

ASSIGNING ADMINISTRATION TO PARTICIPATORY SPACES: KERALA'S EXPERIENCE FROM DECENTRALIZATION

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Abstract

Democratic decentralization in Kerala is noted for its design to augment the spaces of participation, which was achieved by strengthening the existing local government institutions and creating new ones, and by opening up new public spaces for facilitating participation. Among the participatory institutions that were created during the decentralized governance system, Beneficiary Committees need special mention since this was created to foster participation in undertaking public works. The paper is an attempt to evaluate the efficiency of Beneficiary Committees as institutions of participatory democracy at local level. Through this exercise, the paper argues that assigning administration to participatory space, through Beneficiary Committees did not reap the expected benefits; it only resulted in cooption since the space for free discussion and existence of local vigilance group was pre-empted through this process.

Democratic decentralization is the process of devolving functions, funds and functionaries of state from the centre to the elected representatives at the lower levels. This is intended to enhance the participation of people in governance and hence is considered as an attempt to foster direct democracy. In India, under the centralized governance system, the participation of people in democracy was limited to periodic exercise of franchise to elect governments. Decentralised Planning system extended the role of people in India from the position of electing governments to a situation of increased participation of people in governance.

Democratic decentralization in Kerala is noted for its design

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to enhance the space of participation, which was achieved by strengthening the existing local government institutions and creating new ones, and by opening up new public spaces for facilitating participation. Grama Sabhas, Neighbourhood groups, development seminars, working groups and many spaces for participatory discussions and involvement were innovated (Harilal, 2012). Among the participatory institutions that were created during the decentralized governance system, Beneficiary Committees need special mention since this was created to foster participation in undertaking public works.

Prior to the decentralised planning campaign, public works were implemented through the registered contractors. This resulted in rent seeking activity and corruption, involving contractors, engineers and other officials in the state bureaucracy and politicians. It is in this context that the idea of Beneficiary Committee was materialized; it was visualized that participation of local people in public works will eliminate corruption since the possibility of social audit and transparency in executing public works is possible through effective Beneficiary Committees. The present work is an attempt to evaluate Beneficiary Committees with the primary objective of understanding the effectiveness of Beneficiary Committees as institutions of participatory democracy at local level.

The paper is organised into four Sections. Section one details the methodology and data sources, Section two elaborates the theoretical premises of the study, Section three analyses the effectiveness of Beneficiary Committees and Section four concludes the study.

Section I

Data Sources and Methodology

Beneficiary Committee has been visualized as a participatory institution for project implementation in a decentralized governance framework. The expected outcome of formulating the idea of

Beneficiary Committee was to reduce rent seeking behaviour of contractors and to break the unholy nexus between contractors, elected representatives and engineers. The efficiency of Beneficiary Committee can be understood only if one is able to understand whether this unholy nexus has been removed because of Beneficiary Committee. This depends on the genuineness of the Beneficiary Committees that are executing public works in Kerala. Three Panchayats are selected for analysis, Adat, Edavaka and Panayam Grama Panchayats and a total of six Beneficiary Committees who have already completed their work have been randomly selected from these Panchayats. Four members from each Beneficiary Committee and ten members from each Beneficiary Group were selected randomly and interviewed to understand the genuineness and effectiveness level of Beneficiary Committees. The indicators selected to understand effectiveness are efficiency, equity, transparency, accountability and participation.

A five point Likert scale is constructed for each attributes of the effectiveness of Beneficiary Committee. The scaled value obtained for various individuals are used for estimating an effectiveness index. Then a standardized index is constructed for effectiveness by using the formula;

$$I_i = [X_i - \min(X_i)] / [\max(X_i) - \min(X_i)]$$

Here I_i is the index value of i th dimension of efficacy, the value of I_i hence will range from 0 to 1, zero implying complete inefficacy and one, complete efficacy.

Section II

Theoretical premise

One important issue that has always been raised in democratic governance is the possibility of stretching people's power from electing governments to actual governance, the concept of participation in democratic governance becomes important in this context. The

elitist theory posits that a small minority consisting of members of the economic elite and policy planning networks, holds the maximum power and this power is independent of the state's democratic election process. It is impossible for the people to govern, because the elite are unlikely to welcome mass politics or the growing participation of the people for its anarchic potential. In this view, democracy will be more enduring and resilient, lower the level of participation. The emergence of Habermasian idea of public sphere marked a deviation from elitist theory in the discussions on governance and participation, since a new space was created for the public by the 18th century, which was separated from the power of both the church and government. Public sphere encompasses a variety of meaning; the most prominent one being the social site, or arenas where meanings are articulated, distributed and negotiated. (Negt and Kluge, 1993)

The importance of public sphere in the discussions on governance and participation is that, it provided clarification regarding the demarcation between the two and thus relieves participation from the use of administrative complexity. Public sphere acts as a framework for fostering responsiveness and accountability of power holders. Once actors in the public sphere are entrusted with the task of administration, the risk of co-optation emerges. In such a context, the role of public sphere as a space for free discussion differentiated from state administration collapses and participation is burdened with administrative complexity. The role of participation as a process of deliberation and argumentation which influences state policy and demands accountability gets reduced.

Section III

Effectiveness of Beneficiary Committee : An Analysis

The role of Beneficiary Committees in project implementation can first be understood by the relative role that Beneficiary

Committees are playing in executing public works. In Panayam and Adat grama Panchayat only five projects were implemented through Beneficiary Committee out of the total sixty public works. In Edavaka, out of the one hundred and twenty public works, twenty were done by Beneficiary Committees. Twenty percent of the Beneficiary Committees were selected randomly from each Panchayat, hence one each from Panayam and Adat and four from Edavaka Panchayat. Discussions with experts revealed that during the initial years of decentralized planning, many Beneficiary committees came up to undertake project works and contributed voluntary labour and materials. But the situation has changed over the years. The genuineness of the existing Beneficiary Committee is also doubtful and the researcher has examined this issue by looking into the effectiveness of Beneficiary Committee using the indicators of efficiency, equity, transparency, accountability and participation.

Beneficiary Committee and efficiency

One important objective of decentralized planning is to enhance efficiency in service delivery and project implementation to improve the well-being of people (Oommen, 2008). Theoretically Beneficiary Committee led public work projects would improve efficiency as the involvement of the local people will result in demanding resources from the Panchayat, making arrangements for the execution of work etc. If there arises any problem with respect to the execution of the work, the Beneficiary Group can discuss and sort out these problems. The power of collective action will be high in pressurizing the Beneficiary Group themselves to be more efficient in planning and executing the project.

Table 1 illustrates that the Beneficiary Committee is ineffective in undertaking public work assigned to it. Of all the selected indicators of efficiency, the lowest index value is attributed to efficiency in making arrangements for execution of work – the standardized

index is zero for females and 0.18 for males, indicating that the per cent of affirmative responses is nil. Beneficiary Committee is not at all efficient in demanding resources from the Panchayat nor is it efficient in sorting out problems, as revealed by the index. This again casts doubts regarding the genuineness of the Beneficiary Committee.

Table: 1
Efficiency level of Beneficiary Committee

Gender		E1	E2	E3	E4	E5
Index of efficiency						
Male	M	2	1.44	2	1.88	2.16
	N	18	18	18	18	18
	SD	.59	.51	.59	.75	.61
Female	M	2.16	1	2	1.83	1.83
	N	6	6	6	6	6
	SD	.75	.00	.89	40	.75
Total	M	2.04	1.33	2	1.87	2.08
	N	24	24	24	24	24
	SD	.62	.48	.659	.67	.653
Standardized index of efficiency						
Male	M	.25	.11	.25	.22	.29
	N	18	18	18	18	18
	SD	.14	.12	.14	.18	.15
Female	M	.29	.00	.25	.20	.20
	N	6	6	6	6	6
	SD	.18	.00	.22	.10	.18
Total	M	.26	.08	.25	.21	.27
	N	24	24	24	24	24
	SD	.15	.12	.164	.169	.163

Note: M - Mean, N - Frequency, S.D. - Standard Deviation

E1 - B.C has been efficient in discussing & proposing solutions to sort out the problems.

E2 - efficiency in making arrangements for execution of work.

E3 - to decide technological options.

E4 - to regulate a project in order to ensure equity in distribution.

E5 - efficient in demanding resource from the panchayat.

Beneficiary Committee and Equity

Attainment of social/gender equity is one major objective of decetralised planning, Tribal Sub Plan and Women Component Plan etc. are devised with regard to this objective. The Kerala Public Work Act provides provision for social/ gender equity for the projects being operated through Beneficiary group. As per the Act, one third of the Beneficiary Committee Group must be women and proper representation of SC/ST communities should be ensured if the project is for their area. It must also be ensured that among the office bearers, one should be a woman. All these measures were implemented inorder to ensure that there exists social/gender equity in project execution.

A perusal of the documents of the formation and working of Beneficiary Committee available at the Panchayat Offices makes it clear that women have been given due representation in the formation of Beneficiary Committee – i.e. the provision of including women in Beneficiary Committee is done as per records. But discussion with the Beneficiary Committee members revealed that defacto, women is not having any role in the formation or working of the Beneficiary Committee. They have been asked to put their signature in the records. It is interesting to note that in a Beneficiary Committee where a lady was the Convener, she did not know that she was the Convener, she was just informed by the elected representatives that if an approach road is to be constructed using the Panchayat funds, some people of the locality should sign

in the documents and she readily agreed. The same is the case with other Beneficiary Committee members also. Some indicators were identified to measure gender equity and the processed data on the basis of these indicators is given below.

Regarding the question whether defacto leadership is with women conveners, women members responded in completely negative manner, the index value is zero. There has not been any improvement in the awareness level of women members and they don't have any voice of representation and do not take part in the meetings of the Beneficiary Committee – the standardized index for all these measures of gender equity is very less. It is evident that the documents that are produced before the Panchayat authorities do not reveal the actual situation.

Table: 2
Gender equity level of Beneficiary Committee

Gender		S1	S2	S3	S4	S5
	Index of gender equity					
Male	M	2	1.44	2	1.88	2.16
	N	18	18	18	18	18
	SD	.59	.51	.59	.75	.61
Female	M	2.16	1	2	1.83	1.83
	N	6	6	6	6	6
	SD	.75	.00	.89	.40	.75
Total	M	2.04	1.33	2	1.87	2.08
	N	24	24	24	24	24
	SD	.62	.48	.65	.67	.65
	Standardized index of gender equity					
Male	M	.25	.11	.25	.22	.29
	N	18	18	18	18	18
	SD	.14	.12	.14	.18	.15

Female	M	.29	.00	.25	.20	.20
	N	6	6	6	6	6
	SD	.18	.00	.22	.10	.18
Total	M	.26	.08	.25	.21	.27
	N	24	24	24	24	24
	SD	.15	.12	.164	.169	.163

Note: M - Mean, N - Frequency, S.D. - Standard Deviation

S1 - women have the voice of representation in B.C

S2 - defacto leadership is into the women's convenor.

