The Girl Child and Social Development (Durgabai Deshmukh Memorial Lecture-1997)

by
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When the Council for Social Development asked me to deliver the sixthDurgabai Deshmukh Memorial Lecture, I felt deeply honoured by the invitation. Ms. Durgabai Deshmukh was a young girl of great courage and determination and flowered into a woman of immense strength and dynamism, who created institutions, which helped women at the grass roots.

At the age of twelve, she influenced devadasis to change their way of life and Muslim women who wore burgas to do away with this degrading social custom. She persuaded Mahatma Gandhi to address them in Kakinada for a few moments and he stayed for more than half an hour, much to the annoyance of the local leaders who were his hosts. Gandhiji said that it was such constructive reform programmes for the emancipation of women that he liked best. Durgabai was a young committed freedom fighter and learnt and taught Hindi to 400 women who were needed as volunfeers for the Congress session in 1923. When she was only 14 years old, she started tre **Balika Hindi Pathasala**. I salute her spirit of social service and nationalism.

Since the choice of the subject of the lecture was left to me, I decided to speak on the girl child and social development as a consequence of circumstances. The first was, when I read Durgabai's autobiography, I was reminded of the tragic trauma of child marriages. This is what Durgabai, who was married in 1917, says:

"When I was young, the social conditions in India were feudalistic. Child marriages were in great vogue. And I myself was a victim of this primitive social custom."

She goes on to add,

"The only mistake. my father had committed was to marry me off when I was eight y.ears of age, to an adopted son of a zamindar who had estates yielding a large income. Later my father. had regretted this. He died in 1929 at the early age of thirty-six. The words he spoke to my mother, Krishnavenamma, before he breathed his last, were that he had ruined his daughter's life by marrying her at an early age, and that my mother should give her consent if and when I wanted to marry someone else.

"When I grew up to the age of fifteen, I, realised

the significance of marriage. I told my father that I could not treat the man to whom I had been married as husband. I also told him that I would tell Subba Rao (that was his name) that I could not accept him as husband, and that I would be prepared to give him in writing to that effect. I also told him that he could marry any girl he liked. This was before the marriage was consummated.

"In fairness, I must say that 'Subba Rao was a decent and liberal man. He understood my point. After a couple of years, his elders pressed him to marry again, especially because he himself was an adopted son and there had been no children in the family for three generations. They wanted me to give a letter to the effect that I would not object to his marrying another girl. This was understandable as no parents would like to give in marriage their daughter as a second bride"

The second circumstance was my recent meeting with the well-known sociologist, Mr. Andre Beteille who made a totally unconnected remark in Mussoorie, at the Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration, where we were together. He said that he has often been asked by students, as to what is the single most significant favourable social trend in India in the last 100 years - and though it is difficult to prioritize - he' feels that the fact of the age of marriage of girls having steadily gone up, especially in the higher castes, where it was particularly low, is an extremely important trend. He mentioned that his own Bengali grandmother from a *kulin* Brahmin family was married before attaining puberty at the age of 10 to a much older widower with a couple of children. These step- children eventually appropriated the property on her husband's death, leaving her a defenceless widow with young children, and no learning and earning capacity. She did not return to her natal family and somehow fended for herself, selling her jewellery etc. till one' of her-sons was employed.

The tragedy and the vulnerability of the girl child suddenly struck me anew and forced me to the conclusion that unless her condition improved rapidly, there can be no real social development. Thus the choice of subject.

But why was child marriage so prevalent in the past and why does it still continue even today, though to a much lesser extent, depriving girls of the chance of education and growth, is a pertinent question. The answer lies in the patriarchal system and the socialization process in India, which has been to make the boys independent and get the girls married. Because a girl was not supposed to do anything independently. When a girl attains puberty, she becomes sexually vulnerable and requires protection. The parents want to shift this burden as soon as possible and marriage is considered a priority. Since she is not educated, she is dependent on others and this is what society envisages.

As you are aware, this has been the position from olden times and Manu, the law-giver, said,

"She should do nothing independently even in her own house; in childhood, subject to her father; in youth to her husband; and when her husband is dead to her 'son she should never enjoy independence ... "

But more than 50 years ago, Rabindranath Tagore questioned the inequality of the situation in the following words :

"O Lord why have you not given woman the tight to conquer her destiny?
Why does she have to wait head bowed
By the roadside. Waiting with tired patience,
Hoping for a miracle in the morrow"

Has that morrow now arrived and is that miracle now taking place?

