS have been taken in calming the roiling waters on the Assam-Mizoram border confrontation. First, the FIRs and cases which were filed against each other's leaders — involving both Assam Chief Minister Himanta Biswa Sarma and K Vanlalvena, Mizo National Front (MNF) MP — have been withdrawn. Cases against officials from both states have been dropped. While these should not have been initiated in the first place, stepping back in this manner is a good way to reduce the political and emotive temperatures, which were soaring on both sides.

A sharp war of words and aggressive social media posts on either side did not help. Indeed, an outsider may be excused, if after listening to, watching or reading the passionate, angry and even, in some cases, inflammatory remarks by either side, for being perplexed by these declarations — were they, s/he may well have wondered, by citizens of neighbouring states or opposing nations. Some have added fuel to the fire by casting aspersions on the citizenry of their brethren on the disputed border or referring inappropriately to a part of their own state. These need to be seen in the background of the extensive suffering faced by the region as a result of misunderstanding and ill will.

Second, the Assam chief minister's decision to send two ministerial emissaries from Assam to Aizawl is a good gesture to open dialogue and appears to have paid off initially. Both states have agreed to the deployment of neutral Central forces at the disputed stretches of the interstate border. Atul Bora, one of the ministers sent to Aizawl is from the Asom Gana Parishad (AGP) in the BJP-led coalition, and also party president. The significance of an AGP leader in the peace mission should not be underestimated. The AGP led a regional coalition in the 1980s and 1990s in the Northeast that emerged as an anti-Congress front. The MNF had been part of this process and has had good relations with the AGP from that time.

Part of the confidence-building measures

Communities at the border, stakeholders such as business leaders and transporters as well as civil society need to be involved in conversations and dialogue for sustainable settlements. Political leaders must set the pace and provide the platform. However, since both sides use different yardsticks of history and geography to negotiate, it is difficult to visualise a situation where either side will emerge as a clear winner. There will have to be give and take, count net gains against losses.

has been the welcome withdrawal of the Assam government's travel advisory which asked people not to travel to Mizoram and urged people from the state working or staying there to "exercise utmost caution".

There is a third element that has become a seemingly endemic part of political confrontation between states. These are the blockades that have closed roads and highways in Assam leading to Mizoram — and in the past few days to Tripura. This has happened repeatedly in confrontations between different states in the region such as Nagaland and Manipur and last year between Assam and Mizoram.

These crackling tensions go far beyond interstate border disputes and have regional, national and international repercussions. For one, they have adverse economic impacts which are felt most sharply at the local level, leading to a rise in prices and shortage of commodities. This is a time when Covid-19 cases continue to rise in all the states of the region, including Mizoram and Assam, and essential supplies cannot be blocked by public agitations.

The economic fallouts of such actions are felt down the entire supply chain, from producer to transporter and receiving customers/markets. National highways are the direct responsibility of the Centre and it must ensure that these economic veins remain clear for passenger and freight traffic.

In addition, images, especially of violence and confrontation, go "viral" without delay. They move from mobile to mobile, over social platforms, one group to the other, leaping across boundaries of state and nation. Among those who look at them are potential investors and policymakers, not just in Delhi but other state and national capitals. The adverse impacts of these can be considerable.

For decades, we must remember, the public image of the Northeast was shaped by conflict and confrontation, bands and violence. It had been shedding that image slowly and steadily, facing many hurdles, ag-

itations and risks. Sustainable peace continues to be elusive although flawed insurgencies have failed and fallen. There are new challenges such as border divides and sharpening sectarian tensions. Economic growth is visible as are continuing concerns. Lakhs of young people from the region, despite discrimination and pressures, have moved and made their lives in other parts of the country, engaging with the idea of India, before, during and after the waves of the pandemic.

That is why communities at the border, stakeholders such as business leaders and transporters as well as civil society need to be involved in conversations and dialogue for sustainable settlements. Political leaders must set the pace and provide the platform. However, since both sides use different yardsticks of history and geography to negotiate, it is difficult to visualise a situation where either side will emerge as a clear winner. There will have to be give and take, count net gains against losses. That is the practical side which politicians are best equipped to deliver. Herein lies the importance of the concept of a Development Corridor on the border that would have to be agreed to by both sides and guaranteed by the Centre. This could build on the natural advantages of the bordering states — vegetable, meat and fruit processing, handicrafts and designer handlooms to name just five — and create jobs, livelihoods and better incomes for people on the border and beyond, building an equitable supply chain.