S3 - women take part in all meetings of B.C

S4 - women put their signature understanding what is happening.

S5 - improvement in awareness level of women members.

Beneficiary Committee and Transparency

One important means by which the evil effects of corruption such as bribery and other inefficiencies at local level can be tackled is through transparency of administration and execution of public works. In the Beneficiary Committee context, the transparency in the formation and activities of the Beneficiary Committee reduces the chance of corruption. Beneficiary Committee is formed from the general body meeting of the beneficiary group. Theoretically from among the Beneficiary Group, eight to fifteen members are identified either on the basis of consensus or open voting. After the formation of the Beneficiary Committee, regular meetings are to be done and the progress of the work should be reported and discussed. All transactions should be transparent and details of the work including name of the work, estimate amount, mode of implementation, contract amount, convenor's name, type and measurement of materials, different categories, numbers, wages etc. of workers, time frame for the work to be completed etc. should be exhibited on the work site in Malayalam. By Public Works Act, the

Panchayat should release money only after such a notice board is installed. The minutes of the Beneficiary Committee meeting must be available for all the members of the beneficiary group, if requested. All these measures were introduced to ensure full transparency in the execution of public works in the Panchayat. If an activity is transparent the chance of it becoming corrupt or leading to failure is less.

Transparency is one of the basic objectives of decentralization. In the Beneficiary Committee context whether this objective is realized is examined using indices including timely reporting of progress to citizens and various stakeholders, display of details of projects in the work site, transparency in purchase of materials/labour cost, availability of documents for verification etc. Table : 3 reveals that the objectives of transparency in the activities of Beneficiary Committee are not realized in actual practice. There is no transparency in the formation of Beneficiary Committee. In the three work sites that were completed, display boards regarding the details of the public work were not exhibited. Beneficiary Committee Members did not have any idea regarding the details or purchase of materials or labour cost, there was no reporting of activity details to the Committee members or Beneficiary Group. Documents were not also made available to the Beneficiary group for verification. All these are reflected in the very low index values for the parameters that are selected for measuring transparency. This again leads to the question of genuineness of the Beneficiary Committee.

Table: 3
Transparency Level of Beneficiary Committee

Gender		T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
Index of transparency						
Male	M	1.61	1.77	1.94	1.83	1.8
	N	18	18	18	18	18
	SD	.50	.54	.80	.51	.58
Female	M	1.83	1.83	1.83	1.83	1.16
	N	6	6	6	6	6
	SD	.40	.40	.75	.40	.40
Total	M	1.66	1.79	1.91	1.83	1.70
	N	24	24	24	24	24
	SD	.48	.50	.77	.48	.62
Standardized index of transparency						
Male	M	.15	.19	.23	.20	.22
	N	18	18	18	18	18
	SD	.12	.13	.20	.12	.14
Female	M	.20	.20	.20	.20	.04
	N	6	6	6	6	6
	SD	.10	.10	.18	.10	.10
Total	M	.16	.19	.22	.20	.17
	N	24	24	24	24	24
	SD	.12	.12	.19	.12	.15

Note: M - Mean, N - Frequency, S.D. - Standard Deviation

T1 - transparency in the formation of B.C.

T2 - timely reporting of progress to citizen's & various stakeholders.

T3 - display of details of projects in the work site.

T4 - transparency in purchase of materials/labor cost.

T5 - documents available for Beneficiary committee groups for verifications.

Beneficiary Committee and Accountability

One of the major objectives of decentralization is to enhance accountability. If a project is executed, operated and maintained by local people, their accountability is expected to be higher. The possibility of social auditing exists when Beneficiary Committee undertakes the project work.

Accountability is understood using indices like the existence of social auditing, accountability of monitoring committee at Panchayat level etc. Table shows that accountability is absent in the activities of the Beneficiary Committee and in monitoring the activities of the Beneficiary Group. Minutes of meeting is not kept, this is because meetings are rarely conducted. But once the final bills are produced for settlement, along with the bills, cooked up minutes is also produced. The Beneficiary Committee members do not have any idea regarding the minutes. One aim of entrusting Public works to Beneficiary Committee is the possibility of social auditing. But it is interesting to note that no amount of social auditing is done as part of the activities of the Beneficiary Committee and hence the expected results are not materialized.

Table: 4
Accountability Level of Beneficiary Committee

Gender		A1	A2	A3	A4	A5
Male	Index of accountability					
	M	2.27	1.33	2	1.16	2.27
	N	18	18	18	18	18
	SD	.75	.48	.68	.38	.66
Female	M	1.83	1	1.66	1.16	2.33
	N	6	6	6	6	6
	SD	.40	.00	.51	.40	.51
Total	M	2.16	1.25	1.91	1.16	2.29
	N	24	24	24	24	24
	SD	.70	.44	.65	.38	.62

	Standardized index of accountability					
	M	.31	.08	.25	.04	.31
Male	N	18	18	18	18	18
	SD	.18	.12	.17	.09	.16
Female	M	.20	.00	.16	.04	.33
	N	6	6	6	6	6
	SD	.10	.00	.12	.10	.12
Total	M	.29	.06	.22	.04	.32
	N	24	24	24	24	24
	SD	.17	.11	.16	.09	.15

Note: M - Mean, N - Frequency, S.D. - Standard Deviation

A1 – social auditing is done.

A2 – accountability of monitoring committee at the Panchayat level.

A3 – minutes of every meeting is kept.

A4 – accountability in terms of maintenance of assets.

A5 – ready to clarify any doubts of people regarding public works.

Participation Level of Beneficiary Committee

Enhancing the opportunities of people's participation in development activities is considered as a major objective of decentralized planning. The success of a plan depends upon the ability of the authorities in enhancing participation right from the stage of decision making to execution. Beneficiary Committees were visualized to replace the contractor system in public works which was reported to create rent seeking behaviour among authorities. It was conceived that since Beneficiary Committees ensure participation of local people in project execution, the chance of corruption and thereby wastage of public resources would be less. Hence theoretically Beneficiary Committee enhances the role of participation in plan execution. People have choice in deciding on the technology option for a project, have the chance in involving

in discussion regarding each aspect of the project so that informed decision making is possible. The level of participation of Beneficiary Committee members in project execution is empirically understood from Table. 5.

Table: 5
Participation level of Beneficiary Committee

Gender		P1	P2	P3	P4	P5
	Index of participation					
Male	M	1.61	1.88	1.88	1.83	1.61
	N	18	18	18	18	18
	SD	.50	.67	.58	.51	.50
Female	M	1.50	1.83	1.66	2	1.33
	N	6	6	6	6	6
	SD	.54	.40	.51	.89	.51
Total	M	1.58	1.87	1.83	1.87	.54
	N	24	24	24	24	24
	SD	.50	.61	.56	.61	.50
	Standardized index of participation					
Male	M	.15	.22	.20	.15	.15
	N	18	18	18	18	18
	SD	.12	.16	.14	.12	.12
Female	M	.12	.20	.16	.25	.08
	N	6	6	6	6	6
	SD	.13	.10	.12	.22	.12
Total	M	.14	.21	.20	.21	.13
	N	24	24	24	24	24
	SD	.12	.15	.14	.15	.12

Note: M - Mean, N - Frequency, S.D. - Standard Deviation

- P1 - enhanced people's participation & in beneficiary contribution.
- P2 - enhanced voluntary contribution in terms of manpower.
- P3 - participatory attitude of elected members of Panchayat.
- P4 - participation in project identification.
- P5 - detailed discussion regarding planning, implementation and minutes of each minutes book

The frequency of affirmative responses is near to nil as far as participation is considered. There has neither been any voluntary contribution in terms of manpower, nor any additional financial resources raised using beneficiary contribution. For project identification also there has been no participation of the Beneficiary Committee members. There has not been any discourse or discussions as to the planning and implementation of the project work as made clear by the low level of participation index.

Opinion of Beneficiary Group

Beneficiary Committee is the executive arm of the Beneficiary Group. Beneficiary Group is the association of every household directly benefited by the scheme. Beneficiary Committee is selected from among the members of the Beneficiary Group preferably by consensus. If consensus is not reached, the selection shall be by open voting. The function of Beneficiary Group is to act as the General Body for implementing a scheme. A survey has been conducted among the Beneficiary Group regarding their awareness and involvement in the formulation and implementation of public works. From each locality ten people were selected randomly and interviewed with the help of a schedule. Informal discussions were also done with other residents of the locality. Many members of the Beneficiary Group remember that an initial meeting was held for construction purpose, i.e. the only idea about the Beneficiary Committee they had. When interviewed, they revealed that the work has been completely done by a contractor; they do not possess

any idea regarding the cost or any other details of the project. They were completely unaware of the activities of the Beneficiary Group – there was no Beneficiary Group in operation, they never witnessed any further meeting of the Beneficiary Group. All these revealed that the Beneficiary Group was not at all operational in the construction activities and benamis of the contractor or the contractor himself was undertaking the work.

Section IV

Conclusion

The study reveals that over the years, the relative role of Beneficiary Committee in project implementation is coming down. Genuine Beneficiary Committees operating in the state has become relatively extinct, the fakeness of Beneficiary Committee is understood by the low level of awareness regarding their functions, roles, responsibilities and powers. The efficiency of Beneficiary Committee is understood by examining whether the objectives of entrusting public works to Beneficiary Committee are materialized in actual practice in the decentralized scenario. Decentralisation is said to be effective when it fosters transparency, participation, gender and social equity, accountability and efficiency. Theoretically Beneficiary Committee led public work projects would improve all these as the involvement of the local people will result in demanding resources from the Panchayat, making arrangements for the execution of work etc. The power of collective action will be high in pressurizing the Beneficiary Group themselves to be more efficient in planning and executing the project, but analysis shows that Beneficiary Committee is ineffective in undertaking public works assigned to it. Study reveals that the objectives of transparency in the activities of Beneficiary Committee are not realized in actual practice. There is no transparency in the formation of Beneficiary Committee. One of the major objectives of decentralization is to enhance accountability.

