CHAPTER : II

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF CONSUMER PROTECTION MOVEMENT IN INDIA
INTRODUCTION:

In the ancient time, the requirement of the people were absolutely few and limited and as a result, there were no place of complexity either in respect of production or in consumption. As the requirements of the people were limited, complex or wide-ranging production activities were totally absent in those days. Same was the case regarding consumption activities also. People themselves could easily produce their limited daily essential commodities. Protection of the consumers was a less important aspect in this period. But the various literatures on Economic History of the country reveal that the matter of consumer protection was present to a very limited extent in those days also. In the 'Vedic Period', although the economic activities were limited, but still there were clear provisions made by the State to protect the interests of the consumers. In this CHAPTER, an effort has been made to discuss elaborately the origin and development of consumer protection movement in the country and the present trend of the movement.
2.1 CONCEPT OF 'CONSUMER PROTECTION': ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

The olden days economic activities of the people were mostly confined to meeting their own requirements only. The other essential commodities which they could not produce were managed by way of exchange or 'barter'. The very popular system of exchange or 'barter' prevailed almost all the ancient Indian societies. Under this system of 'barter', people acquired their essential commodities from other people, who produced them in excess and similarly, the other people also acquired their commodities from the former, which were produced in excess of their requirement. Hence, the system of 'barter' was the very simple and common system prevailing in those days. 'Coin' or 'Money' as a medium of exchange were unknown to the people of primitive age. Because of the requirements of the people were limited, any complex or wide ranging production as well as consumption activities were totally absent in the ancient time. Due to the reason of production of most of the essential articles by the people themselves, obviously there was a very little or no scope at all for deceiting or defrauding the people, who consumed their different essential commodities, most of the which were produced by themselves. Similarly the people or the consumers could be the best judge of their self-produced products. The people of this period were fully acquainted with the products and they were well informed about each and every product of their daily necessity.

In the Rigvedic days, most of the trade was in the hands of 'panis'. This trade was carried on through the means of 'barter', and 'cow' was regarded as the standard value as a medium of exchange. "Trade was carried on by barter, and a 'cow' was originally the unit of exchange."
The 'panis' formed the great trading class among the Rgvedic Aryans, and traded both on land and sea. In those days the standard unit of exchange was a 'cow' and the value of the things or articles was measured in terms of 'cows'. Even man's worth was counted in terms of 'cows'. But this does not mean that the Rigvedic Aryans did not know the use of coin. It can be noted here that a golden coin termed as 'Niska' is often mentioned in the Rigvedic texts. The cow did not form the only unit of exchange. Gold and silver coins were also in use. The 'Niska' was originally a gold neck-ornament. A number of square or round gold pieces were strung together into a necklet which was worn both by men and women. The isolated pieces of fixed weight and standard, were afterwards used as coin. It is also believed that another gold coin termed as 'mana' was also in use in the Rigvedic period. 'Mana' was the name of another gold coin. This was probably taken by the 'panis' to Babylonia and Assyria, where it was known as 'Mina'. Afterwards it passed into the Greek monetary system under the name of 'Mana'. This word is derivable from the sanskrit root 'man', to measure, or 'man' to prize or value, and the coin must have been a fixed and recognised weight or standard.

In the Vedic period, although the economic activities were limited, but still there was the clear restriction on any type of defrauding of the people either by means of adulteration or incorrect weights and measures. During that period, it was one of the prime responsibility of the States to guard the health and safety of the public by protecting any type of

1. DAS, ABINAS CHANDRA, Rgvedic Culture, Delhi : Bharatiya Publishing House, (1979), P. 139
2. Ibid., P. 140
3. Ibid., P-140
adulteration or poisoning of consumable commodities in the State. "It is to emphasize that any kind of deceit, cheating people by any method, adulteration, poisoning of articles of food, all were considered to be adharma (unreligious) under the Vedas which are much more ancient to Kutilya's Arthasastra. According to Vedas the state considered its main duty to protect the health and safety of its people".4

According to 'Dharmasastra', it was essential to avoid eating defiled food and coming in contact with what was unclean.

"Trading in any injurious or unnatural food was a serious offence. Using false balances, sale of adulterated commodities, non-delivery of goods after payment of the price, cheating or fraud in transactions were considered as offences and penalties were provided during Pre-Mauryan and Mauryan period. The ancient Laws of Manu deal with weight of gold etc., sale without ownership, non-performance of agreement, recission of sale and purchase."5

During the reign of Mauryas some time in 325 B.C, there was no short supply of food, but emphasis was that food production must be commensurate with the increase in population. Sale, production and distribution of pure food amongst people were some of the objects of the State policy. Any kind of adulteration was considered as an 'adharama' (irreligious) in 'shastras' based on religious policy.

5. Ibid., P. 210
2.2 FORMATION OF 'GUILDS' AND CONSUMER PROTECTION:

In the Buddhist Era, the traditional system of 'barter' was also prevailed in the society. This era was also responsible for the appearance and formation of different types of 'guilds' in the State. In fact, the growth and originality of the 'Guild Movement' must be traced back to the period of Buddha. The 'guilds' were very important part of the State fabric. In many respects, it almost functioned equally as of a State. The 'guild' was a body which was respected by the people. In the literatures of this period, as we have found, there is ample evidence to show and realise that the power and influence of the 'guilds' were highly considerable. The 'guilds' therefore enjoyed all the privileges of a 'corporate personality'. All the agreements entered into with a 'guild' were unavoidable and had the necessary sanction behind them. In proper sense the 'guild' were the States within a State and had both legislative and judicial power in their own sphere.

The fundamental feature of all guild activities, was the collective responsibility that it implied. After being organised in the form of an association, the first and foremost thing of the members of the 'guild' was to draw-up a document containing all the main items of work, on which all the members agreed upon.

According to Manu, the king should never ignore rather he should honour the laws of castes, districts, guilds, and families. In fact, to lay down their own laws was not only the prime work of guilds, but it was their duty to administer the laws also. Some of the main functions of the guilds were the relief of the poor, supervising the activities of business and trade, imposition of restrictions on different malpractices in the area
of trading activities, construction of public buildings, and the maintenance of temples. Many times, guilds used to collect taxes from the people on behalf of the State.