A fundamental point needs to be underscored: The visionary Act East Policy and its predecessor Look East Policy rest on the pillars of peace and trust, not just better roads and physical infrastructure. They depend on good relationships between neighbours which enable economic cooperation, transport and trade not just cultural and social collaboration.

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ENDING POLICE BRUTALITY

Prompt action against errant personnel is a must to stop custodial torture



M P NATHANAEL

THE DEATH OF a fruit stall owner, 47-year-old A Murugesan, allegedly as a result of a brutal thrashing by a special sub-inspector of Tamil Nadu police in Vazhapadi in Salem district on June 22, has revived memories of Bennix and his father Jayaraj who died in custody last year in June in Thoothukudi. While two other policemen stood watching the gory scene, Murugesan's friends pleaded for him to be spared but to no avail.

An army man Resham Singh was brutally tortured while his mother and two sisters in Pilibhit, UP, were humiliated on May 3, drawing the Allahabad High Court's ire. Two sub-inspectors and six constables were booked, and the station house officer sent to lines. Singh's medical report confirmed injuries due to brutal torture.

On May 21, an 18-year-old vegetable vendor Faisal Hussain was allegedly beaten to death in Bangarmau police station in UP's Unnao district for violation of Covid-19 directives. Though the market in the town was open, Hussain was beaten up and taken to a police station from where he was shifted to a hospital. He was declared dead on arrival. The post-mortem report attributed his death to head injuries. Two police constables and a home guard have been charged with murder.

Custodial deaths in police stations, even in jails, seem to be commonplace these days. Union Home Minister Amit Shah, while speaking at the inauguration of the Centre of Excellence for Research and Analysis of Narcotics and Psychotropic Substances of the

National Forensic Sciences University in Ahmedabad on July 12, said that the police in our country are accused of either "No Action" or "Extreme Action". He has hit the nail right on the head. Victims of crime shudder at the thought of having to visit a police station. More so if one happens to be from a marginalised section of society.

According to the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) data, 100 cases of custodial deaths were reported in 2017, 42 of which were in police custody. Thirty-three policemen were arrested while 27 were charge-sheeted. Forty-eight police personnel were charge-sheeted and three convicted in cases of human rights violation. Overall, 2,005 cases were registered against police personnel, 1,000 of whom were charge-sheeted. With 456 cases, Maharashtra topped the list, while Gujarat and Rajasthan followed with 191 and 169 cases, respectively; 128 personnel were convicted.

According to the NCRB's 2019 figures, 85 cases of custodial deaths were reported in the year with Tamil Nadu registering the highest number of cases followed by Gujarat, Punjab and Rajasthan and Odisha. No policeman was convicted, though 14 personnel of Gujarat were arrested, and charge-sheeted. For six custodial deaths in Rajasthan, three magisterial inquiries and two judicial inquiries were initiated against erring policemen.

In a written reply in the Lok Sabha, the former Minister of State for Home Affairs G Kishan Reddy stated that 1,697 custodial

deaths were registered between April 2019 and March 2020, of which 1,584 deaths were in judicial custody while the rest (113) were in police custody. Uttar Pradesh topped the list with 400 custodial deaths followed by Madhya Pradesh (143). This meant that about five custodial deaths took place every day in our country. But on August 3, Minister of State for Home Affairs Nityanand Rai stated in the Lok Sabha that 348 custodial deaths and 1,189 cases of torture by police were reported across the country in the last three years.

While several policemen do get convicted, there are good reasons to believe that many go scot free — by manipulating records, intimidating complainants or political patronage. It's up to senior officers to ensure that prompt actions are initiated against policemen who resort to brutal torture. When erring personnel are promptly punished, the message goes out loud and clear to other rogue policemen that the law will catch up with them. In the case of custodial deaths, those guilty should be tried for murder.

Police personnel who remain spectators when people in custody are being tortured are also complicit in the crime. Sub divisional police officers and superintendents of police should be held accountable for the impropriety committed by those under their supervision.