If a project is executed, operated and maintained by local people, their accountability is expected to be higher, through social auditing. Study shows that accountability is absent in the activities of the Beneficiary Committee and in monitoring the activities of the Beneficiary Group. Minutes of meeting is not kept, this is because meetings are rarely conducted. But once the final bills are produced for settlement, along with the bills, cooked up minutes is also produced. The frequency of affirmative responses is near to nil as far as participation is considered. There has neither been any voluntary contribution in terms of manpower, nor any additional financial resources being raised using beneficiary contribution. For project identification also there has been no participation of the Beneficiary Committee members. There has not been any discourse or discussions as to the planning and implementation of the project work as made clear by the low level of participation index. The study gives clear inference regarding the fakeness of the Beneficiary Committees that are in operation.

To conclude, participation in decentralized system of governance needs to be revisited, based on the argument that participatory spaces need to be freed from administration. Once participatory institutions are entrusted with administration as in the case of Beneficiary Committees, the chance of cooption is very high. The distinction between citizens who ask questions and the state machinery which is to provide answers gets blurred. Beneficiary Committee tries to preempt local vigilance groups who have demanded accountability and responsiveness. The need of the hour is to preserve the relative autonomy of participatory spaces so that they retain their right to be critical.

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WORKING AND LIVING CONDITIONS OF LONG DISTANCE MIGRANTS IN THE CONSTRUCTION SECTOR OF KERALA

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Abstract

In recent years Kerala has been witnessing huge inflow of domestic migrant labourers from many other parts of the country. Majority of these migrants are from far off states like West Bengal, Odisha, Assam Uttar Pradesh and Bihar and are employed in the construction sector. Though these unskilled migrant labourers get better employment opportunities in Kerala, socio- economic, geographic, cultural and linguistic disparities between their native states and the destination make them vulnerable. In this context, this paper examines the working and living conditions of long distance migrants in the construction sector of Kerala. The analysis of the study is based on data collected from 369 migrant construction workers in Ernakulam and Thiruvananthapuram districts. The study found that despite substantial improvement in the economic status of migrants, their living conditions are deplorable without proper sanitation and drinking water facilities and they are exposed to various health risks.

Key words: Long Distance Migrants, Construction Sector, Working and Living condition, Labour Welfare Measures

Migration has a very important role in the development experience of Kerala. Along with international migration, migration of people within the national borders has also become particularly significant in the context of Kerala. The state attracts a large number of domestic migrant labourers from many other parts of the country in recent years. Kerala's unique features like high social development, rapid

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urbanization, expansion of urban informal sector etc. are some of the major reasons behind the huge influx of migrant workers from other states. Moreover, large scale external migration of people from Kerala in search of better employment opportunities as well as the preference of educated youth in Kerala for white collar jobs resulted in a huge gap in demand and supply of labourers within the state's job market. At first majority of the migrants were from the neighbouring state of Tamil Nadu. However, there has been considerable reduction in the flow of labourers from Tamil Nadu since 1990s and at present the state is witnessing the inflow of migrant workers from far off states like West Bengal, Odisha, Assam, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. These long distance migrants consider Kerala as their 'Gulf' and majority of them are engaged in the construction sector of Kerala. Higher wage rates and better employment opportunities prevailing in the construction sector are supposed to have acted as pull factors. All over the world, migrant labourers have experienced many agonies and miseries such as uncertain jobs, lower wages, insufficient housing facilities, poor health and sanitation, various types of discrimination and exploitation etc. The case of migrant workers in Kerala is also not different. So far, few attempts have been made by researchers to study the working and living conditions of long distance migrants to Kerala. In this context, the present paper makes an attempt to examine the working and living conditions of long distance migrants working in the construction sector of Kerala.

Data Source and Method

The study is based on a primary survey conducted among the long distance migrants employed in construction sector in Ernakulam and Thiruvananthapuram districts. In comparison with other districts, large numbers of long distance migrants are employed in these two districts. Relevant information were collected from a

sample of 369 migrant construction workers selected randomly from Ernakulam and Thiruvananthapuram by using an interview schedule. Data collected through interview schedules were supplemented by interactions held with construction labourers, recruiting agencies, builders and officials of the Labour Department of the state. Interactions with the labourers were held at their places of dwelling during non working hours with the help of people who are familiar with the mother tongue of the migrants. Simple statistical tools like averages and percentages were used for data analysis.

Results and Discussions

Before examining the working and living conditions of long distance migrant construction workers, it is worthwhile to understand distribution of the sample respondents on the basis of their native states. The largest proportion of the respondents were from the state of West Bengal (50.1%) followed by Odisha (27.9%), Uttar Pradesh (10.6 %), Assam (9.5 %) and Bihar (1.9 %). West Bengal and Odisha together account for 78% of the respondents. Most of the respondents from West Bengal are from Murshidabad, Jalpaiguri and North 24 Parganas districts. Nearly three fourth of the migrants are either illiterates or having only primary level of education. Moreover, more than 55% of them are from backward communities.

An analysis of occupational pattern of the migrants is presented in Table 1. The occupational status of the respondents shows that 48% of the migrants are employed as helpers, 29.4% as masons, 10.5% as carpenters and 6.5% as brick layers in the construction industry.

Table 1
Present Occupation of the Respondents

Occupation	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Helper	176	47.7
Mason	108	29.4
Carpenter	39	10.5
Brick Layer	24	6.5
Others	22	5.9
Total	369	100.0

Source: Field survey

As the migrant workers are less educated and unskilled, initially they get employment in the construction sector as helpers. After acquiring sufficient experience, they find better opportunities like masons or carpenters.

Income and Expenditure Details of Respondents

Often, people migrate from their native places to far off places in search of better prospects. Income is an important factor which attracts people to new destinations. As income increases standard of living also increases. The economic status of migrant construction workers is viewed on the basis of monthly income of the workers.

Table 2
Monthly Income of the Migrants

Monthly Income	Before Migration	After Migration
No income	17 (4.6)	0 (0.0)
≤ 2500	187 (50.7)	13 (3.5)
2501 – 5000	149 (40.4)	34 (9.2)
5001 – 7500	12 (3.2)	129 (34.9)
7501- 10000	3 (0.81)	167 (45.2)
>10000	1 (0.2)	26 (7.0)
Total	369 (100.0)	369(100.0)

Source : Field survey

Note : Figures in brackets indicate percentages

Monthly income details are given in the Table.2 show that income of the migrants has increased considerably after migration. It is clear that around 52% of migrants currently earn more than Rs. 7500 per month. The corresponding figure was only 1% in the pre migration stage. Among the 369 respondents only 4 of them got more than 7500 in their native places. After migration the number has increased to 193. Similarly, after migration, around 87% of the migrants are getting above 5000 as monthly income. The corresponding figure was less than 5% while they worked in their respective place of origin. This difference is a crucial and prime factor behind migration. Moreover, they can save a reasonable amount of money to send back to home. The study finds that while the average monthly income of migrants during pre-migration period is Rs. 2571, the corresponding figure has substantially increased to Rs. 7328 after migration. That is the current average monthly income is three times that of their previous income. From informal conversations also, it was understood that the current income is three-four times higher than the wage rates prevailing in the native places of migrants.

Table 3
Monthly Expenditure of the Migrants

Monthly Expenditure	No. of Respondents	Percentage
≤ 2000	17	4.6
2001-3000	237	64.2
3001-4000	73	19.7
4001-5000	22	5.9
>5000	20	5.4
Total	369	100.0

Source: Field survey

It is quite interesting to examine the monthly expenditure of the migrants also. A monthly expenditure detail of the migrants in the post- migration period is given in the Table 3. Highest proportion (64%) of respondents revealed that they were spending between Rs. 2001 – Rs. 3000 in a month. Almost one fifth of the respondents spent in a range of Rs. 3001 – Rs. 4000. That means almost 84% of migrants were found to be spending between Rs. 2001 – Rs. 4000 monthly while they are living in Kerala. Their average monthly expenditure was around Rs.2934.

Mode of Recruitment

Associated with labour migration to Kerala, there are a number of contractors and middlemen who recruit workers from long distance states. A question was posed to the respondents regarding their mode of recruitment at the time of migration. It was found that nearly three fourth of long distance migrants were recruited either by contractors or they came to Kerala with the help of friends. As shown in Table 4, nearly 47.2% of them were recruited through contractors and 28.7% of them came to Kerala with the help of their friends. Another question was posed to the respondents regarding their mode of recruitment for the current occupation. It was found that nearly 55% of the migrants joined the present occupation with the help of either friends or relatives. This is an indication of the fact that information networks play an important role in the process of migration. Another note worthy aspect is that migrant labourers who are recruited through contractors or agents give a part of their earnings as commission. While depending on others in the migratory movement, they have to undergo many types of exploitive practices such as manipulation in wage rates and work record, non payment or withholding of wages, long work hours, verbal and physical abuse.

Table 4
Method of Recruitment

Method of Recruitment	Percentage of Respondents	
	At the time of Migration	For the Current Occupation
Contractor	47.2	30.1
Friends	28.7	42.9
Own	11.6	8.0
Middle men	6.9	7.4
Relatives	5.6	11.6
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Field survey

Construction labourers mainly belong to two categories; those who work with a contractor and have some assurance about regular employment and those who seek daily employment by casual employers. Even though the casual workers who seek daily jobs independently get more wages, they do not get regular employment. Their employment is dependent upon market demands, and they have to be ready to move in search of better wages and employment opportunities. However, labourers attached to a contractor usually get employment on a regular basis. They will have to shift with the employer from site to site. This kind of employment also helps the labourers to work with experienced labourers and thereby become more skilled and earn better wages.

Living conditions

After examining the working condition of the respondents, it is quite interesting to examine their living conditions. Lack of appropriate housing is a serious problem faced by the migrants. The pattern of accommodation of the migrants showed that while more than half of them (56%) lived with less than or equal to five

members, 33% reported to be residing with 6 to 10 roommates in a single room and 10.6 percent reported that they were living in a room with nearly 11 to 15 roommates. This shows that most of the inter-state migrants to Kerala are accommodated in overcrowded rooms. There is a saying that birds of the same feather flock together. This is very much true in the case of migrant labourers. Most often occupants of a house work in same profession. They are also from same locality or region or often from same caste or social group. An examination of the native place of the migrants showed that almost all of them who lived together belonged to the same native place. Moreover, it was found that almost 74% of the migrants were of the opinion that they are living with people from the same caste.