The 'guild' also helped the regulation of various industrial activities in different ways. To maintain the standard of quality both in material and design, was one of the prime functions of the 'guilds' in ancient India as like as in the case of the Europe. The 'guilds' kept their strict observation in order to prevent the deterioration of the quality of different articles. In fact, the agency like the 'guilds' was the real necessity to take adequate measures for the prevention of degradation and deterioration of the qualities of various commodities.

The 'guilds' were the protectors against the deterioration of products produced by the manufacturers. Hence, it was a chief function of the 'guilds' to take the required measures for maintaining the standard and quality of the products and the 'guilds' made rules and laws for the same. Similarly 'guilds' also made the necessary laws and provisions in order to protect the price discrimination by the producers and the sellers. The 'guilds' were the prime responsible factor regarding the creation of provision for the punishment against the traders or producers who had violated rules, in respect of maintenance of quality and standard of the products and who had indulged in price discriminations in the market or in the society. These all are in fact, instances of consumer protection in ancient Indian societies, may be of direct or indirect in their nature.

The Indian Legal and Judicial systems practically originated in the age of 'Buddha'. Formerly the people were governed by the tribal laws, which did not recognise any class distinction. But at this time, the Tribal Community had been clearly devided into four classes—brahmans,
kshatriyas, vaisyas, and sudras. The Dharmasastras laid down the duties of each of the four above stated classes or varnas and the civil and criminal law came to be based on the mentioned varna divisions. In fact, the era of 'Buddha' is quite important, because of the reason that the ancient Indian polity, economy, and society really took shape in this period. Agriculture based on the use of iron tools in alluvial areas gave rise to an advance food producing economy. It was possible to collect taxes from the peasants and on the basis of regular taxes and tributes, large states could be founded. In order to continue this system, the distinction of varnas were clearly laid-down.

2.3 MAURYA KINGDOM AND KAUTILYA'S ARTHASAstra:

Similarly, the rise of 'Mauryas' is a landmark in Indian History from the different angles. Kautilya's Arthasastra is a very important source of Mauryan History. This particular precious document is a remarkable work on politics, socio-economic aspects and discusses the art of the Government. Chandragupta Maurya, the founder of Maurya Dynasty (321-296 B.C) was a great administrator and 'Kautilya' was the brain behind him. King Chandragupta devoted himself whole-heartedly to serve for the well being of the people. The 'Mantris' were the chief advisers of the King. The 'Amatyas' assisted by the office superintendents (Adhaykshas) form the executive machinery. The city administration was carried on municipal model by 'six boards', consisting of five members in each board. There were boards for (i) industries (ii) foreigners (iii) registration of births and deaths (iv) control of markets and merchants (v) supervising manufactured goods and (vi) collecting taxes. In practical word, it must be mentioned here that – a very good
and perfect system of administration was existed. It is very important to notice that there were separate and distinct 'boards', specifically for industries, control of markets and merchants and supervising manufactured goods, which in other words is a clear instance of existence of protection against the malpractices in the field of business and commercial activities and against the discrimination of prices and also the deterioration of the quality of various products or commodities produced by the producers in the said era.

'Kautilyas Arthasatra' and contemporary literatures throw a flood of light on various aspects of political, religious, social and economic conditions of states and societies of Mauryan period.

The contemporary literatures confirm that the State controlled and organised the industry, trade and commerce of the country. According to the writings of these literatures the state owned many industries and trading units, and as a result the state had to make and adopt various effective devices in order to safeguard the interests of the said units. Moreover to this, the state also had to regulate the relations between the units owned by the states and the private enterprises. From 'Kutilya's Arthasastra', it is clear that the Mauryan State could perform this delicate task with a considerable success.

Various rules and laws were made in the Mauryan age, in order to prevent the discrimination in respect of prices of the different commodities as well as discrimination in respect of weights and measures of the different articles also. The provisions for punishment were also made in respect of violation of rules and laws, either by the seller or the producers. Some provisions were also present for the maintenance of quality of products. It was made compulsory for every trader to procure
a trade licence for his trading business, in which he had engaged himself. It was the duty of the 'superintendent of commerce' to fix the wholesale prices of the commodities, keeping a reasonable margin of profit. Another important point to be noted here that, the speculation and steps to influence the price level were totally disallowed in the said period. Likewise, the state used to formulate and control the rules and regulations relating to weights and measures. The state at the time of regulating the trade, used to ensure proper security and protection to the trade and industries.

"Kautilyas Arthasastra" is a very praise worthy monument, from which we can gather a vast and clear ideas in respect of various measures, the state had taken for the prevention of different malpractices in the field of business and trade, in the olden days of Indian History. This precious document written by Kautilya (known as Vishnugupta or Chanakya), possibly first formulated in the fourth century B.C., throws a flood of light on the various aspects of economics, politics, as well as law of the period. In fact, Kuatilya was famous, for not only as a king maker, but also being the greatest Indian exponent and scholar of the art of the government; the duties of king, ministers and other officials; the art of administrations, and as well as the method of successful diplomacy.

The said 'Arthasastra' of Kautilya, focuses in the areas of prevention of adulteration of various food items and as well as prevention against the discriminations of weights, measures and prices also.

In Book II 'The Duties of Government Superintendents' ChapterXIX- 'The Superintendent of Weights and Measures', Section 103 of his 'Arthasastra', Kautilya enumerated that "weights (pratimanani) shall be made of iron or stones available in the countries of Magadha
and Mekala; or of such things as will neither contract when wetted, nor expand under the influence of heat". Similarly vide section 105, "The superintendent shall charge four mashas for stamping weights or measures. A fine of 27\frac{1}{4} panas shall be imposed for using unstamped weights or measures. Traders shall everyday pay one kakani to the superintendent towards the charge of stamping the weights and measures."

Kauätilya in his 'Arhasastra' in Book II, "The Duties of Government Superintendent", Chapter XXVI, 'The Superintendent of Slaughter-House', vide Section-122, again mentioned that " If there is any diminution in weight owing to the use of false balance, they (butchers) shall give eight times the diminuation." Moreover to this, the said 'Kauätilya's Arhasastra' was also very much concerned with the health and safety of the public. Because, vide Section-123 of Book - II of the above mentioned Chapter-XXVI, 'Kauätilya's Arhasastra' made a provison to this effect which read as follows:

"The flesh of animals which have been killed outside the slaughter-house (parisunam), headless, legless and boneless fish, rotten fish, and the flesh of animals which have suddenly died shall not be sold. Otherwise a fine of 12 panas shall be imposed."