The writer is a retired Inspector General of Police, CRPF

AUGUST 9, 1981, FORTY YEARS AGO

CABINET RESHUFFLE

PRIME MINISTER INDIRA Gandhi carried out a minor reshuffle of her cabinet on August 8. Narayan Dutt Tiwari has been shifted from the Planning Ministry to the Industries Ministries. S B Chavan has been moved from the Education Ministry to planning. The Minister of State for Industry, Charanjit Chana, who has been looking after the industry ever since Indira Gandhi returned to power will continue in his position with Tiwari heading the ministry. Tiwari will continue to hold the temporary charge of the labour portfolio. The PM is yet to announce the name of the new education minister. She has asked Shiela Kaul, minister of state for education and culture, to take temporary charge of the ministry.

Mrs Gandhi is said to be looking for talent outside the parliamentary party but the search is yet to bear fruit.

AMU EXPULSIONS

THE VICE-CHANCELLOR of the Aligarh Muslim University, Uttar Pradesh, Saiyid Hamid, has rusticated Irfanullah Khan, president of the dissolved union of the university and convener of the Students Action Committee for a period of five years. Fifteen other students were also rusticated for a period ranging from two to five years for what the university called, "acts of indiscipline". Nine student leaders were expelled last month for a period of one to three years.

DACOITS STRIKE IN UP

NINE POLICE PERSONNEL and three villagers lost their lives in an encounter with dacoits in Uttar Pradesh's Etah district. The dacoits, who are reported to have numbered approximately 45, were from the gangs of Chabiram Yadav, Poti Yadav and Anar Singh Yadav.

LOANS WRITTEN OFF

THE UNION GOVERNMENT has taken a decision not to recover about Rs 1,412 crore given to states as assistance between 1977-78 and 1978-79 for coping with natural calamities. It has proposed to treat this amount as an additional assistance for these years.



THE IDEAS PAGE

Engineering a crisis

Constant tampering of curricula without giving students knowledge of the basics, a deficit in industry-instruction link continue to be the bane of country's technical education



SS MANTHA AND ASHOK THAKUR

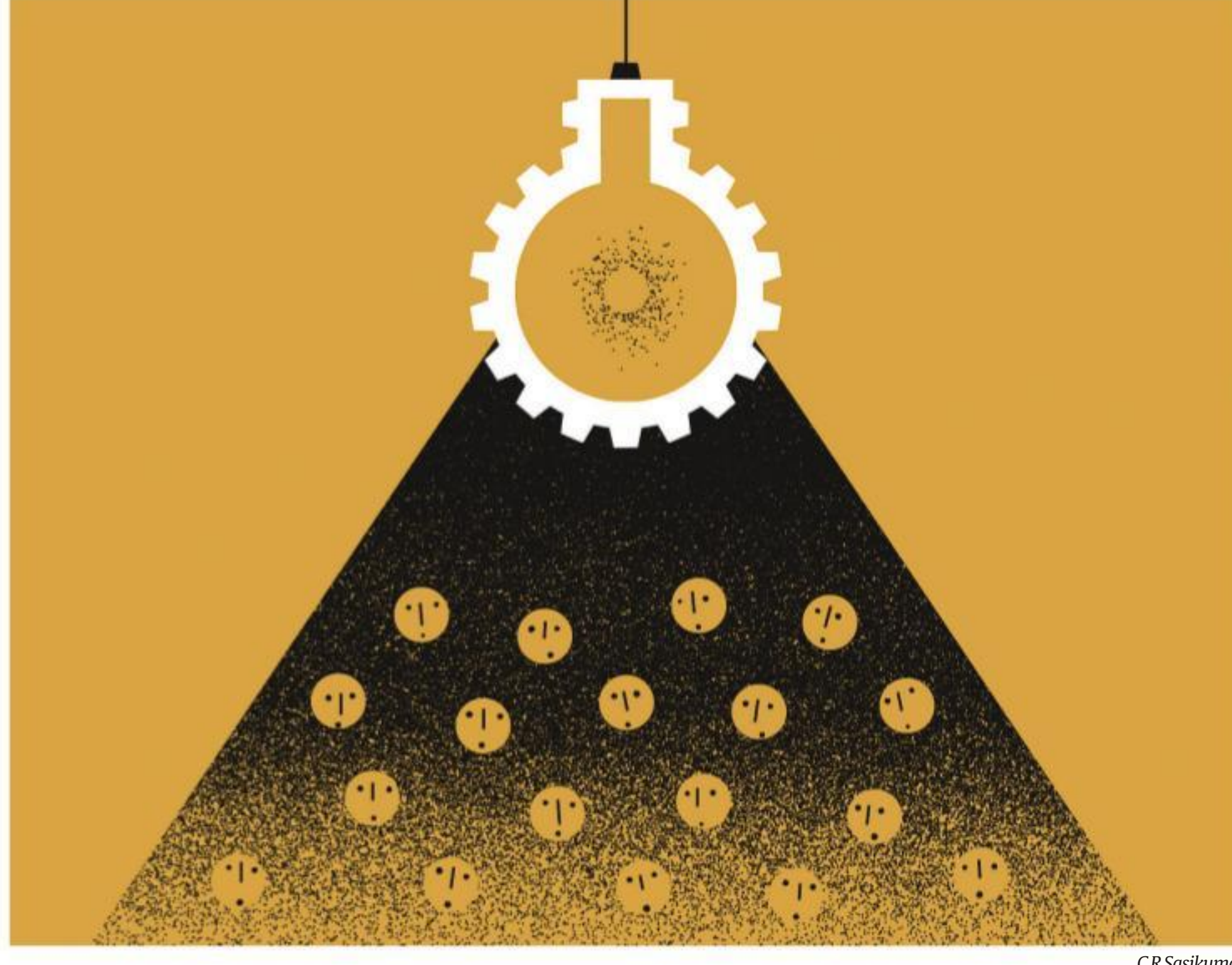
ENGINEERING IS AN applied science and therefore its pursuit preconditions a sound knowledge of its civil, mechanical and electrical branches, these being its building blocks. Offshoots like metallurgy and chemical engineering have sprung up from mechanical engineering and a host of other branches like electronics, communications, computer science and IT grew from the electrical branch of engineering. A common thread that bound these specialisations was a sound engineering base rooted in materials, applied physics and thermodynamics.