Table 5
Principal Source of Daily Food Intake

Source	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Hotel	9	2.4
Canteen	5	1.4
Self cooked	341	92.4
Mess	13	3.5
Others	1	0.3
Total	369	100.0

Source: Field survey

An analysis was made to understand the food arrangement of the migrants. Principal source of daily food intake is given in Table 5. It was found that more than 92% of the migrants cooked their food daily. Cooking is done either in the open air or in make -shift common kitchens. Among the respondents, more than half of them used kerosene stoves for cooking while 38% used firewood for cooking. As per Inter-State Migrant Workmen Act, employers who employ over fifty persons are required to provide them with canteen and accommodation as well as facilities for sanitation and health care.

But the results of the present study show that such facilities are absent among the interstate migrants employed in the construction sector of Kerala.

Lack of amenities in work site is another serious problem faced by the migrants. The provisional sheds and living arrangement in construction site is a common sight and their condition differs with the number of inmates and the scale of construction. In enormous construction sites in Kerala, labourers stay in labour camps. Labour camps refer to semi-permanent structures made of brick ramparts and tin roofing. Often, the land in which labour camps were situated belonged to local people and the construction owners paid rent. In the labour camps they do not have enough cooking facilities. Non availability of safe drinking water and absence of proper sewage facilities make the situation worse. Opinion of the migrants regarding their living condition is listed in Table 6.

Table 6
Response Regarding Living Conditions

Items	Percentage of	Respondents
	Yes	No
Sanitation Facilities	23.4	76.5
Drinking Water Facilities	66.1	33.9
Toilet Facility	13.7	86.3
Intensive heat in work place	41.1	58.9
Odorous air	94.5	5.5
Risk of accident	64.4	35.6
Experience of accident	1.4	98.6
Recreational facilities	19.2	80.8
Work daily in a strained position	66.5	33.4
Force to work for longer hours	70.9	29.1
Additional incentive for work	95.3	4.5
Sufficient time for lunch	96.5	3.5
Feelings of exploitation	56.2	43.8

Source: Field survey

According to the opinion of migrants, three fourth of them did not have proper sanitation facilities and more than one third of the respondents lacked proper drinking water facility. More than 86% of the respondents did not have toilet facility and they often use open places for defecation. This shows unhygienic way of living by the large section of the migrant construction workers. They are also accused of dumping wastes into common land and rivers or canals, thus polluting environment. As a result of lack of proper water supply, poor drainage system, unhealthy practices and deplorable sanitary conditions, the migrants are exposed to various kinds of health risks. They are prone to infectious diseases such as malaria, typhoid, hepatitis, fever, respiratory diseases etc. These migrants are also seen as a health threat, as carriers of diseases that were eradicated from Kerala. Among the sample respondents, 67% were of the opinion that they had to work daily in a strained position. 71% of the respondents revealed that they were forced to work for longer hours. Their only consolation was the meagre remuneration received for doing over time work. Even though 95% of the respondents opined that they get additional incentive for doing overtime work. Over all, more than half of the migrants had experienced a feeling of exploitation.

Regarding the degree of risk involved in their jobs, 64% believed that there was a high element of risk. When the respondents were questioned about the safety measures at the work site, 90% of them pointed out that there were safety measures like helmet, shoes, safety belt etc. However majority of them felt that these safety measures were inadequate and they are very poor. Regarding the degree of risk involved in their jobs, 64% believed that there was a high element of risk. When the respondents were questioned about the safety measures at the work site, 90% of them pointed out that there were safety measures like helmet, shoes, safety belt etc. However, majority of them felt that these safety measures were inadequate.

Another lamentable fact was that majority of long distance migrants did not have any recreational facility. In many construction sites they work for 8-10 hours in a day and thus have no time for any relaxation or entertainment. After coming home late in the evenings, they do not have time for anything else than cooking, eating and sleeping. Sunday is the only day they get to enjoy and relax. Many of them do their weekly chores like washing and cleaning on that day. Some people stay in their rooms watching movies on television. Elaborate cooking is a common feature on Sundays. They go out on Sundays to the local market to buy provisions, cloths, recharge phones and check out VCDs and to do more elaborate shopping if they are planning to go home the week after.

Lack of awareness about labour rules and regulation and fear of employers prevent migrant labourers from providing true information about their working and living conditions and this adds to their vulnerability. They are nomadic in nature as job seekers and are ignorant about the rights and privileges they are entitled to get. The state government introduced a welfare scheme for the migrant labourers on the May Day of 2010. The scheme 'Inter-State Migrant Workers Welfare Scheme' is implemented through Kerala Construction Labourers Welfare Fund. The aim of the scheme is to make migrant workers aware of the privileges in work sites and the importance of maintaining healthy atmosphere (Economic Review, 2010). The scheme would be monitored by an advisory committee chaired by the State Labour Commissioner and representatives of various trade unions are members of the committee. Though the migrant labour welfare scheme insists that the labourers be provided with suitable accommodation, medical aid, protective clothing and timely wages equal to or higher than the minimum wage, these provisions were most often violated. According to the officials of the Labour Department, majority of the long distance inter-state

migrant labourers have not been registered under the Inter-State Migrant Workmen Act, though the Act is applicable to every “establishment in which five or more inter-state migrant workmen are employed”.

An analysis of the prevailing conditions of welfare measures of the migrant labourers in the construction sector was made in the present study. The results showed the dismal conditions of the labourers. Table 7 shows that most of the labourers (98 %) were totally ignorant about the Inter- state migrant Act and were totally left out of the provisions of the Act. Nearly 99%of the respondents do not have ration card. They are not recognized as Below Poverty Line category and are deprived of all benefits covered under the Public Distribution System.

Table 7
Labour Welfare Measures

Items	Percentage of Respondents	
	Yes	No
Awareness of Inter- state migrant Act	2.2	97.8
Issue of Ration card	1.4	98.6
Insurance Package	13.9	86.1
Precautionary measures against accident by the employer	89.6	10.4
Medical camp	44.2	55.6
Service certificate on termination of job	0.8	99.2
Allowances	40.9	59.1
Membership in the Kerala State Building and Construction Workers Welfare fund	0.3	99.7
Employment related pass book	20.1	79.9

Source: Field survey

More than 86% of them are not covered by any insurance package, even though they worked under risky conditions. Only 14% had any kind of insurance. Regarding the incidence of accidents at the worksite, 98% of the migrants responded that they did not experience any incident of accident or hazard. However, from informal discussions it was clear that there were many reported cases of accidents. In such cases major expenditure was borne by the victims. Contractors were not willing to pay for medical treatment of accident victim even if the injuries render the worker unable to earn for a long period of time.

Health status of these migrant labourers is associated within malnutrition, poor access to preventive and curative health services. Migrant labourers are usually employed in the 3-D jobs which are dangerous, dirty and degrading. These are the jobs which the local population of the state would not take up and hence, labour is brought in from outside for the same or less than wages. No leave was available with wages in case of sickness of any worker. The cost of medicines was also not reimbursed. Regarding the existence of medical camp at the worksite, 56% of the respondents opined that there was no such camp at the site. The study made an attempt to examine the frequency of conducting of medical camps for the migrant construction labourers. More than one third of the migrants responded that medical camps were held only once in 2 years. All these show the indifference of the employers towards health care of the migrant employees. Another significant factor which added to their vulnerability was that they were not issued any service certificate or experience certificate on termination of their job.

Absence of trade unionism is another problem of migrant construction labourers. Trade unions and civil society organisations are often indifferent to the plight of migrant labourers as none of them belonged to any union or had membership in any other

organisation. All these reveal that they did not have any bargaining power regarding wages or working conditions. When asked about their allowances, most of them replied that they received festival allowances once in a year, but they were not entitled to get sickness allowances or bonus. 59% of the respondents did not receive any allowances. Only 10% of them receive bonus and 5% of the respondents receive sickness allowance.

One of the major problems migrant labourers face is identity crisis. As most of them are on the move and not permanent residents in a place, they find it difficult to register themselves under any welfare schemes offered by the government. Another problem that the migrant faces is related to languages. Labourers are coming from different states having different languages. Moreover, they face much difficulty in understanding Malayalam. According to nearly 85% of the respondents, they are experiencing problems due to unfamiliarity of the local language occasionally. Given their lack of awareness, these migrant labourers have little access to health services, testing and treatment centres for sexually transmitted infections and means for HIV prevention. Cultural and linguistic barriers intensify their vulnerabilities.

Conclusion

In the context of huge inflow of migrant labourers from long distant states to Kerala, the present study examined various aspects related to their work and life. It was found that as the migrant workers coming to Kerala are less educated and unskilled, initially, they get employment in the construction sector as helpers. After acquiring sufficient experience, they find better opportunities like masons or carpenters. The economic status of migrant construction workers is viewed on the basis of monthly income of the workers. It was found that their current income is around three times higher

than the wage rates they obtained in their native places in states like West Bengal, Odisha and UP. Majority of the migrants were recruited by contractors or middlemen to whom they have to give a part of their earnings as commission. The study also highlights the role of information networks in the process of migration. Another noteworthy aspect is that while depending on others in the migratory movement, they have to undergo many types of exploitive practices such as manipulation in wage rates and work record, non payment or withholding of wages, long work hours, verbal and physical abuse.

Majority of inter-state migrants to Kerala are accommodated in overcrowded rooms. Most often occupants of the house are from same locality and from the same social category. As a result of lack of proper water supply, poor drainage system, unhealthy practices and deplorable sanitary conditions, the migrants are exposed to various kinds of health risks. Long distant migrants are nomadic in nature as job seekers and are ignorant about the rights and privileges they are entitled to get. They are deprived of all benefits covered under the Public Distribution System. Trade unions and civil society organisations are often indifferent to the plight of migrant labourers as none of them belong to any union or have membership in any other organisation. All these reveal that they did not have any bargaining power regarding wages or working conditions. Cultural and linguistic barriers intensify their vulnerabilities. Most of them are engaged in dangerous jobs without proper safety measures. In many construction sites they work for longer hours and have no time for any relaxation. Lack of awareness about social welfare measures, lack of awareness among the labourers about various services available etc add to their vulnerability. The results of the study highlight the urgent need for providing better facilities for enhancing the well-being of migrant construction workers.

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RAM MANOHAR LOHIA: A PATHFINDER IN INDIAN SCENARIO OF DECOLONIZING METHODOLOGY

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Abstract

Like many things decolonization is also a form of critical enquiry into the nature of modernity. This study has been largely enlightened by Linda Tuhiwai Smith's 'Decolonizing Methodologies : Research and Indigenous Peoples'. She challenges the dominant western "Frame works of Knowledge". It is also the concern voiced by Lohia about India who have been colonized both physically and intellectually.