The state during the Mauryan period, also tried to impose several restrictions upon the merchants and traders in order to protect the public from various malpractices of business and trade usually done by the

6. DR. SHAMASASTRY, R. Kauätilya's Arhasastra (Translated), Mysore : Mysore Printing and Publishing House, (1967), P-116
7. Ibid., P-118
8. Ibid., P-138
9. Ibid., P-139
merchants and traders. In Book IV, 'The Removal of Thorns', Chapter II 'Protection against Merchants', Kautilya in his 'Arthasastra' vide Section 205, has stated that -

"The superintendent of commerce shall allow the sale or mortgage of any old commodities (puranabhandanam) only when the seller or mortgagor of such articles proves his ownership of the same with a view to prevent deception, he shall also supervise weights and measures." 10

Provisions for punishment were also made vide the said Section, in respect of the use of false balance by the traders, sale of 'inferior' article as 'superior' one, sale of adulterated articles, and sale by way of misrepresentation etc.

Provisions were also present for a healthy and equal public distribution system in the book under the same Chapter, vide Section 206, which provides that- "whenever there is an excessive supply of merchandise, the superintendent shall centralise its sale and prohibits the sale of similar merchandise elsewhere before the centralised supply is disposed of ------." 11

In fact, in ancient India during the reign of Mauryas, any act of adulteration was considered as "adharma" and distribution of any adulterated articles was prohibited and provisions were also made for punishment against the violator of these rules.

Hence, it becomes clear that, the trend of protection of various

10. ibid., P-234
11. Ibid, P-236
rights and interests of the consumers made its appearance during the period of Mauryas, though it was not similar to the legal provisions for the protection of the consumers in present days economic environment of the country. Kautilya, in his "Arthasastra" had made an elaborate rules and provisions in respect of prevention of malpractices in business and trade, which in other words provided the adequate protections in favour of the consumers. It was a written document, where along with the elaborate discussions about state administration, politics, economics, and laws, some necessary rules and provisions were also incorporated for the protection of the consumers or the general public against various malpractices in business and trade by the traders or the producers. It also provided for adequate punishment in case of violation of the said rules and provisions. The document also imposed some duties to be observed by the traders or the businessmen.

'Kautilya's Arthasastra' can be regarded as a vital commentary of legal provisions on consumer protection and welfare in our country. Governmental action in the field of consumer protection goes back to the olden days of 'Kautilya'. Kautilya's Arthasastra provided one full Chapter (Chapter II, Book IV), on the matters of protection against the merchants as discussed above which includes prevention of deception in weights and measures, punishment for the offence of adulteration of essential commodities and similarly of the punishment for supplying of inferior goods as the superior goods by the merchants. To check the arbitrary increase in the prices of the essential commodities by the merchants, it was made punishable by 'Kautilya's Arthasastra'.

If we go through the socio-economic conditions prevailed during the period of different kingdoms and dynasties of ancient India, it would certainly reveal that the protection and welfare of the consumers were
of protracted historical interests. The different rulers, ruled in different states of ancient India tried to preserve this interest by one way or other.

2.4 POST KAUTILYAN PERIOD AND CONSUMER PROTECTION:

Although the rigid Kautilyan State control over the economy of the country did not continue during the period of second century B.C., but from the 'Dharmasastras' it becomes clear that the State still had adequate power to prescribe various restrictive measures in the area of trade and industry of the country. The different law givers of this period, prescribed various measures regarding profit, taxes and rates of interest etc., which seems to had a close relation with the rules and laws enumerated by Kautilya in his 'Arthasastra'.

According to Yajnavalkya (II, 251-53) the king was to fix the price of commodities allowing five percent profit on indigenous goods and ten percent on foreign products if buying and selling was done on the same day. The king should bear in mind the interest of the buyer as well as of the seller while fixing prices. According to Manu, the king should examine the price schedule at least one in every fortnight and be careful about checking and properly marking, weighing and measuring instruments (VIII,402-3). For fraudulent business by wrong measurement or adulteration or by charging more, the imposition of heavy fines was prescribed, the rate of which was to vary according to the type of merchandise, its cost and the particular situations (Yaj, 244-50).12

In the far south, under the Dynasties of Cholas, Pandyas and Cheras, 12. ADHYA, G.L. : Early Indian Economics, Delhi : Asia Publishing House, (1966), Pp-99-100
various trade and commercial activities were in existence and the trade, both foreign as well as internal constituted a very important source of state revenue. In this respect transit duties were collected from the merchants. Under the said Dynasties, soldiers were kept alert in order to prevent any smuggling activities in the field of trade and business.

During the 'Gupta Age' which is regarded as the "Golden Age of Indian History", the various activities of trade and commerce flourished to a great extent. The Gupta Empires carried both inland and sea trade with different countries of the world. In this period, the people under the Empire, led high moral life and they were law abiding and honest also. The Guptas conferred to their people a good and welfare Government alongwith the sense of proper administration. Peace and security of the 'Gupta Age' also helped for flourishing the internal trade in the Empire. It was hard to think of adoption of any type of malpractice by the businessmen or the traders in commercial activities under the Gupta Empire, because, in those days the people were of high morality and they were quite law abiding by their nature.

In the mediavel India, under the Cholas Kingdom of the south, various industries were in a flourishing condition, particularly jewellery and metal works, weaving, manufacturing of salt etc. In those days under the Cholas Kingdom there were 'guilds of merchants'. In respect of business activities the Chola Kings made some provisions for the welfare of the public at large.

2.5 CONSUMER PROTECTION UNDER MUGHAL PERIOD:

During the period of Mughal also, there were several provisions for the adequate protection in the field of trade and commerce under the 'Sultanate'. The different Mughal Rulers enacted such measures of
protection for the purpose of social welfare and justice in the country. Infact, during the said period, the king was the fountain of justice and he was the highest court of appeal. Many Muslim Rulers were keenly interested in the social as well as moral well being of the people under the sultanate irrespective of the sects to which they belonged or the creeds they professed. These Muslim Rulers forbade drinking and gambling and they also tried their best to suppress immorality. Similarly, these Rulers made their best efforts to prevent the immoralities adopted by their subjects in the field of business and trade also. For this purpose, they appointed 'mohtasibs' or 'censors of public morals' and charge them with the duty of keeping vigilance on the behaviour of the public, so that the public behave well and did not resort to any immoral pursuits.