Traditionally attainment of puberty has played an important role in determining the age of marriage for girls. Despite this the mean age of marriage 'for females which was 13.2 years at the beginning of the century rose to 16.1 during 1951-61. The average age went up to 17.2 years by 1971 and 18.3 by 1981.

By 1992, the mean age of "effective marriage" for females was 19.5. In that year more than 90 per cent of women were married by the age of 25 to 29 years; though about 30 per cent of them were married at much younger ages while still in their teens, i.e. 15 to 19 years.

The Child Marriage Restraint Act 1929 by the Child Marriage Restraint (Amendment) Act 1978 (Act 2 of 1978) raised the minimum age of marriage 'of girls to 18 'years from 15 and for boys to 21 years from 18. The intention of the 1929 Act was to prevent child marriages and of the 1978 Amendment to strike at the evil of early marriages of girls and consequent pregnancies resulting in undue strain on young mothers and the birth of premature babies. As pregnancies took place often before the girl was physically mature, it led to a high rate of maternal mortality.

Despite the law, child marriages continue. Ameenaa young Muslim girl of 12 from Hyderabad was married off to Sheikh Yahaya, a 60-year old Arab, who was taking her out of India. Chhoti was married off to Manjit Singh, a 45-year old deaf arid dumb Sikh from Western U.P. An.8-year old girl was married off to a 12-year old boy Manohar ... Many child' marriages are performed even now at the festival of Teej in Rajasthan and Mahashivratri at Deoghar in Bihar.

The Child Marriage and Restraint Act 19Z9 applies to all religions but it does not make

marriages which are performed below the minimum age null arid void. It provides for a punishment of the parents, of the guardians and of the bridegroom, if he is an adult, as also of persons who conduct, perform or direct a child marriage as, the marriage is illegal. The question of annulment, repudiation, divorce, etc., however, depends on the personal law of the parties.

Early marriage is a social evil which affects the growth, both physical and mental of the girl and also results in high infant and maternal mortality.

In the early decades of the century, women unsure of children's survival, as also because 'of the desire for sons, bore a very heavy burden of repeated pregnancies. Child bearing and child caring started from the early age of 15 and continued all through. the reproductive span or," life upto 45 years. The marriage age was low and rarely did someone remain unmarried. There were miscarriages and still births and infant mortality was also very high resulting in a great deal of wastage in reproduction.

As is apparent from the figures given above, the mean age of marriage has risen from about 13 years at the beginning of the century to 16 in the middle and about 19 at almost the end of the century. This is certainly a healthy sign but maternal mortality is still very high.

In the 90s, the Maternal Mortality Rate (MMR) in India is 750 (per 100,000 live births) whereas in Sri Lanka it is only 140. Sri Lanka has managed to bring down its MMR from 813 in 1948 to 140 whereas India has not. The main' reasons appear to be poverty and gender discrimination. Girls are breastfed for shorter periods than boys and given less food and medical . attention. This results in widespread malnutrition and anaemia among girls. Poor health care and sanitation and lack of education are other factors. Sri Lanka's success has been due mainly to free health care and free education which has led to 80 per cent literacy among women.

Despite intensive efforts during the last four decades to improve the literacy level, the achievement has not been very satisfactory . in India. Literacy has shown an increase from 18.33 in 1951 to 52.51 in 1991. However, the sex differentials in literacy have throughoutbeen consistent and pronounced.

At the beginning of the 19th. century, there was hardly any provision for the formal education of girls. The positon was not much better even at thebeginning of this century. In 1901, the percentage of literacy amongst women was only 0:8. The number of girls enrolled for very 100 boys was only 12 at the primary stage and 4 at the secondary stage. The total enrolment in higher education was. only 264 which included 76 girls studying in medical colleges and 11 in colleges of education (Education Commission Report 1964-67).

In 1950-51, there were 3,9 girls for every 100 boys in classes I to V, in 1965-66, 55 girls for 100 boys. In the case of enrolment in classes VI to VIII, the ratio went up from 21 in 1950-51 to 35 in 1965-66 whereas in the case of enrolment in classes IX to XI, the ratio rose from 15 in 1951 to 26 in 1965-66.