Key words: Decolonization, Research, Methodology, Indigenous, Historiography.

"Europeans so dominated the world's current thought that it does not occur to university men in the non- European world to submit these concepts to close examination." (Lohia, 1987, 54).

Smith expounds that from the vantage point of the colonized; the term research is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism. She indicates to the system and framework of how European research was carried out, classified, and presented back to the West, and then, through the eyes of the West, back to the colonized, a process that Edward Said has called "Orientalism." (Smith, 1999, p.2) The alternative is to address social issues of indigenous peoples within the wider framework of self-determination, decolonization, and social justice in order to create "indigenous research, indigenous research protocols and indigenous methodologies" that relate to indigenous priorities and problems. This new framework and approach requires a historical and critical analysis of the role of research in the indigenous world so that it can provide alternatives

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as to how we see knowledge and its social construction, as well as methodologies and the politics of research.

Smith situates four concepts that are present in how indigenous peoples' ideas are articulated: imperialism, history, writing, and theory. These four concepts, according to the author, will enable scholars to have a better understanding of the underlying assumptions, motivations, and values informing research practices". (Smith,199, p.3) Smith writes that reclaiming indigenous history is a critical and essential part of decolonization, and not a total rejection of all theory, research, or western knowledge. (Smith,1999) Rather, it is about centering indigenous concerns and world views and then coming to know and understand theory and research from indigenous perspectives and for indigenous purposes.

The author postulates that western imperial research of indigenous peoples has had at its foundations the "theory of knowledge known as empiricism and the scientific paradigm of positivism" derived from it..(Smith,1999) Western research, founded upon western philosophy and the use of western epistemology, comes with a cultural orientation, a set of values, different conceptualizations of such things as space and time, different and competing theories of knowledge, highly specialized forms of language, and structures of power that represent the western world view.(Smith:1999:28) Reductionist methods are employed, models are developed, and evaluations are made according to the criteria determined by the researcher.

The goal of this research agenda moves beyond survival to recovery, development, and, ultimately, to self-determination. It goes beyond politics into the realm of social justice and involves a wide range of terrains, including the psychological, social, cultural, and economic. The agenda put forward involves the processes of transformation, decolonization, healing, and mobilization of peoples.

However, in order for all of these aspects of the indigenous research agenda to be "credible," they must be based on indigenous frameworks and world views.

Colonial India

Colonial Education promoted a kind of measurement of learning which precludes the majority from the ambit of merit. As Michael Foucault argued; "Examinations becomes a great ceremonies of power, exams causes perpetual fear, tension and anxiety; exams make it impossible for the teacher and the student to have a symmetrical relationship. Exams declare one's 'success' or 'failure'. Exams do not show one's possibilities. Instead exams give the final judgment and educe one to a fixed category: 'bright' or 'dull', 'intelligent' or 'stupid', 'good' or 'bad'. (Foucault, 1984, p.184).

Colonialism facilitated the rationalist myth of reason where knowledge is seen as discovery of an eternal truth. This led to the picture of the teacher in a central role as transmitter of objective truths to students. This approach did not promote clarifying relevance to the lives of students, but instead promoted a curriculum to be delivered.

Colonialism education as Gandhi perceived: The aim of colonial education was not personality development or character formation or social solidarity but it was brainwash. It was those English educated India who enslaved India not the foreigners. Sin is on us not on the English. (HindSwaraj, Chapter 8)

Rammanohar Lohia was a pioneering political and economic philosopher as well as a humanist who envisioned the evolution of a Socialist India that can be a model for the vast expanse of human habitat immersed in poverty and misery. His life- work constitutes a large body of remarkable writings and a splendorous record of political life which together constitutes an amazing narrative of a great revolutionary.

Lohia has been variously described as the freedom fighter, Quit India hero, socialist thinker, arch enemy of Nehru, man of Indian path to socialism, father of non- congressism ect...Many analysts studied these various facets at length. Especially in the post mandal period, Lohia along with Ambedkar become the focus figures of india politics. Both his critic and admires selectively treated him , as their whims go.

Most social reform leaders of India were influenced by western ideas while they were striving for the reawakening of the country. They all fought against the superstitions and backwardness. Except Gandhi all others had a superficial encounter with tradition as well as modernity. It was Lohia who continued Gandhi's creative engagement with tradition and modernity. Lohia instead of invoking the richness of the past identified himself of with the whole of Indian society.

He says, one of the unfortunate aspects of all those theories (ideologies) that have been imported to India, including Marxism, is that after some time they get drained of all vitality. The writing of history continues to be a dull and useless affair. According to their theory history is about continuous progress or the unfurling of smaller advances towards progress. Their theory of continuous progress gets shattered when tested on one touchstone. The tide/surge of incessant progress could not stop the onslaughts that were to come. Was it real progress then?

The study of Indian history is in a diseased condition. Our ancient culture gave to its spirit the form of poetry. Those foreigners from Faristha to Vincent Smith who took history as child's play felt that all foreign invasions to India have benefited the country. For them the foreign attacks were inevitable. All the Indian historians of academic repute are toeing their path and blindly initiating them. I have not come across any academic historian who could ascent from

the mire. All the academic historians in general have similar points of view, though they may differ in minute details. This diseased state of mind or tradition has three unique characteristics. Firstly, insignificant and superficial changes have been named as renaissance. Every contact with cultures through foreign invasion is termed as renaissance. The new order, however, in no time gets broken by the next invaders. It proves to be that short lived. The only bone of contention between Dr. Thara Chand and Dr. Majundar is which invasion led to the Renaissance.(Lohia, 1995, p. 34) Both of them have found features of renaissance not only in the master but also in the way the slave has assimilated them. All of them are proponents of Vincent Smith's venomous theory of unity in diversity. As a result unity is lost in their search for diversity. One has to liberate oneself from this poisonous gutter. That is the need of the hour. But it is something unattainable (impossible) for the academic historian. Only politics could cure this malady. The formation of the nation has to (mend) rectify the flows in the study of history (approaches to history) in the same manner in which foreign rules gave birth to Faristha, Vincent Smith and their ways of thought (ideas/attitude). (Lohia,1995) History has been made official now. On the outside it is nationalistic, or else it is far from the truth (a falsehood). It has been infected with the disease of idolization. Indian historians during the colonial period approached history by the canons of historiography taught to them by their British Professors. (Kurien, 1994, p. 864)

The real problem is how far the history of India has worn out. The decay has been worsened by the process of history writing. What are the possibilities left for the country? Was it really in the nature of the people of India to submit them to the curse of foreign invasion? Historical study lifted / ennobled this fault of the nation into a virtue. It misled the subsequent generations which mistook

slavery as mutual understanding or consensus. It mistook surface changes as renaissance.

Lohia observes on research in Indian Universities that what attracts research aspirants to universities is mainly the belief that university is a repository of knowledge and the power of ideas. It would give the right sense of direction and instill inquisitiveness that would lead to more knowledge and power. (Lohia, 1987, p. 55). A young mind would shine in this yearning for knowledge. Indian universities are far behind this ideal (have a long way to go to attain this ideal) (Lohia, 1995).

The caste system of India holds much scope for research. It may not reveal all its subtleties / mysteries. However how the pervasive presence of caste takes inroads into new occupations and trade is to be examined. People engaged in various jobs like ferry men, fishermen, those who do household jobs all come under a vast common caste. A look into their ways of living, rituals, conventions habits and thoughts, and their occupational and economic status would give a lot of information and insight into the subject.

Descriptive analytical research should give way to theoretical analysis in research. This is a rarity in Indian universities. (Lohia, 1987). Descriptive research would inevitably lose its relevance in the absence of theoretical analysis. It would create PhD thesis of the second grade. Research based on theoretical analysis should be pursued intensely in Universities outside Europe. All the generally accepted tools used for research the world over are entirely European in their origin and context (relevance).

These tools of thought and imagination should be put to close scrutiny. The hollow pretence of universal significance should be brought to light/disclosed.

Original analysis should pave the way in shaping better tools of thought and assumption. It would be wrong to expect that the

young scholar with limited knowledge and ingenuity (genius) would form new tools for analysis or that he would make a thorough examination of the existing tools and reveal their inadequacies and irrelevance. Research with the above said intent would however create a climate within the universities and outside that is ideal for the formation of new universal methods / tools for analysis.

Human thought nowadays been characterized by such assumptions of limited or partial relevance. They lie scattered without system or order. To mention a few of them, one would be 'progress', then 'prosperity', the third, 'capitalism', the fourth, 'feudalism', and the fifth socialism or communism. Each of these assumptions find repeated use both in the academic world and in common parlance. Since modern thought has been completely hegemonised by European thought it never occurred to the university teachers outside Europe that these ideas should come under close and intense scrutiny. These teachers could be likened to the horses tied to the oil-press. They would be hood-winked to prevent them from looking sideways. They use European theoretical tools to study Indian conditions that are heterogeneously marked by caste, class or creed. They go on quite unaware of the inadequacy of the tools and the need for new theoretical assumptions / methods. (Kurien, 1994, p. 768).

A university that effectively combines descriptive analysis, a study of the past and theoretical analysis would do great good to the people of India. IT would lend itself the halo of blissful poetic experience. India seeks such a university for the flowering of thoughts and ideas (blooming).

It is needless to say that the medium of such research should never be English. It should be Hindi or any Indian Language. Earlier I thought that the medium for post graduate study in Indian universities should be Hindi. I would like to correct my

opinion. Expect handling of language is essential in the study of past disciplines or knowledge. Or else, it would be meaningless. In descriptive and theoretical disciplines also linguistic competence is inevitable. This would be impossible except through one's mother tongue. All Indian languages should be recognized as the language or medium for post graduate research.

At the Panchamarchi session of the Socialist party in 1952, Lohia expounded his key ideas on decolonization. He sought to discard European ideology and called for the rebuilding of India ideology to make sense of India domestic conditions. He vehemently opposed the views of contemporary socialist thinkers of India who wanted to 'indigenize Marxism'. (Lohia, 1987). He said that Marxism was essentially a European ideology and was limited by ethnocentric considerations. It was ordained by European national interests and could not be universal. He propounded these arguments decades before Edward Said came out with a detailed study, 'Orientalism'.