2.6 ECONOMIC REGULATIONS OF SULTAN ALA-UD-DIN KHILJI FOR CONSUMER PROTECTION:

The reigns of Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khilji, Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq, Muhammad Tughluq and Firoz Tughluq witnessed the various social welfare measures taken by the kings. Ala-ud-Din Khilji adopted two very important measures, consisting of controlling of market prices and profiteering and storing of grain in large quantities in the state granaries with a view to provide adequate relief to the public in the time of their need. Likewise, he also issued a number of economic regulations in the Kingdom, in order to determine the prices of various essential commodities and also ensure their regular supply to the public at fixed prices and without any inconvenience in this respect. This fixation of prices of the commodities did not based on the arbitraryness of the Sultanate. Neither the price-structures of the articles were based on the
fluctuation of supply and demand of the commodities nor it was based on the speculative trends of the business community, who raised or lowered the prices of the commodities with an ulterior motive of making the maximum profit. Similarly, the fixation of price was not at all concerned with the impact of good or bad weather in the said period. Instead of all these, Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khiliji fixed the price of the goods on the progressive principles of 'production cost of the articles'.

Sultan Ala-ud-Din issued a total of eight economic regulations for the purpose of determining the prices of different articles and also for ensuring their regular supply to the people. The first set of eight regulations dealt with fixation of selling prices of com and cereals. The Sultan appointed one 'Malik Qabul' an intelligent and trustworthy servant of 'Ulugh Khan' as the controller of all the grain markets, called 'Shahana-i-Mandi'. Likewise, for each major trade, separate markets were established and put under the charge of a 'Shahana' who had to work in subordination of the chief controller of the markets. Again all the grain carriers (the caravans) of the Sultanate were brought into a single corporation '(Yak-wajud)' under the charge of 'Shahana-i-Mandi'. The merchants had to registered themselves in the 'Yak-Wajud' and it issued necessary licences to the merchants to procure grains from the far off villages. The provincial and local revenue officials helped the merchants in the procurement of grain at fixed rates. The merchants were allowed to sale the grains in the open market at the rate dictated by the Sultanate and they were also allowed to charge a moderate profit plus the cost of carriage over and above their procurement price. The heads of the grain carriers (the caravans) were forced to follow the rules as stated here,
otherwise they had to face a confinement as punishment during this period. Moreover, the grain carriers were asked to settle along with their families in the bank of river Jamuna, so that they could transport grain to the various parts of the Sultanate under the proper supervision of the Government officials which in turn, prevented the unauthorised raising of the selling prices of the grains above the 'royal standard'.

The fifth regulation was connected with the prevention of black-marketing and hoarding with a view to make high profit by the businessmen or the traders. Adequate provisions were made in the said regulation for securing the cheapness of grain against regrating—'buying and hoarding of commodities with a view to retailing at a high profit.' These provisions were very strict and rigid under the Sultanate and the regrated grain if discovered was forfeited to the State and the regrator was fined.

Moreover, from three distinct sources the Sultan used to obtain the daily reports in respect of the market rates and the transactions of the goods. These three sources were the controller of markets, the barids, and the munshis. Interestingly enough, if there was any variance in these reports, the defaulters were hauled-up by the Sultan. During the period of Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khiliji, the specified scales of prices of the commodities were maintained irrespective of the different impact of nature, like- heavy rain, flood or draught in the Sultanate.

The eight regulation, as enacted by Ala-ud-Din Khiliji provided for the rationing of grain in times of draught or famine.

15. Ibid., P-108
16. Ibid., P-108
17. Ibid., P-109
The second set of regulations were issued by the Sultan with a view to secure low prices for cloth and groceries. Under this regulation, the 'cloth-market' was constituted under the charge of 'rais-parwana' (permit officer) in which all the Indian and foreign merchants who happened to be in the capital, were required to bring every sort of cloth to this market and sell it at the rates prescribed by the Government. The third set of regulations dealt with the sale and purchase of live-stocks.\textsuperscript{18}

In the regime of Ala-ud-Din Khiliji, all the general markets under the Sultanate, were covered within the purview of the 'Diwan-i-riyasat', where the ministry of commerce, the office of nazir, the superintendent of weights and measures constituted a part of it. Hence, the 'drwan-i-riyasat' was the prime responsible body for the successful implementation of the economic regulations through-out the Sultanate. All the 'shahnas' under the 'diwan-i-riyasat' were supplied the price-lists of major commodities as approved by the Sultanate, while the 'shahnas' were authorised to fix the prices for the specified stuffs within their own areas of jurisdiction on the same style.\textsuperscript{19}

During the rule of Ala-ud-Din Khiliji, the prices of goods were quite low, the food-stuffs and other necessaries of life were easily available and were in abundance. In these days, due to the strict economic regulations and rigid Governtmental enactments, the various social evils like hoarding, black-marketing, cheating and defrauding by the business community, and exploitation by the middleman could be heard very rarely. In fact this was possible only because of the reason of strict control of markets by the Government alongwith wise economic reforms.

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., Pp- 109-110
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid, P-111
The Mughal Rulers contributed to a great extent for the industrial development of the country. In the practical field, Babar had no such plenty of time to devote himself to the industrial improvements of the newly conquered country. But still it must be mention here that Babar was the Mugal King who founded the "Shuhrat-i-Am" or the Public Works Department which later on played an important part in the industrial development of the country. The great ruler of Mughal Empire, Akbar the Great, reorganised the Public Works Department and he also used to personally inspect the 'Karkhanas (work-shops) whenever necessary.

During the regime of Akbar, various business and commercial activities like production and sale of different textile products, crafts products, etc. were in existence in the Empire. But practically, under the regime of Jahangir and Shah-Jahan, both the industrial and commercial activities were flourished in the country as never before during the Muslim period. This particular fact is evidenced by the cumulative testimony of native historians as well as by the foreign travellers who visited to our country during the said period.

During the reign of Mughal Rulers, India was self sufficient in the production of almost all the essential commodities. The "Banjaras" carried on the business of conveying the surplus produce from one area of the country to the another on a fairly large-scale. The villages with their 'mandis' (markets) were brisk centres of trade where exchange of goods took place in peaceful times. Coins of gold, silver and copper (of various denominations) were in use during the Mughal period. The coins were of pure metal and standard weight. Under the Mughal rulers, the currency of India underwent a considerable improvements in its purity,
weight and artistic executions and they did never submitted themselves to the temptation of debasing coinage either in weight or in its purity.