Over the four decades 1951 to 1991, female literacy has gone up about five times from 8.86 in 1951 to 39.29 in 1991. During the decades 1981 to 1991, female literacy increased at a relatively faster pace (9.6%) than male literacy (7.5%). There are, however, wide regional variations ranging from near universal literacy in Kerala to 20.8 per cent female literacy in Rajasthan. Rural-urban differentials in literacy are also wide. The literacy rate in 1991 for rural areas is 44.7 against 73.1 for urban areas. Female literacy in rural areas at 30.6 is still very low. Though the enrolment of girls in schools has increased ninefold at the primary level from 5.4 million in 1950-51 to 46.44 million in 1993-94, at the middle stage over 30 fold from 0.5 million in 1950-51 to 15.7 million in 1993-94 and at the higher secondary stage from 0.2 million to 8.1 million over the same period, the end result is not satisfactory. This is because of the high dropout rate which continues to be a major problem. During the period 1993-94 a little more than one-third (39 %) of the number of girls enrolled at the primary stage dropped out before completing primary level and more than half of them (about 57%) dropped out before completing the middle stage and of the remainder (43 %) who reached the higher secondary stage, another 10 per cent dropped out before completing school stage. Thus only about 32 per cent of girls entering primary stage reached the end of schooling. The high dropout rates amongst girls are because of social, cultural and economic factors.

Early marriage is the bane of a girl's life. It is also one of the reasons why she is not educated, as she is looked upon as paraya dhan - another's wealth - and is considered only a transitory member of her natal family. Her whole upbringing is oriented towards this end. She is taught to be timid and submissive so that she can adjust to the ways of the new home. Consequently she naturally hesitates in taking decisions. The training to be self-sacrificing and subservient to age and authority results in producing an apathetic person who suffers in silence and does not even speak out when constraints are removed.

Further, ignorance of her rights and the fear of returning to a home, where she is not wanted, keep young girls tied to these early marriages contracted without consent, even though unhappy.

The most important tool to bring about attitudinal changes is . education. The fact that more girls are now getting educated and have greater employment opportunities has also played a role in raising their age at marriage. In fact many have started questioning whether marriage is the main aim of a young girl's life, especially because of the evil of .subjugation.

Gandhiji had suspected that women resist male exploitation and domination by refusing to marry, refusing to have sex and even refusing to cook. According to him, collective resistance would be the way for women to liberate themselves from the chains of gender apartheid. He said "Marriage is an institution designed by men to tyrannise women. More 'often than not, a woman's time is taken up not by the performance of domestic duties but in catering to the egoistic pleasures of her lord and master". This "domestic slavery of the kitchen" is a remnant of barbarism. Gandhiji, being a believer in harmonising and equalising, persuaded men to cook, sew, clean dishes etc. and do what is known as "women's job". The main purpose being to "shift mental perceptions of the difference between men and women by transporting traditional roles".

Rabindranath Tagore said, "Every time a child is born, it brings with it the hope that God is not yet disappointed with man". But it appears to me that when a girl child is born in India, more often that not, man is disappointed with God. The birth of 'the first daughter is often considered bad luck, the second a disaster and the third a catastrophe. As has been said in Atharva Veda VI-2-3, "The birth of a girl, grant it elsewhere, here grant a boy".

Why is a daughter considered a curse? Mainly because it is felt that she is an economic liability, as the difficulties faced . by parents in getting her married without an adequate dowry are considerable. This results in parents' treating their sons and daughters differently. Loving one and neglecting the other; doting on the son and depriving the daughter; educating the boy and letting the girl child suffer ignorance while making her do domestic and other chores including looking after the siblings and cattle:

Discrimination starts even before birth. Amniocentesis is being misused for sex determination of foetus so that if the foetus is female, it is aborted. A survey conducted in Bombay some years ago found that out of 8000 reported abortions, 7999 were female foetus. Subsequently, the use of such tests for sex determination has been banned in the country by the Pre-natal Diagnostic Technique (Regulation and Protection of Misuse) Act 1994 (Act 57 of 1994). The Act replaced a similar legislation passed by the State of Maharashtra in 1988. Under the law, such tests can be used only for screening genetic defects. But the sex determination tests are continuing because there is no political will to enforce the law ... not a single doctor has been convicted for conducting these tests.