Lohia questioned the Universalist western assumptions of research process and the hegemonic appropriation of the transformative vocabulary it propagated. His writings repeatedly figure the questions about the colonial legacy of education –the meaning, experiences, consequences and relationship. He discovered at length on the dominance of English language its debilitating effect on the people. It resulted, he, argued, in losing one's language. It is a form of exclusion the rulers perpetuate. He intensely called for the rethinking of the relationship of language to the relation and location of dominance, knowledge and culture of the people. Lohia emphasized that curriculum and the context of the text books should have anti-casteist, decolonizing and feminist elements. It should have space for multiple voices.

Even after seventy years of freedom, Anglo – Saxon universities whether USA or British continue to be the reference points for

Indian academics. The books of journals the academics prefer and the theories they refer to are all from the west. In this circumstance one could not wonder whether our universities have any role in decolonizing our minds. To create an alternative India research involves larger issues. India alternatives should be anti-caste, trans-ethnic, and trans-tribal. The world view derived from this is pluralist in nature.

In the wake of Michael Foucault and others of his ilk, it is revealed that colonialism was not merely a military enterprise but an epistemological and cultural project too. Hence the indigenous peoples attempt to reclaim the epistemic world. The following words encapsulate the essence of the necessity of decolonization.

As Martin Carnoy in his 'Education as cultural imperialism' says:

"The British did not try to instill in the natives a deep grasp of the fundamental principles of economics, technology, science and politics; rather they were content to force their pupils to ape and recite English literature, philosophy and metaphysics in the most slavish, imitative fashion" (Carnoy, 1974, p. 101).

The 'decolonization' experiment is an attempt to encounter the legacy of colonialism and imperialism which brought about a complete disorder to colonized peoples, disconnecting them from their histories, their landscapes, their language, their social relations, and their own ways of thinking (Smith, 1999, p.28).

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A RISK SOCIETY ANALYSIS OF THE EMERGENT EPIDEMIC CRISIS IN KERALA

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to ethnographically explore the trajectories through which the fear of epidemic fevers unleashed a pan-Kerala social anxiety and triggered a change in the way physicians and the government-run medical institutions function at the grassroots level. I will dwell on the so-called exceptionality of Kerala villages as it is crucial to understanding the emergent epidemic-prone situation in the rural settings. The main focus will be on growing settlement patterns that provide suitable breeding sites and allow easy entry for mosquitoes that can carry chikungunya and dengue. By using insights from Ulrich Beck's risk society framework, I will explain the socio-medical trajectory through which a Kerala village – pseudonymously called Keranad – turned out to be a destination of the global pandemic H1N1 as well. The framework of a risk society is useful for analyzing the social and cultural construction of the anxieties that Keralites have been experiencing during the last ten years following the the fever outbreaks since 2007.

One of the main postulates of Ulrich Beck's theory is that risks in the present-day world can only be minimized and never be entirely removed (Beck, 1996). The society has become driven by anxiety as people are deeply concerned about safety in the face of risks posed by modernity (Cannavo, 2010). Risk theory is concerned with "the ways in which awareness of large-scale hazards, risks and manufactured uncertainties set off a dynamic of cultural and political change that undermines state bureaucracies, challenges the dominance of science and redraws the boundaries and battle-lines of contemporary politics" (Beck, 1998, p. 19). Beck's theory of a

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risk society is characterized by 'irreversible threats' to the pursuance of everyday life (Beck, 1992). It "designates a stage of modernity in which the threats produced so far on the path of industrial society begin to predominate" (Beck, 1994, p.6). It is the experience and management of risk that dominates politics, public projects and the experiences of order. "The time-space structure of the world risk society", as Kesselring (2008, p.79) rightly notes, "is based on the functionality, efficiency and effectivity of large-scale infrastructures of transport and communication. The cosmopolitanization of modern societies, their processes of hybridization and cultural amalgamation are directly related to enormous flows of capital, people, goods, ideas and signs". It is cosmopolitanism and the modern dangers it brings that are being embodied in the swine flu epidemic. It challenges the competence of local forms of modernity.

The context of the epidemic threat in Keranad is different in many ways from the industrial society about which Beck wrote, and so the relationship between environmental hazards and the proliferation of risks is also different. However, Beck's theory is useful in analyzing the Keranadan situation. There is a widespread realization among Keranadans that, while attempting to maintain an urban way of life, they are disadvantageously positioned in relation to the risk of infectious diseases. Thanks to rising awareness, even economically well-off people had come to believe that their lives would be risked if monsoon rains had become torrential. They knew that something 'dreadful' like the chikungunya and H1N1 outbreaks between 2006 and 2009 was going to happen, but they were uncertain about how they could really defend themselves. The threat of an imminent outbreak of infectious fevers led to a period of intense social anxiety, with people in all sections of Keranadan society experiencing themselves as vulnerable to epidemic attacks. In view of the gravity and magnitude of the waste dumping crisis, and the socially constructed fear it generated, the public health machinery

in Keranad initiated a wide array of home visits and awareness campaigns to avert the likely possibility of another epidemic crisis.

The waste dumping crisis and vector-borne epidemics

Kerala has a geography and climate which highly favors the breeding of different mosquito species. The best conditions for mosquito survival – a warm and extremely humid climate with little or no wind (Wilks et al., 2006) – prevail in most parts of the state. Kerala has a lot of natural water bodies where mosquitoes can spend their larval and pupal stages. Abundant rainfall augments the prevalence of mosquito breeding habitats (Bollet, 2004), leading to high vector population in Kerala and thus a likely possibility of persistent cycles of mosquito-borne diseases. Barbara Chasin and Richard W Franke, two anthropologists who have worked extensively on Kerala, point out that the dispersed settlement pattern might act as a check against the outbreak and transmission of infectious and parasitic diseases. "The undifferentiated access to water led to an evenly dispersed settlement pattern that makes it easier to protect against water-borne bacteria and parasites. This means Kerala starts with an advantage in combating infectious and parasitic diseases – the main diseases of underdeveloped areas", to quote them (Franke & Chasin, 2000). What has happened in Kerala before the 2007-2009 chikungunya outbreaks corresponds to a settlement transformation. Though there were a lot of recorded outbreaks of epidemic diseases in the first half of the twentieth century, the second half remained relatively free from epidemics (Kerala Development Report, 2008). Except for the district of Alappuzha¹, and a few coastal areas along the Arabian Sea, there is no pre-2007 history of large-scale epidemic disease outbreaks in Kerala. The case of Keranad attests to that.

Most parts of Keranad were among the areas where smallpox and malaria reached epidemic proportions in the first half of the twentieth century. The successive outbreaks of mosquito-borne malaria in the

1930s and early 1940s took a heavy toll of the Keranadan population. Out of the seventy five families who migrated to Keranad in the 1940s, only fourteen families withstood malaria.² The first hospital in Keranad was established in 1950 primarily for containing malaria epidemics. Advances in healthcare facilities and organisation eventually brought the epidemic diseases under control. By the late 1950s, the settlement pattern of Keranad became more dispersed, and this helped prevent any further epidemic outbreaks of infectious and parasitic diseases. There has been no major incidence of malaria or other epidemics until the 2007's massive outbreak of chikungunya fever. Even though the state health department became alert to the global resurgence of chikungunya, and initiated a wide array of measures seeking to check the increasing mosquito density, a series of extensive chikungunya outbreaks took place in 2007. The sharp increase in the number of concrete buildings and the waste dumping crisis in Keranad, something I will elaborate soon, made the situation vulnerable.

The mosquito, *aedesegypti*, which spreads chikungunya and dengue, breeds in fresh water. The proximity of mosquito vector breeding sites to human habitation is a significant risk factor for chikungunya as well as for other diseases that these species transmit.³ The rise in the number of concrete buildings, which occurred as a part of the post-2000 construction boom in Keranad, paved the way for such a situation. *Aedes* mosquitoes are more closely associated with human habitation and use indoor breeding sites, including flower vases, earthenware, water storage vessels and concrete water tanks in bathrooms, as well as discarded plastic food containers and old tyres. It should be noted that, as compared to the erstwhile constructions in wood and clay tiles, concrete houses have a lot of spaces for the accumulation of stagnant water. Rubber plantations with their latex containers, along with cocoa and

pineapple cultivation in the highlands add to the burden. Discarded coconut shells also provide a major breeding ground. The following recommendation was given by the Keranadan public health authorities to households: "It's your own mosquitoes and only you can control them".⁴

Keranad, like most other places in Kerala has recently had much unplanned urbanization. The present-day pollution problem has its roots in the inadequate disposal mechanism for household and town waste. Untreated wastes, particularly those produced by individual households, have turned out to be far more serious than anyone could have predicted. The dumping of household wastes and other solid wastes in public places is common. A stark increase in the number of households and the spread of urban areas has resulted in a growing pollution situation that threatens everyone. In addition, there is also the indiscriminate disposal of food waste from hotels and meat processing stalls in the waterlogged regions near to the slum-like *pettikada* area which has turned the town center into a mosquito-breeding centre, causing further epidemic threat in Keranad. Given the absence of an efficient and effective garbage disposal mechanism, the local panchayat in Keranad is not able to find a permanent solution to the waste dumping crisis. Given the dispersed settlement pattern, acquiring land in Keranad for setting up a waste treatment plant has been found to be difficult. With no vast unused areas, particularly around the outskirts of the towns, the Keranad village panchayat – like most local councils in Kerala – has begun to face the challenge of how to find a proper location for such plants. Attempts to establish decentralized garbage treatment plants have met with fierce opposition from local communities. No local government body has been able to establish a new waste disposal mechanism in their area of administration, unless they initiate it by coercion.⁵

Many times I heard Keranadans express criticisms of already existing, solid waste treatment plants. They were almost unanimous in the view that waste treatment plants bring in huge piles of untreated wastes into local areas, producing constant foul smells and health hazards. That is why it is practically impossible to establish a garbage disposal mechanism in Keranad, or anywhere in Kerala, with the consent of the local people. As one senior official of the Kerala State Pollution Control Board noted, "Every time the question of setting up a garbage treatment plant came up, the locals responded aggressively and contemptuously by saying that they weren't ready to 'bear' the trash of the others".⁶ Even in areas where there is a fully functioning plant, there have been reports of incidents in which the local people barricade trucks carrying garbage. Since 2010, people frequently expressed panic over the arrival of monsoon rains, or alternatively show relief that the monsoon fevers did not become as severe as the chikungunya outbreaks.