2.7 CONSUMER PROTECTION UNDER BRITISH RULE:

During the period of British Rule in India, the various principles of English Common Law were equally applied in India as they were applied in England by the English Judges and as a result the protections that were prevailing in England in favour of the consumers were inclinedly provided to the consumers of India also. On the other hand, some specific legislations dealing with the specific rights of the consumers were also enacted in India from time to time.

2.8 DEVELOPMENT OF CONSUMER PROTECTION LAW IN INDIA:

The development of consumer protection law in India is mainly concerned with or related to some basic issues like as - enforcement of correct weight and measurement for the protection against the deceit in weights and measures; fair trading standards, restrictions and restrictive trade practices for the prevention against malpractices in the area of business and trade; health and safety of the consumers for the protection against the mal-nutrition and deterioration and degradation of the quality of the products etc. With a view to protect various interests of the consumers, different legislative steps also have been taken in the past, dealing with specific aspects of the consumer interests. The Law Courts have also been trying to provide appropriate and adequate remedies in
common law in respect of consumer related litigations, by developing various principles of law, to suit according to the needs of the time.

The different Central Legislative Enactments of our country, which are in force, enunciated the spirit of 'Consumerism' in one way or the other. Although all of these Legislations may not specifically mention or state the concept of consumer interest, but still they certainly do have various provisions to protect the interests of the consumers in some manner. These types of Legislations include: The Indian Penal Code, 1860; The Indian Contract Act, 1872; The Sale of Goods Act, 1930; The Agricultural produce (Grading and Marking) Act, 1937; The Drugs and Cosmetics Act, 1940; Industries (Development and Regulation) Act, 1951; The Drugs and Magic Remedies (Objectionable Advertisements) Act, 1954; The Prevention of Food Adulteration Act, 1954; The Essential Commodities Act, 1955; Trade and Merchandise Marks Act, 1958; The Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act, 1969; The Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973; The Standards of Weights and Measures Act, 1976; The Prevention of Black Marketing and Maintenance of Supplies of Essential Commodities Act, 1980; The Bureau of Indian Standards Act, 1986; The Consumer Protection Act, 1986 and The Consumer Protection (Amendment) Act, 1993 etc. The detail discussions regarding these legislations have been incorporated in a separate CHAPTER (CHAPTER : V ) of this research work.

2.9 PRESENT POSITION :

In India, the consumer movement has gain its momentum, only in the later part of the last decade. In fact, the last decade has seen various significant developments in the vital social sector of 'Consumer Welfare'
in the Nation. During this period, the Government has accorded high priority to the programmes and policies in respect of consumer welfare and protection in the country. Similarly, the Government has also undertaken various steps to promote and accelerate a responsible and a responsive consumer movement in the country. Though it is quite hard and bitter to hear and see, but practically, the said consumer movement is still in the rudimentary stage confined only to cities and big towns in the country.

With the development of societies, the demand for higher standards of life has also increased. The markets are flooded with numerous articles, due to the impact of technological developments which increases the consumer needs and consumer transactions in the country. Now-a-days, the goods range in a number of categories and in various forms in the markets.

In the past, the needs and requirements of our consumers were very simple and limited. As because the production activities and products were of limited nature in those days, the consumers were also able to take their bying decisions from the informations available to them and with the assistance of either the businessmen or by their friends. But the market conditions and environments are totally changed in present time due to the industrial revolution and technological development in the country. At present, the requirements of the consumers have grown enormously in quantity, quality and complexity. The various new products produced with the help of modern technological devices thrown in our markets, are of such nature in respect of which our consumers are completely ignorant and are unable to take their buying decisions without the help or assistance of some other sources, which can not taken to be granted as a genuine one always. As
a result, the consumers of the country have to face a number of product
failures daily.

In our country, where more than half of its population are entirely
dependent on agriculture and they being either not highly educated or
totally uneducated, are not at all conscious or a little conscious about
their various rights and interests as a consumer. In fact, the illiteracy of
the consumers in the country, stands as a great hinderance against their
awareness and consciousness as a consumer. Due to the illiteracy, our
consumers are not aware about their rights and interests.

In a country like India, where various social evils like corruption,
black-marketing, hoarding are in their boom at present, the consumers
are frequently have to face and experience acute frustration and
humiliation too in the market places due to the arrogant attitude of the
sellers or the manufacturers, which is the direct outcome of the prevailing
artificially created scarce conditions of commodities and cancerous
tendency of hoarding in the country. In the market places, the consumers
have to face the problems from the range of frauds and deceptions to an
outright rejection of their just protest and their right to have adequate
informations about the goods or commodities. Actually, these problems
are created by the sellers or the manufacturers in the market places in
order to dupe our innocent and financially poor consumers. The poor
financial conditions of our consumers also restrict them from taking
any initiative for the protection of their various rights and interest.

In our country, although the consumer movement is gaining its
momentum gradually, but still the movement is not able to make any
remarkable impact and achievement, more particularly in the rural and
backward areas practically. In fact, no systematic effort has been made
to build-up a healthy consumer movement in these rural and backward areas of the country. Further, the illiteracy of our consumers, lack of their adequate knowledge and awareness along with the absence of proper leadership also stand as obstacles in the way of spreading the consumer movement in the rural and backward areas of the country.

The Indian consumers became a little conscious and aware about the qualities and standards of different products, after the technological revolution that took place in the eighties. From this period, the consumer movement began to receive a momentum that was not there in the country earlier. During this period, various 'Consumer Associations' exerted their pressure upon the Government of India, in order to enact a specific legislation for the protection of the rights and interests of the consumers at large in the country. Thus the Consumer Protection Act, 1986 (COPRA-1986) came into being, which can be regarded as a victory in favour of the consumer movement in the country. The said Consumer Protection Act, 1986, is a welfare legislation mainly tilting towards the consumers. The aim and object as given in the 'Preamble' to the Act are to provide better protection of the interests and rights of the consumers and also to provide for the settlement of consumer disputes. The Act also provides safeguards against unfair trade practices by the manufacturers and sellers in the country.