Foeticide, infanticide by choking the girl baby to death or giving her opium or by other means is not uncommon. On 22nd November 1995, an article appeared in *The Pioneer* regarding female infanticide. It referred to the tradition in certain parts of northern India where the eldest female member of the family asked the male head 'of the household "baraat rakhni hai ya lautani?" The response decided the fate of the new born girl. If the male head said, "baraat rakhni hai"; the baby, girl survived - otherwise she had to leave the world without opening her eyes. It is believed that this practice of murdering the new born is still prevalent in Sitamarhi, Bhagalpur and Katihar in Bihar, Salem in Tamil Nadu, Bhind in Madhxa Pradesh and a few places in Haryana and Punjab.

In *The Pioneer* of 23rd October 1996, there was another article about female infanticide. It referred to the Khallar community in Tamil Nadu and showed how the girl child continues to be devalued. It was. heart rending and talked of the anguish of women. "I did not see the face of my child as I just passed into uncons iousness after the birth. My neighbours told me she was very beautiful. My. ~other and the nurse buried her alive ... I did not even hear her cry".

"I had to cross the river to reach my husband's house. I was carrying the child on my shoulder and I lowered her slowly as I was getting into deep water. By the time I crossed the river, I knew my new born child was dead ... That is the burden I will carry within my conscience. But at least my daughter will not go through what I am going through ..."

It talks of other method being used to kill female babies. One method is to feed the female

infant with poisonous milk of a wild plant (calotropic gigantea) or the oleander berries known for their lethal poison. 'It is reported that almost every Khallar household has this plant growing in the courtyard for use at an appropriate time. Another method of killing the baby is stuffing a few coarse grains of paddy into her mouth. The infant breathes the grain into her wind pipe and chokes to death.

But the easiest way is simply to starve the girl child or place a flower on her throat and suffocate her to death.

On an average of the 1200 deliveries per year to women belonging to the Khallar caste, nearly 600 are female babies. Out of this, an estimated 570 babies along with their mothers vanish as soon as they open their eyes. Hospital sources estimate that nearly 80 per cent of these vanishing babies- become victims of female infanticide. Though a "cradle baby scheme" has been started where parents can come and quietly leave their unwanted female babies, only a negligible number are taking advantage of this.

Though the infant mortality rate has shown a great improvement since Independence, gender violence and discrimination both societal and domestic continue unabated. A most telling demographic symptom is the persistence of an adverse sex ratio. The number of females per 1000 males has fast declined from 972 in 1901 to 934 in 1981 and 927 in 1991. This led the famous Harvard economist Dr. Amartya Sen to ask where are the missing women? He estimated that in 1990, 100 million fewer women are alive than projected by demographic studies.

So what is the girl child asking for? A fair deal. A right to be born. A right to be nourished and loved. A right to education and a homogeneous environment. A right to choose and a right to excel.

For this education of all children is essential as they are the parents of tomorrow and can eliminate the evils of dowry and discrimination. And this must be given top priority as it is a very important factor in bringing about the attitudinal changes necessary for treating girls on par.

In fact the education of girls and women is a necessity as it is only then that they can be aware of their rights, assert for them and change perceptions in society both for themselves and their children

Many parents feel that it is better for the girl child to look after the siblings and do the domestic chores rather than go to school; they also feel that they have no choice and need the services of the girl child and ' do not appreciate the advantage gained from schooling. But the girl child when asked feels differently ...

Myron Weiner in his book *The Child and the State in India* has referred to a group of girls in a village near Pune who had been enrolled and then taken out of school at the request of their mothers, to look after their siblings, fetch water and firewood and care for the cattle. On a query these children said that they would ensure that their own daughters went to school and would, if necessary, send their babies to their mother-in-law or a creche or

arrange for someone to watch over them so that young girls could go to school. The cattle would be brought together and someone hired to look after them. As such the children did not regard their' parents' decision about their schooling as the correct one nor did they regard the parents as being choice less in the matter.

A study conducted at the Giri Institute of Social Sciences in Uttar Pradesh indicated that there is a direct relationship between enrolment in school and the number of children in the, family, especially in the case of girls. So if there were many young siblings, the elder children stayed home to take care of the younger ones. However, if there was even one educated member in the family, then the children were more likely to be kept in school; and they stayed in school if the school was attractive and had play facilities and programmes that held their interest

In Lalima Gupta and others vs State of Himachal Pradesh and another A I R (1993), H.P. Page 11, it was held that the best way to educate small children is for the school to be an extension of the home so that the child can develop in a natural and holistic manner. A teacher who knows the culture and language of the child is the best person to provide the participatory environment. He should have a child-centered approach and a warm" welcoming attitude, especially when the child is a first-generation learner.