Private entrepreneurs took the lead to meet the growing demand of the country in technical education in the mid-Eighties, but with little idea of the subject. As a result, the faculty of these institutions drove the agenda of their management — and sometimes their own. When the management's agenda entered academic bodies of various universities, the first casualty was the curriculum. Important courses such as those mentioned above were the first to be jettisoned since they were both tough to teach for the teachers and tough to pass for the students. Subjects like materials, applied physics and thermodynamics became dispensable. Several universities merrily revised their curriculum at the expense of these courses.

This softening of subjects coupled with unfettered expansion in the early and mid-2000s, though it ensured that everyone who aspired to technical education could find a seat commensurate with his/her abilities, resulted in real dilution of the overall standards in the country. At its peak in 2014-15, AICTE-approved institutes had almost 35 lakh seats, mainly due to the increased employment opportunities in the country. However, a series of reports by this paper in December 2017 revealed no takers for at least 51 per cent of the 15.5 lakh seats in 3,291 undergraduate engineering colleges in 2016-17. These reports laid bare the regulatory gaps, poor infrastructure, lack of qualified faculty and the non-existent industry linkage that contributed to the abysmal employability of graduates from most of these institutes.

Some consolidation is bound to happen in every expanding system, but that also calls for intelligent interventions to connect with the available employment opportunities if the fruits of expansion are to be enjoyed. Since 2015-16, at least 50 colleges have closed each year and this year, AICTE approved the closure of 63 institutes. However, 54 new colleges were approved for the academic year, 2021-22 in backward districts. Similar statistics rule every year. Did anyone also study the available employment opportunities in those districts before approving them? When political and economic reasons override the establishment of new entities, why discuss declining standards? Several such decisions only contributed to the cumulative deterioration of standards overall.

Not a single industry body, be it CII, FICCI or ASSOCHAM has managed to effectively



CR Sasikumar

inform the education planners on the growth in different employment sectors. Nor has the government taken any tangible steps to set up an independent body to advise AICTE on this vital aspect. In the absence of any credible information on demand side numbers, investments made by institutions will only be based on perception. Yesterday, it was IT and its applications that propelled a growth in IT and Computer Science courses. Today, it is automation. Be it RPA, AI, ML, blockchain, hard robotics or IOT, the thrust is on complete automation. What happens when these areas get saturated? Several jobs have already disappeared with the base of the pyramid having shrunk considerably.

Lack of adequate number of teachers, lack of quality in those available, inability of the management to make adequate investments in a dynamic environment, lack of employment opportunities, shelf life of skills coming down with every technology-related intervention and a constant experimentation with curriculum have all been the bane of quality in technical education. Rather than being reactive, institutions must proactively define the practicing elements of education. The corrective measures for these shortfalls are technology intensive, are experiential, and need investments in teaching. Colleges are unwilling or not in a position to make those investments resulting in serious decline in quality.