The Consumer Protection Act, 1986 (Act No.68 of 1986) received the assent of the President of India on the 24th December, 1986. Although the Consumer Protection Act, 1986, was a remarkable beginning towards providing protection to our consumers, but it had some loopholes and lacunas due to which the purpose of the Act was defeated to some extent. In order to rectify the defects, existing in the Consumer Protection
Act, 1986 and also to keep pace with the changing socio-economic conditions of the country the Government of India amended the said Act, by the Consumer Protection (Amendment) Act, 1993 (Act 50, 1993) which has received the assent of the President of India on 27th day of August, 1993. This Amended Act, came into force retroactively, from the 18th of June, 1993.

2.10 VOLUNTARY CONSUMER ASSOCIATIONS AND CONSUMER PROTECTION:

The wide spread exploitation of consumers has led to the formation and establishment of various 'Voluntary Consumer Associations', working for the welfare of the consumers and also for the protection of the rights and interests of the consumers in the country. Here we can mention the names of some of such consumer organisations, like 'Consumer Guidance Society of India (CGST) Bombay, Indian Federation of Consumer Organisation (IFCO), New Delhi, and the Consumer Education and Research Centre (CERC), Ahmedabad, as they have provided a praise-worthy service for the welfare of the consumers. These prominent consumer organisations are very active, dynamic and conscious so far as the matter of consumer protection is concerned in the country. These organisations facilitate in educating both the urban as well as the rural consumers about their various rights and interests and engaged in providing valuable informations towards the consumers about the quality, weight, standard, purity, potency and price of different consumable commodities. Moreover, these organisations are busy in holding seminars, workshops, and conferences and also publication of
periodicals, magazines and news-letters in respect of consumer related issues in the country. Some of the consumer organisations contributing towards the acceleration of consumer movement in the country are like as —

(a) **Consumer Guidance Society of India (CGSI) Bombay** : This voluntary consumer organisation was established in the year 1968 with the aims and objectives of protecting consumers and to represent them for the security and enforcement of their due rights and interests. It also arranges seminars, workshops, exhibitions, talks, etc. for the achievement of its aims and objectives. Further, the organisation published a magazine named 'Keemat' containing informations and articles on consumer related issues.

(b) **Karnataka Consumer Service Society, Bangalore** : This voluntary consumer association was registered in the year 1972 by members of a club of nine house wives. Its prime aim is to mobilize the consumers for the protection of their rights and interests. The organisation is concerned with the education of women, clubs, schools and colleges in the field of consumer welfare and protection and similarly it involves in providing informations about the trend of consumer movements in India and abroad by holding meetings, exhibitions and seminars on the subjects of consumer interest. It has produced films on food adulteration, misuse of drugs and cosmetics, laws and agencies for consumer protection like I.S.I., M.R.T.P.C. etc.

(c) **Consumer Action Forum, Calcutta** : It was founded in the year 1973 and it has its branches at Delhi and Madras also. It runs seven consumer education centres in Calcutta. The organisation is functioning for the prevention of adulteration and mal-practices like hoarding and
black-marketing etc. It also works to restrain the under weight selling of articles and to demand for the better public utility services for the welfare of the consumers at large. The organisation aims to educate the consumers to help themselves by organising seminars, workshops and meetings.

(d) Akhil-Bharatiya Grahak Panchayat, Hyderabad: This organisation is founded in the year 1974 and is registered in Pune and Delhi also. In order to get organised the individuals, the organisation aims to provide a public forum where the matters of public interests and consumer related issues can be discussed and steps also can be initiated in an organised way.

(e) Mumbai Grahak Panchayat, Bombay: This organisation was founded in the year 1975. The prime objective of the organisation is to provide the necessary protection towards the consumers through educating them and making the consumers conscious in taking legal action in respect of their various grievances, in a collective way.

(f) Indian Federation of Consumer Organisation (IFCO), New Delhi: This prominent consumer organisation was founded in the year 1978. The activities of the organisation have a wide coverage in the field of consumer protection and it aims to encourage and promote a strong consumer movement throughout the Nation. The organisation works to bring together all the consumer associations in the country, in order to provide a forum for the discussion of the various problems confronted by the National and Regional Bodies working for the welfare of the consumers and to maintain effective contacts with Government, Semi-Government and autonomous bodies and international
organisations also. It also engaged in conduct, undertake and participate the exhibitions and seminars relating to consumer welfare and protection issues.

(g) Consumer Education and Research Centre (CERC) Ahmedabad: This is another renowned and important organisation, working for the welfare and protection of the consumers in the country. The organisation was established on the 8th of August, in the year 1978 and it has six trustees as its staff directors. These personnels are eminent in their own fields. As its name implies, the organisation is engaged in consumer education and research activities in the country. It engages itself in various consumer protection activities and seeks to protect the interests of the consumers through proper education, research, litigation, advocacy at State and National level. Similarly, whenever it is considered to be necessary the organisation proceeds towards the actual litigation in law-courts for the protection of rights and interests of the consumers. Moreover, in order to facilitate consumer education, the organisation holds seminars, workshops and issues press-releases from time to time. It also publishes many research publications in relation to consumer welfare and protection issues in the country.

(h) The Citizens' Forum, Hubli: This organisation was founded in 1974. It aims to create an awareness amongst the consumers in respect of their rights, interests and duties and seeks to solve the various problems of the consumers through a peaceful way. Besides these, it also tries to get the essential commodities at reasonable prices with proper quality and standard in the country. Similarly, the organisation carries its works to educating the consumers and make them conscious through arranging seminars and exhibitions. It publishes a monthly megazine 'Jagrut Nagarika' in kanada language.
(i) Consumers' Forum, Udupi: This consumer organisation founded in the year 1980, seeks to educate the consumers in order to make them aware about their rights and interests. It aims to protect the rights and interests of the consumers through legal aid, seminars, meetings, publications in the newspaper etc. Moreover, it publishes a fortnightly in Kannada Language and a quarterly news letter in English relating to consumer protection in the country.

(j) Grahak - Hit Suraksha Mandal, Kodinar: This consumer organisation was founded in the year 1981. The organisation carries it works in the field of educating the consumers in order to make them conscious about their rights and interests. It also engaged in research and development activities for the welfare of the consumers at large.

(k) Consumers' Forum, Sullia: It was established in the year 1982 with the aims and objectives to protect the interest of the consumers and to educate them and bring about the awareness of the consumers.