The right to primary education has now been held to be a fundamental right. In Unni Krishnan J. P. and others is State of Andhra Pradesh and others, A I R (1993), S.C., Page 2178 three out of the five judges expressed their opinion and held that though the right to education is not stated expressly as a fundamental right, it is implicit in and flows from the right to life guaranteed under Article 21, as education is of transcendental importance. Consequently, construing Articles 45, 46 and 41 of the Directive Principles of Part IV of the Constitution, the Supreme Court held that every child/citizen of this country has a right to free education until he (she) completes the age of 14; thereafter his (her) rights are circumscribed by the State's economic capacity and development.

The *Constitution* of India adopted in 1950 not only grants equality to women but 'also empowers the State to adopt measures of affirmative discrimination in favour of women. The *Constitution* further imposes a duty on every citizen to renounce practices derogatory to the dignity of women.

India's search for an organisational structure to coordinate efforts towards 'gender equality and gender equity began with the establishment of the Central Social Welfare Board in 1953. Durgabai Deshmukh was responsible for its conception and coming into existence and was appointed its first Chairman. The concept of a national machinery has been evolving ever since. In 1971, the Government appointed a Committee on the Status of Women in India. This Committee raised basic questions about the socialisation process inherent in a hierarchical society. These related to the distribution pattern of power and resources as also the diverse cultural values in the country. Its report "Toward Equality" led to a recognisable shift from viewing women as targets of welfare policies in the social sector to regarding them as critical groups for development. This was reflected in the Sixth Five year Plan (1980-85) which for the first time in India's planning history contained a chapter on Women and Development. It

conceived of a multi-pronged strategy as essential for women's development relating to

- (a) employment and economic independence;
- (b) education
- (c) access to health care and family planning;
- (d) support services to meet the practical gender needs of women and
- (e) the creation of an enabling policy, institutional and legal environment.

A Department of Women and Child Development was set up in 1985 under the newly created Ministry of Human Resource Development. One of the most significant institutions set up in 1990 by an Act of Parliament is the National Commission for Women.

The Eighth Five Year Plan (1992-97) promises to ensure that the benefits of development from different sectors do not bypass women. Consequently, the three core sectors of employment, education and health care are to be monitored very closely. The approach of the Eighth Plan which regards women as equal partners in the development process marks a progress from the goal of development to that of empowerment of women.

The 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Acts of 1993 constitute a watershed for the advancement of Indian women. They ensure that one-third of the total elected seats and positions of chairpersons in rural and urban local bodies go to women. About one million women -are estimated to emerge as leaders at the grass root level in the rural areas alone. and of these, 75,000 are to be chairpersons. Despite such an achievement, women still comprise the largest section of population living in absolute poverty and represent the poorest of the poor.

Despite the specific schemes and programmes of the Government, despite the enthusiasm and activities of voluntary agencies, the benefits of development have not yet reached women and girl children. Gender equality is still a distant dream. But there is no premium on dreaming!

The young girl is most vulnerable to the insults of poverty and 'deprivation. As an infant, she is likely to be breastfed for a shorter time than her brother, and be neglected when she falls ill. As she grows up, she becomes the victim of discrimination in access to education, skill development and recreation. Her entire socialization tends to make marriage the ultimate goal of her existence, and subservience to the males in the household, her initial and final destiny.

The mother and wife, who is required to take care of the physical needs of others, seldom has time to develop her own higher faculties of the mind. Women have carried out the domestic work for centuries without being given any credit for it. Men have not changed their lifestyle and have been brought up to expect service and care as an integral part of domestic life. Consequently women who have tried to achieve something in other spheres have had to make most of the adjustments and have carried out their domestic work along with any outside work they have done. Now that women are realising their own potential, this taking

care has to be shared or else there can not be any equality of opportunity.

It is this ideology of patriarchy and the accompanying culture of silence which needs to be challenged and broken if development is to touch the lives of women. The unique empowerment strategy which is emerging can only be effective if patriarchal perceptions are altered and an expanding network of support services built up so .that women are freed from some of their assumed gender related shackles.

Without equity in the family, there can not be equity in society. The girl child is entitled to a right to justice. Gender justice must start from the womb.