Not all experiments are worth doing though. A constant fiddling with the curriculum, reducing total credits, giving multiple choices in the name of flexibility, dispensing with mathematics and physics at the qualification level, teaching in local languages may all be good arguments, but one must assess their utility and their effect on technical education in the long run. An IT-heavy curriculum in every specialisation is not called for.

Not a single industry body, be it CII, FICCI or ASSOCHAM has managed to effectively inform the education planners on the growth in different employment sectors. Nor has the government taken any tangible steps to set up an independent body to advise AICTE on this vital aspect. In the absence of any credible information on demand side numbers, investments made by institutions will only be based on perception. Yesterday, it was IT and its applications that propelled a growth in IT and Computer Science courses. Today, it is automation.

Reducing total credits has not only reduced the rigour of engineering education, but also meant loss in jobs for several faculty streams. National pride may be non-negotiable, but then will teaching in Marathi or Tamil increase employment opportunities besides causing several pedagogy and copyright-related issues? Is there a national report available on this? Over a period of time, such experiments tend to reduce interest levels in technical education itself.

The ultimate measure of performance is embedded in quality assurance. Various rating and ranking agencies insist that programme and course outcomes are paramount for quality. The larger question, however, is if these can be measured in the spirit in which they are written and if the gap in performance can be used to improve the system akin to a closed loop control system? What if the guaranteed outcomes are not realised? Can the stakeholders sue the administrators on renegeing on promises? The need of the hour is to create a truly autonomous quality assurance body at an arms-length from the government, manned by eminent persons both from industry as well as academia.

The education paradigm is staring at a large shift, due to the pressures of a large growing and young population, the exponentially increasing cost of education and the need to reach the unreached with quality, which is being fast forwarded by Covid-19. That being said, Steve Jobs' words of 2005 ring true — "You can't connect the dots looking forward; you can only connect them looking backwards. So, you have to trust that the dots will somehow connect in your future." Will we be able to connect ours?

Mantha is Former Chairman AICTE and Thakur Former Secretary Gol, MHRD

The job gap

Decline in unemployment rate is based on a statistical approach that masks the deterioration in quality of employment on the ground



RADHICKA KAPOOR

A QUICK LOOK at the recently released Periodic Labour Force Survey (PLFS) reveals a decline in the unemployment rate from 5.8 per cent in 2018-19 to 4.8 per cent in 2019-20. This fall in the unemployment rate from the 45 year high of 6.1 per cent as reported in the first PLFS (2017-18) is indeed a respite. However, these statistics need to be interpreted with caution. They are based on the "usual status" approach wherein the activity status of a person is captured for a reference period of 365 days preceding the date of survey. Those who are reported as unemployed by this approach are those who are chronically unemployed. In developing countries, where casual and intermittent work and part-time and temporary jobs are widespread, employment estimates based on this approach tend to include the under-employed workforce. Consequently, unemployment rates derived from the usual status approach give a misleading picture of the extent of labour underutilisation and the employment challenge faced by the economy. In PLFS (2019-20), we observe that the unemployment rate based on the weekly status (which corresponds to the activity status of a person for a reference week) is not only higher than the usual status measure, but has also remained unchanged at 8.8 per cent compared to 2018-19. The divergence in these statistics only reinforces the need for anchoring the policy discourse in India on weekly status measures and not the usual status measures.

Significantly, even beyond the issue of using the weekly status measures, the lower unemployment rate (based on usual status approach) appears to be a consequence of economic distress and lack of gainful employment opportunities which have pushed jobseekers into low productivity and low paying work, thereby intensifying the challenge of under-employment.

To begin with, an examination of the composition of the workforce by employment type shows that the share of self-employment in total employment has increased to 53.5 per cent, up from 52.1 per cent as reported in the previous two PLFS rounds (2017-18 and 2018-19). Self-employed workers comprise three broad categories — own-account workers (those who run their enterprise without hiring any labour); employers (those who run their enterprise by hiring labour) and unpaid family workers/helpers in household enterprises. The third group comprises those who are engaged in their household enterprises, working full or part time, but do not receive any regular salary or wages in return for the work performed. It is this latter category, considered as poor quality employment, that has witnessed an increase in its share in total employment from 13.3 per cent (2018-19) to 15.9 per cent (2019-20) and contributed to the falling unemployment rate. The increase in this category of workers is reflective of rising underemployment. As the number of members working

in household enterprises rises, each worker simply works for less time than before and a large section of the workforce is underemployed. The share of the other two categories of self-employed workers, that is, own account workers and employers has declined. The share of regular salaried workers, which had been steadily rising in India until the PLFS 2018-19 and is considered as a more stable and secure form of employment, is now showing a decline. Significantly, even amongst regular salaried workers, those who are not eligible for any social security benefits has increased from 51.9 per cent to 54.2 per cent suggesting that formalisation would have been adversely impacted.