(l) Jagrut Grahak, Boroda: This organisation was established in the year 1986. The Chief object of the organisation is to protect the rights and interests of the consumers through proceeding to the concerned authorities with the consumer related issues as well as to the law courts also. Besides, it also publishes a monthly news-letter "Jagrut Grahak" in Gujarati, containing consumer concerned issues.

(m) Upbhokta Sanrakshan Samiti, Jodhpur: It was founded in the month of January, 1989. This organisation is engaged itself in the works, primely related to the welfare of the consumers at large. It carries its works for the protection of the rights and interests of the consumers and tries to prevent various business malpractices.
At present in our country, various National and Regional newspapers also published different consumer related articles and informations regularly. Credit goes to some Indian authors who have written some valuable books on the consumer protection laws in the country at present. These all are favourable indications and strong steps to make our consumers aware of their rights and interests.

2.11 TREND OF CONSUMER PROTECTION IN OTHER STATES AND UNION TERRITORIES:

In some States and Union Territories, like Maharastra, Gujrat, Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan, Delhi, Goa, etc., 'consumer protection movement' has already developed to a significant extent. The role of different 'voluntary consumer associations' can be taken as the most vital factor in developing consumer movement in these places. Moreover, the concerned Government authorities have also taken necessary initiatives for the promotion and protection of consumer interests, ultimately creating a favourable atmosphere for the expansion of consumer protection movement.

Gujrat and Maharastra are the leading States of the country, where consumer movement has made rapid strides. The State of Andhra-Pradesh and Rajasthan are also playing significant role for protection of rights and interests of the consumers, thus accelerating consumer protection movement in their respective States. A brief discussion of the status of consumer protection movement in some States of the country has been made in the following few pages:
(i) ANDHRA -PRADESH :

In Andhra Pradesh, the State Commission and District Forums have been functioning satisfactorily. The State Government has also constituted Consumer Protection Council and has notified Rules under the Consumer Protection Act (COPRA) 1986, as Andhra-Pradesh State Consumer Protection Rules, 1987.

Andhra-Pradesh can boast of highest number of Recognised Voluntary Consumer Organisations, actively working for the protection and promotion of consumer interests in the State. As on October 2000, a total number of three hundred and twenty one Recognised Voluntary Consumer Organisations are functioning in the State. The State Government also provides financial assistance to these Organisations. 'Akhil Bharatiya Grahak Panchayat' Hyderabad, is one of such prominent voluntary organisations founded in the year 1974. This organisation is actively engaged in development and expansion of consumer movement by organising the unorganised consumers, initiating public discussions on consumer protection issues and fighting in the law-courts for redressal of consumer grievances.

At the State level, National Institute of Consumer Studies, Hyderabad has already co-ordinating the activities of various consumer organisations.

State Government is enforcing Essential Commodities Act, Prevention of Black-Marketing & Maintenance of Supplies of Essential Commodities Act, Standards of Weights and Measures Act, and Prevention of Food Adulteration Act. A 'Vigilance Cell' attached to Civil Supplies Department has been set-up to ensure proper enforcement of consumer protection laws.
(ii) CHANDIGARH :

In Chandigarh, the concerned Government has established the State Commission and District Forums and constituted the Consumer Protection Council. The Government has also issued Rules under COPRA, 1986 as Chandigarh Consumer Protection Rules 1987.

The various consumer protection laws are being enforced. There are six Recognised Voluntary Consumer Associations till the year 2000, engaged in providing assistance towards the consumers for protection of their- rights and interests.

(iii) DELHI :


The concerned Government has set up a Directorate of Consumer Affairs in 1985 and has set-up complaint counters in all circles. A special Inspection Cell under the direct control of Commissioner, Food and Civil Supplies and Consumer Affairs also has been established to conduct inspection of retail outlets and circle offices.

There are twenty-six Recognised Voluntary Consumer Associations in Delhi till the year 2000. The representatives of Voluntary Organisations have been given certain powers of inspection of Fair Price Shops, Kerosine Depots, Coal Depots and to act on the complaint of consumers. The Chief Executive Councillor periodically meets the organisations to discuss and review their working.
Indian Federation of Consumer Associations (IFCA), New Delhi has been established in the year 1978, with prime objectives to encourage, promote and foster a strong, independent consumer movement throughout the country. 'Environment Cell', New Delhi, founded in the year 1979, has been working as a part of Gandhi Peace Foundation and engaged in promotion of public consciousness. 'Common Cause' is another prominent organisation actively engaged in fighting for consumer issues before the law-courts.

(iv) GUJRAT:

The State Government of Gujrat has already constituted State Consumer Protection Council and has notified Gujrat Consumer Protection Rules 1988. As in other States, Gujrat has also established State Commission and District Forums, which are functioning satisfactorily.

To represent consumer interests at State level, there is an apex body-'Consumer Affairs and Protection Agency of Gujrat (CAPAG)'. A consumer guidance cell was also established in the office of Food and Civil Supplies Controller, Ahmedabad. This cell provides guidance to the voluntary consumer organisations. For protection of the rights of the consumers, vigilance committees have been formed in some places like- Ahmedabad, Boroda, Rajkot, Surat etc. The State Government has constituted a Village Civil Supplies and Consumer Protection Advisory Committee to inspect 'Fair-Price Shops' in the State.

There are one hundred and twenty three Recognised Voluntary Consumer Organisations in the State, till the year two thousand, engaged in different fields for the protection of consumer rights and interests.
Among these organisations the achievements of Consumer Education and Research Centre (CERC), Ahmedabad requires special mention. This organisation was established in the year 1978, and primarily engaged in consumer education and research.

(v) KARNATAKA :

The State Commission and District Forums have been established and functioning. The Consumer Protection Council has been constituted and the State Government has notified the Karnataka Consumer Protection Rules 1988.

There are seventy-eight voluntary organisations in the State till October 2000. These Voluntary Organisations have covered the rural areas of the State quite extensively in respect of consumer protection issues. Some of these organisations produced films on 'Food-Adulteration', 'Drug-Adulteration', 'Cheating by Weights and Measures', 'Misleading Advertisements and Publicity', and 'General Consumer Awareness.' The contributions made by 'Karnataka Consumer Service Society', Bangalore, towards the development of consumer protection movement in the State is worth-mentioning. In the year 1984, the State Government constituted 'Karnataka Consumer Protection Board', to coordinate the activities of all the Voluntary Consumer Organisations in the State.