The heaps of waste accumulated in the town center provide a congenial habitat for rats, triggering the fear of an imminent outbreak of leptospirosis. All through my fieldwork days in Keranad, even during those times when I was travelling far away from the town center, I saw roadsides and other public areas where trash was piled up. It has led to the contamination of the water supply and created perfect breeding grounds for mosquitoes and rats. The pollution of the existing water sources has also been caused by the increase in construction activity. The gravity of the situation can be gauged from the following statement of a local politician on 17 November 2011: "Most of the water sources in Keranad are badly polluted. The panchayat has no proper mechanism when it comes to waste management. The monsoon, likely to set in anytime now, will only exacerbate the condition. Unless the local government comes up with concrete action plans there will be more large-scale fever outbreaks".⁷

Integration into the global economy and the H1N1 fever

Since the 1950s, Keranad has depended on cash crop agriculture, with rubber trees as the major source of income. Other crops include pepper, coffee, and cassava. Public sector employment and ownership of shops and other businesses in the township region also provide significant income. Over the past fifteen years, non-agricultural income, particularly remittances from foreign countries and India's metropolitan cities, has grown markedly. For almost half of the Keranadan families, there is at least one member who is working outside. What should be added here is that the entire schooling system is structured so as to equip the students to utilize job opportunities both inside and outside India. This produces a high regard for English education.

The last ten years has witnessed a remarkable increase in the popularity of English teaching schools in and around Keranad. Today, in the township area, many school buses transport students to at least five English teaching schools. The demand for English education was at first mostly from the elite sections of Keranadan society, though there has been a relatively affordable school in the region since late 1970s. The interest in sending children to English teaching schools is a post-1990 phenomenon. Two-thirds of the households surveyed had children studying in English teaching schools. Such schools make it possible for Keranadan parents to equip their kids with language skills upon which to establish themselves in the computer software sector and other overseas employment-opportunities. Since mid-1990s, Keranad and its adjoining regions have witnessed the start of self-financing colleges that impart engineering, management and nursing education.

The influx of remittances is a relatively new phenomenon. It is only since 2000s, when engineers and nurses under thirty years of

age migrated to Middle Eastern countries and the United Kingdom, that Keranadan families began receiving substantial remittances from overseas. The same is the case with the remittances from the Indian metropolitan cities, particularly pertaining to the Bangalore-based software industries. There is a whole range of places where diasporic Keranadans work and earn income – London, New York, Singapore, Dubai, Bangalore, Chennai, New Delhi, Kochi, Thiruvananthapuram etc. It was, therefore, not unusual that many Keranadan households had at least one member working/studying in places where the H1N1 virus had become widespread in the first place.

When the H1N1 infection first appeared in Kerala, it was very much experienced as an “invader disease”. Everyone who initially became infected with swine flu had been part of a non-resident population working/studying in places outside Keranad. It should be noted that the 2009’s swine flu outbreak started during the vacation months – June and July – when many of the immigrant population of workers and students would return to Keranad to visit their relatives. Those who came in contact with those coming from H1N1 affected countries or Indian cities were identified by public health authorities in Keranad as at high risk of infection. During the early days of the H1N1 outbreak, the high risk group was comprised of the immediate family members of returned residents.

The increased fear over H1N1 in Keranad is particularly exacerbated by its proximity to Kodichal. The fear reached its peak when the students of a noted English medium school in Kodichal developed the symptoms of H1N1. The symptoms first developed in the students who returned from a study tour to Bangalore and Mysore. The students were referred to the H1N1 cell at the Kodichal government hospital and throat swabs were taken for conducting the confirmatory test at the state capital. The doctors of the hospital

asked each and every student and teacher who went on the tour to collect medicines from the hospital. A boy from Keranad was among those who tested positive for this epidemic disease. What aggravated the epidemic crisis reaction was the mobilization and institutionalization of new medical practices in hospital premises and other public places. There emerged new kinds of protective mechanisms, for the most part instigated by public health personnel, which were directed at the protection and prevention of the spread of the virus to other individuals and groups. Hospital-and home-based quarantine units were established for suspected and confirmed cases.

The opening of a quarantine unit and H1N1 cells affected the day-to-day functioning of the hospitals. There was a substantial decline in the number of patients who approached the hospitals for medical treatment. The patients also demanded masks and other protective equipments, which were being supplied by the government exclusively to the hospital staff for their own self protection. As the number of quarantined H1N1 cases increased day by day, the local people put pressure on their elected representatives to submit a memorandum asking to shift the quarantine unit from their hospital. Here the medical system itself becomes suspected of spreading the disease. Rather than protecting the surrounding population that it cares for, the hospital is seen as concentrating and drawing the disease to the local area. Such suspicions question the management competence of hospitals and of the medical system. Even the hospital staff starts to doubt their own systems of protection, by doing their best to avoid risky encounters. For example, doctors and nurses started to approach their patients with face masks and from a distance. The following account by a Keranadan taxi driver illustrates the socially constructed fear generated by the protective measures against H1N1.

“I didn't know what the problem was. I went to the hospital

with a patient who was suffering from a respiratory disease. What I saw inside the hospital was an uncommon situation. One mask-wearing person was sitting in a stretcher, which is commonly used by severely sick patients. This person was surrounded by a team of mask-wearing nurses and doctors. The nurses were positioned at a considerable distance from the patient. Even though there was a lot of rush in the hospital, each and every one of the hospital visitors kept a distance from the patient. I was told by someone that it was a Swine Flu case. I previously heard about Swine Flu related deaths in different parts of the world. I realized with fear that this dreadful disease has arrived at our Keranad”.

This account articulates how the global connections are being embodied and commented upon in the fears that grip not just patients and doctors, but the wider population which is also giving meaning to this new epidemic disease. As people from all sections of society migrate in large numbers, these non-resident Keralites and their illnesses provide a way of commenting upon modernity’s management of the forces of production and life. As a perceived product of the global movement of Keralites, the swine flu epidemic and the panic it generated articulated popular ambivalences about the incorporation of Kerala into modern global flows of people, commodities, culture and disease. In fact, it is the incorporation of societies into complex interdependent global economic, financial, and cultural systems that underpinned the proliferation of risks. Here I would like to refer to Ulrich Beck’s conception of ‘risk society’ to demonstrate how Keranadan society was experienced as incapable of dealing with the threat H1N1 posed to its population.

In the face of growing H1N1 flu cases, the government issued an order to shutdown several public places. People were asked to wear masks covering the mouth and nose in public locations such as city

streets and shopping centers. Schools and colleges were shut down temporarily until further notice. There had also been the suspension of other group activities such as protest gatherings and strike marches. All shopping malls and public parks were instructed to stay closed for a stipulated period. Cinema halls and multiplexes remained closed for three weeks. These were the days of intense fear concerning H1N1 symptoms, and anyone with a runny nose or a simple cough was expected to isolate themselves from social gatherings. Swine flu related news and discussions dominated the public media and everyday discussions. A discourse of risk accompanied the spread of H1N1, with the state being increasingly incapable of protecting its citizens. The risk-averse behaviors expected from the population also envisaged a new citizenry where the people themselves were to be held responsible for their own protection. They had to wear masks, avoid strangers, and minimize social outings to public places. The duty of the state was to make people aware of how they could help themselves. To quote Lupton (2006), “as the discourse on risk proliferated more and more risk avoiding practices were required of the ‘good citizen’. Risk avoidance had become a moral enterprise relating to issues of self-control, self-knowledge, and self-improvement. It deemed people’s own responsibility to take note of risk warnings and act on them accordingly” (p.14).

I began my principal field work in Keranad (June 2009) at a time when the fear of a major H1N1 outbreak became a reality. The students of a business management school located ten kilometers from Keranad tested positive for H1N1. Those who brought the flu to the institute – according to the Health Inspector⁸ – were students who had recently travelled to Pune for a study trip. The management school, as required by the government, was temporarily closed and the students were evacuated. When I visited this management school in September 2009 the cleaning staff and security guards were in masks and they kept a distance from each other. The local people,

mostly consisting of low-income groups, expressed anguish over the fact that the new institute has brought a dreadful disease to their locality. “It is the elites who pass the virus to the common people”, to quote one of my respondents. It is worthwhile mentioning here that this management school is a self-financing institution where only rich students can study. H1N1 thus becomes the carrier of new class tensions that have to do with the role played by education institutions in reproducing modern class relations. H1N1 is also the carrier of the external dangers inherent in the mobility and flexibility of Keranad’s emergent risk society. The external world is providing new sources of income and creating new kinds of social inequalities.

Ever since the 1970s, as township areas have developed in the flatland region, having a downhill-residence has become an esteemed thing in Keranad. Besides the improved shopping and transportation possibilities, the proximity to educational, religious and medical facilities has also contributed to the demand for downhill locations. From the early 1980s until the mid 2000s, there has been a considerable increase in the number of downhill houses. My survey showed that 40 percent of such downhill houses in Keranad belonged to those who had previously lived in the mid-hill and uphill regions. They are the ones who obtained new access to remittances, government salaries or business income. During the real estate boom that was initiated after 2006, agricultural lands and residential properties in the downhill regions doubled, tripled, or even quadrupled in price within a few years. The emergence of a jam-packed settlement pattern in the downhill region without adequate waste disposal mechanisms, like most other areas in Kerala, has clear implications for the epidemic crisis in Keranad.

The people whom I met in Keranad were deeply anxious about an at-risk condition which emanated from a globally integrated social world they had themselves created. They were worried over the new

types of fevers emanating from such an environment, making no exception for caste, class, or gender. However, knowledge of ‘at-risk’, and being anxious about it, did not give Keranadans any extra safety from the threat of epidemic fevers. Just as in Beck’s risk society, “they become anxious without being able to reconcile or act upon their anxiety” (Lupton, 2013, p. 69). Whilst this might be so with some, many were protesting and seeking to channel and give voice to those fears. The anxiety over epidemic fevers now became a social problem to be solved through state action. To quote Beck (1992, p.49), “the commonality of anxiety takes the place of the commonality of need. The type of the risk society marks in this sense a social epoch in which solidarity from anxiety arises and becomes a political force”. One can find a very similar anxiety-driven situation in the case of the vector-borne epidemic diseases such as chikungunya and rat fever in Keranad. It marks the emergence of a new kind of socio-political order, where the scientific management of society as a set of possibilities is part of the growth of a medical model that is internalized by the wider population to formulate their right to a certain quality of life and security.