Interestingly a sectoral breakdown of the workforce shows that the share of the workforce engaged in agriculture has risen to 45.6 per cent (2019-20) from 42.5 per cent (2018-19). This increase is significant as it is the first time that the share of agriculture in total employment (in percentage terms) has increased since the NSS surveys started. This is indicative of a stalled structural transformation process, one which had picked up pace after 2004-05 with both the share and absolute numbers of workers engaged in agriculture declining with a concomitant rise in the non-agricultural sector. However, as non-agricultural sectors have failed to create jobs at a rapid pace in recent times, many jobseekers have been pushed back into the agricultural sector resulting in its emergence as an "employer of last resort".

Two trends that point to a deterioration in quality of employment merit attention vis-à-vis the sectoral composition. First, in the non-agriculture sector, the share of those engaged in informal enterprises increased from 68.4 per cent in 2018-19 to 69.5 per cent in 2019-20. Second, within the agricultural sector, much of the increase is coming through the category of unpaid family helpers. Their share in agricultural employment has increased (from 25.7 per cent to 29.7 per cent), while that of own account workers and employers has declined (48.4 per cent to 44.5 per cent) between the two rounds. Significantly, the share of rural women engaged in agriculture has increased substantially from 71.1 per cent (2018-19) to 75.7 per cent (2019-20) and these women are increasingly being employed in the category of unpaid family workers.

It is worth noting that India has been witnessing a rapid decline in female Labour Force Participation Rate (LFPR) since 2004-05. This trend has been partly attributed to the withdrawal of women from the workforce as a consequence of an "income effect" — an increase in their family's income. The PLFS 2019-20, however, shows a sharp increase in the female LFPR by 5.5 percentage points. Much of this is driven by the increased LFPR of rural women. This rise coupled with their increasing engagement as unpaid family workers (and not better forms of employment such as regular salaried work) appears to mark a reversal of the trend of reduction in distress participation of women in the workforce.

These metrics suggest that the decline in unemployment rate based on the usual status approach masks a deterioration in the quality of employment and rising underemployment, challenges which are only likely to have intensified post Covid.

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Securing the Indian Ocean

UNSC debate seeks to address maritime security peacefully, holistically



ASOKE MUKERJI

INDIA'S DECISION TO convene an open debate of the UN Security Council (UNSC) on enhancing maritime security, to be chaired by Prime Minister Narendra Modi on August 9, reflects India's international evolution as a maritime nation. The objective of the debate is to highlight effective international maritime cooperation to respond holistically to natural and manmade threats to maritime security.

The fallout of the 2004 tsunami, which took a heavy toll on human and natural resources, led to the creation of an Indian Ocean Tsunami Warning and Mitigation System by the UN in 2005. Early warnings through an international network seek to prevent a recurrence of such devastation. Faced with the increased threat from piracy originating off the coast of Somalia since 2007 to shipping in the western Indian Ocean, the Indian Navy participated robustly as part of a UNSC mandated 60-country Contact Group on Piracy off the coast of Somalia.

With a coastline of over 7,500 km, India has a natural interest in enhancing maritime security. The Indian Ocean region transports 75 per cent of the world's maritime trade and 50 per cent of daily global oil consumption. India's Security and Growth for All (SAGAR) policy, unveiled by PM Modi during a visit to Mauritius in March 2015, proposes an integrated regional framework to meet such an

objective in the Indian Ocean.

The five pillars of SAGAR are: One, India's role as a net security provider in the Indian Ocean region (IOR). Two, active engagement with friendly countries in the IOR. India would continue to enhance the maritime security capacities and economic resilience of these countries. Three, developing a network to take effective collective action for advancing peace and security in the region. Four, a more integrated and cooperative focus on the future of the IOR, which would enhance the prospects for the sustainable development of all countries in the region. Five, the primary responsibility for peace, stability and prosperity in the IOR would be on those "who live in this region". India would continue its engagement with other nations having strong interests and stakes in this region through dialogue, visits, exercises, capacity building and economic partnership.