(vi) KERALA :

In Kerala, the State Commission and District Forums have been functioning satisfactorily. The State Government has constituted Consumer Protection Council and notified the Kerala Consumer Protection Rules 1987.
The State Civil Supplies Department has been designated as nodal agency for reviewing the progress in the implementation of various consumer laws.

The State has sixty Recognised Voluntary Consumer Organisations, which are actively engaged in protection of consumer interests both in urban as well as rural areas in the State.

(vii) MAHARASTRA:

Maharastra is one of the leading State in the field of consumer protection movement. The State Government has constituted the Consumer Protection Council and notified Maharastra Consumer Protection Rules 1987. Both the State Commission and District Forums are functioning satisfactorily.

In order to promote consumer protection movement in their respective areas, 'Consumer Protection Cells' have been constituted at State, Divisional, and District levels. 'Vigilance Committees' have been set-up at Village, Taluka, and District levels to monitor the functioning of Public Distribution System. Representatives of voluntary consumer organisations are also participating in these committees. The Committee members have been authorised to visit 'Fair Price Shops' and made reports to various authorities.

As per the latest information, there are seventy Recognised Voluntary Consumer Organisations in the State. Some of these organisations publish monthly reviews and organise seminars and exhibitions on consumer protection issues. 'Consumer Guidance Society of India (CGSI)', Mumbai, a voluntary consumer organisation, was
founded in the year 1966 with the objectives of protecting consumers and representing them for the security of their due rights.

The State Government is also engaged in organising seminars and exhibitions on consumer related issues. Documentary films are telecasted through local Doordarshan Kendras. The different enactments for consumer protection are being successfully enforced in the State.

(viii) RAJASTHAN:

The State Commission and District Forums have been established. The State Consumer Protection Council has been constituted. The State Government has issued Rajasthan Consumer Protection Rules, 1987. Both the State Commission and District Forums are functioning satisfactorily.

To discuss and review the problems and complaints related with consumers, the 'Vigilance Committees' have been constituted at District, Sub-Divisional, Block and Panchayat levels.

There are seventy-nine Voluntary Organisations till October, 2000 in the State, which are engaged in Protection of consumer interests. 'Consumer Unity and Trust Society (CUTS)', Jaipur, a voluntary organisation is actively engaged in educating the consumers about their rights and interests and also fighting for the security of consumer rights before the law-courts.

The various consumer protection laws are in force in the State.

(ix) TAMILNADU:

The State Government of Tamilnadu has constituted Consumer Protection Council and issued Rules under COPRA, 1986, as Tamilnadu

In order to co-ordinate the various activities of consumer protection in the State, the Food Department was redesignated as 'Food and Consumer Protection Department'. There are 'Vigilance Committees' at Taluk level to monitor the functioning of 'Fair-Price shops'. There is provision for 'Mini Analyser Kits' containing basic equipments and few chemicals to test the quality of essential commodities distributed to Departmental Stores and Civil Supplies Offices etc.

'Consumer Courses' have been introduced in the academic curriculum of the State. There are one hundred and sixty one Recognised Voluntary Consumer Organisations till the latest information, and are engaged in protection and promotion of consumer interests. The different Acts like - Essential Commodities Act, Standards of Weights and Measures Act, Drugs and Cosmetics Act, Prevention of Food Adulteration Act, etc. are in force in the State. The functioning of the State Commission and District Forums may be said to be satisfactory.

(x) WEST-BENGAL :

In West Bengal, the State Government has constituted the State Consumer Protection Council and notified West Bengal Consumer Protection Rules 1987. The State Commission and District Forums have been functioning satisfactorily.

The Government of West Bengal has set-up 'Directorate of Consumer Affairs' to look after various consumer related issues. There are "Advisory Committees' in every Panchayat Samiti, Zila Parishad,
and Municipality. Essential Commodities Act, Standards of Weights and Measures Act, Prevention of Food Adulteration Act are being strictly enforced in the State.

There are thirty-six Recognised Voluntary Consumer Organisations, as per the latest information in the State and are engaged in protection of rights and interests of the consumers. 'Consumer Action Forum', Calcutta, a Voluntary Organisation was founded in the year 1973 and is actively engaged in educating the consumers and providing legal aids towards the consumers to secure their rights before the law-courts.

There are a number of Recognised Voluntary Consumer Organisations in Other States and Union Territories and are engaged in strengthening consumer protection movement in their respective areas. In some of these States and Union Territories, the concerned Governments also have taken necessary initiatives for the expansion of consumer movement. The Voluntary Consumer Organisations can contribute a lot for the development of consumer movement not confined only to a particular State but to the National level also. The contributions made by some prominent voluntary organisations like CGSI- Bombay, IFCA -New Delhi, and CERC -Ahmedabad are praise - worthy.

In the North - East Region, including Assam, the insufficiency of voluntary consumer organisations practically hampers the growth and development of consumer movement to a considerable extent. Review of Consumer Protection Movement in Assam has been taken up in the next CHAPTER.

The Statewise position of the Recognised Voluntary Consumer Organisations is shown in the following 'Table' (TABLE NO.2.1)
TABLE NO.2.1
NUMBER OF RECOGNISED VOLUNTARY CONSUMER ORGANISATIONS IN STATES AND UNION TERRITORIES (AS ON 31.10.2000).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATES / UNION TERRITORIES</th>
<th>NO. OF RECOGNISED VOLUNTARY CONSUMER ORGANISATIONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Andaman &amp; Nicobar Islands</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Andhra-Pradesh</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Arunachal Pradesh</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Assam</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Bihar</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Chandigarh</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Daman &amp; Diu</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Delhi</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Goa</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Gujrat</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Haryana</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Himachal Pradesh</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Jammu &amp; Kashmir</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Karnataka</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Kerala</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Lakhshadweep</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Maharashtra</td>
<td>70</td>
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<tr>
<td>19. Manipur</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Meghalaya</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>21. Mizoram</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Nagaland</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Orissa</td>
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<tr>
<td>24. Pondicherry</td>
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<tr>
<td>25. Punjab</td>
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<tr>
<td>26. Rajasthan</td>
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<tr>
<td>27. Sikkim</td>
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<tr>
<td>28. Tamilnadu</td>
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<tr>
<td>29. Tripura</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>103</td>
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<tr>
<td>31. West Bengal</td>
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