The need of the hour is the, immediate implementation of compulsory education and the creation of an environment leading to equality. An educated child, especially a girl child, will eventually result in an educated family and a just society free from superstition and prejudice. When children play and study together, caste and religious differences do not seem to matter; even economic differences are obliterated as the bonds of friendship flourish.

Apart from this, an educated woman will be anxious to implement family planning; health care and sanitation; she will have the capacity to earn and thus not feel suppressed and subordinate to man. She will be self-confident and not view marriage as the only option, thus hopefully resulting in the decline and death of the evil of dowry.

In 50 years of Independence, things have changed but not sufficiently. It is true that foodgrain production has increased and famines have been virtually eliminated, yet 50 per cent of children under four (60 million) remain undernourished. Though literacy has more than doubled, yet almost half the population remains illiterate. Life expectancy has more than doubled and infant mortality more than halved (74 per 1000 live births), yet there are 2.2 million infant deaths; most of them avoidable. More than 90 per cent of the population has access to safe drinking water but declining tables resulting in poor quality of water and contamination are raising problems,

Income poverty has been reduced, especially in Andhra Pradesh, Haryana, Kerala and Punjab. But 50 per cent of India's rural income poor live in the States of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh where the reduction has not been so good. These three States along with Rajasthan have also not been too successful in family planning and reproductive health programmes. The population has continued to increase and illiteracy is high. Because of systematic deprivation women have always fared worse than men. Though the gap has been narrowing, wide gender inequality still exists.

The political commitment' to put primary education, health and gender 'justice on top of the agenda has been ambivalent - strong in words but not in action.

Despite national and international laws, plans, schemes and conferences, true gender justice has not been reached. The Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women has made a dent but not a hole.

The Human Development Report 1997 published by the United Nations Development

Programme states that poverty of choices is far more crippling than poverty of income and has spoken of working towards gender equality as a means to end poverty. It has called upon people to commit themselves to gender equality In order to unleash the energy and productive capacity of women around the world.

Many of the things I have spoken of are known to most of us. But we need to constantly remind ourselves and to feel the anguish to stir ourselves into action. The shocking facts regarding discrimination and neglect of the girl child which still exist are not really known to all sections of society. We need to make people aware of the prevailing situation and mobilise a mass movement to change it. The political commitment to provide primary education and health services must be enforced. It is important to highlight the situation of the girl child and force political parties to take a stand by bringing it centre stage.

I will end by summing up in a brief poem :

Where have all the young girls gone?

Some are aborted before they were born;

A few were buried or choked with coarse paddy;.

Others were smothered, starved or drowned in a well;

Poisoned with berries of oleander till dead,

So that dowry need not be paid or in-laws fed,

Or daughters raped, beaten or burnt
This is the sad story of the girl child **s hell,

Father, why do you discriminate against .me
'When I can be as good as my brother?
Mother, nurture; nourish and educate me and you will see
That I will not be a burden but will control my own destiny.
And you will have nothing to fear (if brother is not there),
I will look after both of you in your old age;
I ask only to be treated equally - will you not dare
So that I have the freedom to choose and the right to care;
And am no longer the prisoner of my gender
Unable to retaliate against injustice.

Oh Father, give me a chance, Just give me a chance.

Oh Mother, break the bonds of tradition And let me into the sunlight to dance...

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COUNCIL FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

The Council for Social Development (CSD) started as an informal group of social scientists, social workers and planners committed to the national ideals of social justice and equality. Late Dr. (Smt.) Durgabai Deshmukh, the guiding spirit of the CSD, organised a Study Group of Social Welfare to review the situation in the developing countries and suggest ways for promoting social development. The CSD was given a formal status as an affiliate of the India International Centre (IIC), New Delhi, in 1964. When the activities of the CSD increased, the Board of Trustees of the IIC decided that the CSD should be an autonomous organisation and accordingly the CSD was registered in 1970under the Societies Registration Act of 1860, It, however, continues to have a special relationship with the IIC.

The main objectives of the CSD are:

- (a) to undertake and/or promote the study of social development;
- (b) in furtherance of that end, to undertake studies;
 - (i) in the national/regional policies of social development;
 - (ii) in the process of planning in social development; and
 - (iii) in the interaction between social and economic development at various stages of national growth in developing countries; and
- (c) in particular to plan and promote;
 - studies in techniques of social planning and programming;
 - (ii) inter-disciplinary research;
 - (iii) socio-economic/occupational surveys;
 - (iv) motivation for social change; and
 - (v) socio-psychological studies in rural areas.