Sustaining international cooperation to enhance maritime security requires two supportive frameworks in the policy and operational areas. An effective legal policy framework must underpin a rule-of-law based approach to securing the maritime domain. The open debate will focus on the application of the 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), bringing to the fore new challenges to peace and security including from non-state actors such as terrorists, pirates and criminal gangs engaged in drug trafficking.

The discussion can become the catalyst for reviewing the operational effectiveness of the UNCLOS, especially regarding the enforcement of its provisions on freedom of navigation, the sustainable exploitation of maritime resources, and the peaceful resolution of disputes. India's credentials in presiding over this discussion are enhanced by the fact that in July 2014, it accepted an UNCLOS tribunal award on the maritime boundary arbitration between India and Bangladesh, contributing a new impulse to effective international economic cooperation among the littoral states of the Bay of Bengal (BIMSTEC).

Securing the sea lanes of communication (SLOCs) that traverse the oceans is of central importance to enhancing maritime security. The debate must focus on ensuring equal and unrestricted access to SLOCs by states while resolving differences through peaceful means. In the Indian Ocean, three major SLOCs that play a crucial role in the energy security and economic prosperity of states include the SLOC connecting the Red Sea to the Indian Ocean through the Bab al-Mandab (that transports the bulk of Asia's international trade with its major trading partners in Europe and America), the SLOC connecting the Persian Gulf to the Indian Ocean through the Strait of Hormuz (transporting the bulk of energy exports to major import destinations like India, ASEAN, and East Asia), and

the SLOC connecting the Indian and Pacific Oceans through the Straits of Malacca (integral to the smooth flow of trade with ASEAN, East Asia, Russia's Far East and the US).

Sharing data on threats to commercial shipping is an important component of enhancing maritime security. India's initiative to establish an International Fusion Centre (IFC) for the Indian Ocean region in Gurugram in 2018, jointly administered by the Indian Navy and Indian Coast Guard, serves the objective of generating Maritime Domain Awareness on safety and security issues. It is projected that 40 international liaison officers from partner countries will eventually be located at the IFC.

The debate would illustrate the increasing role of the private sector in the maritime domain, whether it is in shipping, sustainable development through the Blue Economy, or using the maritime domain to provide the critical submarine fibre-optic cables supporting the Digital Economy. The ability of the UNSC to respond to the debate by endorsing a multiple stakeholder approach to enhancing maritime security would be a significant outcome, setting a paradigm for upholding "multi-dimensional" security in the 21st century.

The writer is a former ambassador and Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations in New York

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

IMAGE DENTED

THIS REFERS TO the editorial, 'Better late', (IE, August 7). There's a saying that it is only the bad laws that receive unanimous support. This is true for the retrospective tax law. In its near-decade of existence, the law didn't just attract a bad rep for doing business in India but also for the hypocrisy of the political structure which, despite criticising the law back in 2014, made no efforts to rectify it. As per the ministry statement, the deal was not in consultation with Cairn, which leaves it as a wild card.

Udit Sarkar, Kolkata

THIS REFERS TO the editorial, 'Better late' (IE, August 7). The government's move to refund dues to Cairn is a correct one, even though it waited for an arbitration push to do so. Junking an unfair amendment of 2012 after nearly a decade exposes Centre's indecisiveness. This episode should be a case in point on how to avoid being caught napping by being proactive in resolving all pending, contentious matters. Else, investor friendly-promises shall remain as dubious as the sudden rise in our rankings in the ease of doing business.

Raja Bandopadhya, Vadodara

SHAMEFUL ATTACK

THIS REFERS TO the report, 'Casteist abuse shameful, says women hockey team skipper' (IE, August 7). It is disheartening that in our country, people

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cannot come to terms following the drubbing of our team. Our women's hockey team has accomplished an exceptional feat and it is our moral duty to embolden and motivate them.

Aanya Singhal, Noida

GREAT GAMES

THIS REFERS TO the report, '87,58m, a billion hearts, first athletics medal: Neeraj Chopra makes history' (IE, August 8). India's campaign at the Tokyo Olympics ended on a high on Saturday with Neeraj Chopra winning India's first-ever Gold medal in Athletics. The previous best medal haul came at the 2012 London Olympics.

SS Paul, Nadia