The possibility of ‘self-sufficient small family’ units emerged from the intensification of cash crop agriculture. The recent growth of remittance money has further institutionalized the nuclear family system and has produced a sharp increase in the number of housing units all across Keranad. The transition towards smaller families, and a reduction in the amount of land owned by each dwelling unit in the downhill region has resulted in a waste dumping crisis. The construction of new concrete houses, without adequate garbage dumping mechanisms, has provided abundant breeding grounds for the *Aedes* mosquitoes – the vector carrying the chikungunya virus. The indiscriminate disposal of household wastes, along with the containers used for collecting latex from rubber trees, provides a

congenial atmosphere for the spread of chikungunya virus. In other words, just as in the case of H1N1, the advent of chikungunya is linked to the integration of Keranad to the global economy.

Conclusion

In Keranad, according to my observation, the naturalness that was once ascribed to monsoon fevers has completely changed. Such fevers, as I elaborated in the introductory chapter, were considered unavoidable and attributed to extra-human factors. The risk involved, similar to Beck's point regarding pre-industrial hazards, was not man-made and thus "externalizable" onto nature (Beck, 1996). After the chikungunya and H1N1 outbreaks, monsoon fevers are seen in Keranad as the eventual outcome of an "unnatural world" which boomeranged on them. Within Beck's schema, the proliferation of risks is predominantly the outcome of human-made environmental hazards. The core argument is that "under the weight of environmental degradation, the rational skeptical eye of science is turned back on its own enlightenment foundations – now seen to be the foundation of our current problems, the result of industrialization and externalizing costs of pollution" (Gieryn, 1999, p.3). Like what Beck calls the boomerang effect, the risk of fever is "diffused through the society to all social classes irrespective of their wealth, prestige, and power" (Turner 1995, p.221). Unlike early industrial era societies in which politics was centered on redistributive concerns and class conflicts, the politics in risk societies revolves around certain indispensable hazards which the industrial society itself generated. "It is an example of a situation in which, as Beck notes (1996), "the social production of risk involves hazards that are produced by the society itself, and that undermine the established safety systems of the state's existing risk assessments". Safety from the risk of epidemic fevers has become the concern of both the rich and the poor. For instance, Beck (1992) has pointed out to the democratic nature

of smog, even affecting those who generated it. No social class in Keranad is immune from these hazards, which in turn makes risk an encompassing democratic phenomenon.

Endnotes

- 1 *This district consisted of low-lying land with many lagoons, rivers and canals making it an epidemic prone area for many years. Besides water-borne diseases such as typhoid, cholera and dysentery, Alappuzha is also known for mosquito-borne diseases like dengue, elephantiasis, and malaria.*
- 2 *As happened in other migrant settlements (Sajan, 2008), it was common to bury more than one member of the same family within a single grave. Chackochan, one of my ninety-plus informants in Keranad, recounted an incident from his life. After dragging the dead bodies of his younger brother, maternal uncle, wife and younger daughter into the grave, he waited for an hour for the death of his elder brother. The elder brother was dying of malaria and being already an infected person, Chackochan was not healthy enough to dig an extra grave. There were even cases in which more than six family members were buried within the same grave.*
- 3 *WHO.Chikungunya Factsheet N°327. Retrieved on December 12, 2011, from <http://www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs327/en/>*
- 4 *Mosquito control awareness programme, organized by the public health wing in a residence colony on July 2010.*
- 5 *When doing fieldwork, I visited some of the areas like Vilappilsala in the Thiruvananthapuram district that have witnessed days of violent protests against the long-existing waste treatment plant. What I observed during such visits was that the local people were quite convinced of the eventual malfunctioning of any government-run garbage disposal mechanism. They no longer have faith in the capability of existing public waste management systems to remain functional for a substantial period.*
- 6 *Interview conducted by the researcher on March 2010.*
- 7 *The Hindu, 31 May 2012*
- 8 *The H1N1 specialist groups at the government hospital were not managed by the doctors but by the health inspectors. A health inspector has a degree in public health and is assigned to the public health activities of the hospital. If a person comes in with swine flu related symptoms and meets a doctor at the government hospital, he or she will be immediately referred to one of the*

H1N1 specialist groups. The health inspector will inquire about the patient's contact history during the last few months to determine whether he or she needs to be treated with medicines for swine flu.

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ROLE OF OLD AGE POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES IN AN AGEING INDIA: SPECIAL REFERENCE TO KERALA

Johnson M M* & Sobha B Nair**

Abstract

Ageing is a progressive and cumulative process of biological changes, psychophysical transformation, cultural and societal conversion that occur as the stage of life span. The hike in the proportion of ageing population is one of the most significant demographic shifts in the history of world population. Ageing is not a new phenomenon, but the problems that occur with ageing appear to be a product of the modern age. The present study investigates with the help of certain sample data, the contributing factors to various problems of the elderly and how these can be solved with various types of support systems. Various policies, programmes, Schemes/ Provisions and Pension strategies of Central and state governments to improve the condition of the aged persons are tried to be discussed. Level of awareness of these programmes among the respondents has also been analyzed and put forward suggestion points for relaxed and happy ageing.

Key words: Ageing, elderly problems, policies and programmes, schemes, Pension policies

The human body is the most magnificent machine which nature has ever been produced, but it wears down with the passage of Era. Ageing is described as a progressive deterioration of the physical and mental functions after the growth period is completed.

The percentage of the older people in the world population is expected to increase rapidly from 9.5 in 1995 to 20.7 in 2050 and to

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30.5 in 2150. The proportions of elderly persons in India have risen from 5.63% in 1961 to 8.6% in 2011 census. Kerala's population is ageing more rapidly than in any other Indian states and is projected to reach 6.5 million in 2021, 9.1 million in 2031 and 11.72 in 2051.

Ageing is not a problem in itself but it becomes a problem due to several socio-economic factors. The main problems of the aged are related to means of survival and health. No wonder, global increase in human longevity and consequent graying of nation is a story of man's triumph and other attainments in social and economic progress. But this success carried along with it the problem of old age. The devaluation in status and income, deteriorate health, retirement, dependency, residential pattern, age, sex, education, occupation, marital status, fear of death and shock of growing old family pattern, family support and whether living in urban, rural and tribal areas etc affect the old age and problems of the old age are highly individualistic in nature also. In spite of the improvements in health, retirement benefits and old age pension, the aged has separate world-view and problems in adjusting with younger generation. However, nobody prefers to have old age for longer time, as aged people are looked upon as useless, non productive, rigid and burdensome. This leads to various problems like cultural rejection, self rejection, anxiety and panic, psychological exhaustion, desires, psychological problem of uselessness, abandonment, isolation and unrealistic pre-occupation. All the problems of aged can be sub headed into: a) Social problems, b) Economic problems, c) Psychological problem, d) Physical and physiological problems.

One of the biggest challenges that confront the modern society today is the absence of provisions for adequate and effective solutions to the aged. Old age should be the responsibility not only on the family but also of the community and the state. To solve the

elderly problems the Govt. of India is implementing many old age programmes by providing physical, social, emotional, psychological and economic aids to the aged (people of 60 years and above) with a motive to equip them to continue as active members of the community. The government has launched various schemes and policies for older persons. These schemes and policies are meant to promote the health, well-being and independence of senior citizens around the country.

Data and Methodology

This study aims at investigating the contributing factors to various problems of elderly and how their problems can be solved with various types of support systems. The sample selected for the study was from three districts of Kerala namely Trivandrum, Kottayam and Kannur. Stratified random sampling technique was adopted for the research study giving due representation to factors like gender of the subjects, place of residence, education, occupation and income. From each district one urban and one rural area was selected. From each ward 17 percent of the elderly population was randomly selected from the voters list constituting a total sample size of 360 elderly respondents.

Majority of the elderly widowers in the sample are in the age group of 60 to 79 years (84.4%) and both male and female widowers are enrolled in equal proportions. A percentage of 46.7 indicates that majority of the respondents are Hindus. Respondents' having Primary education (40.8%), High school education (28.1%) is found to be slightly higher than the other categories and also we can see that there is no significant difference in their place of residence (Rural & Urban). Most of them are live with their children (87.8%). Majority of the widowers are belongs to extended family. There is 28.9% of respondents were separated in between 3 to 6 years.

Analysis and Interpretation

The Government is implementing the Old age programme in the following categories providing physical, social emotional, psychological and economic aids to the aged with a view to help them to continue to be usefully active members of the community. In this section the researcher evaluated the various programmes and policies of the government.

In this section, information was collected from elderly relating to their Government support. A percentage analysis will help to understand the various Government support received by the respondents. The details of the analysis are given in the following tables

Table 1: Awareness of various programmes for the elderly

Category	Awareness	Frequency	Percent
Social Assistance Schemes / Welfare Funds	Yes	330	91.7
	No	30	8.3
Reverse Mortgage Loan Scheme	Yes	48	13.3
	No	312	86.7
Services Provided by the State Legal Service Society	Yes	77	21.4
	No	283	78.6
Maintenance & Welfare of Parents and Senior Citizens (MWPS) Act	Yes	194	53.9
	No	166	46.1
Special Schemes of the Government	Yes	330	91.7
	No	30	8.3

From Table 1, Most of the respondents (91.7%) are aware of social assistance schemes / welfare funds of the state govt. for the elderly. Only there is 8.3% of them did not aware of any social assistance schemes / welfare funds of the state govt. for the elderly. This is due to the presence of local self governance. Ward members

used to visit their homes and help them to get such benefits. Also the activities of Kudumbashree help in this regard.

Majority of the respondents (86.7%) have no awareness about the reverse mortgage loan scheme provided by the banks. Even if their children are not caring their economic needs they can easily make available this scheme and have a better living. Unfortunately they are not aware about this and lead a life of misery in their later part of life. Leaving all the economic assets they have for their children.

The above table reveals that majority of the respondents (78.6%) have no awareness about the services provided by the state legal service society. In some cases the widowed elderly do not know whom to approach for getting their rights. Government has made all the provisions and in practical sense very few of them are benefitting. This shows need of legal literacy in the state. Legal literacy should part of curriculum and government should popularize rights of widowed elderly through mass media.

Majority of the respondents (78.6%) have no awareness about the maintenance and welfare of parents and senior citizens Bill. The awareness of this bill definitely leads a better position of the respondents they become aware about their right to be cared in their old age by their children. This will lead a sense of self esteem in their life. But unfortunately either the respondents or the children are aware about this. Children feel caring their elderly parents is burdensome for them and the elderly feel that they are at the mercy of their children to maintain their life.

The above table reveals that most of the respondents (91.7%) are aware of the special schemes of the govt. for the elderly and only there is 8.3% of them did not aware of any special schemes of the state govt. for the elderly. This is due to the presence of local self

governance and the activities of Kudumbashree and local political leaders. And also such schemes are very popularly used by the respondents.

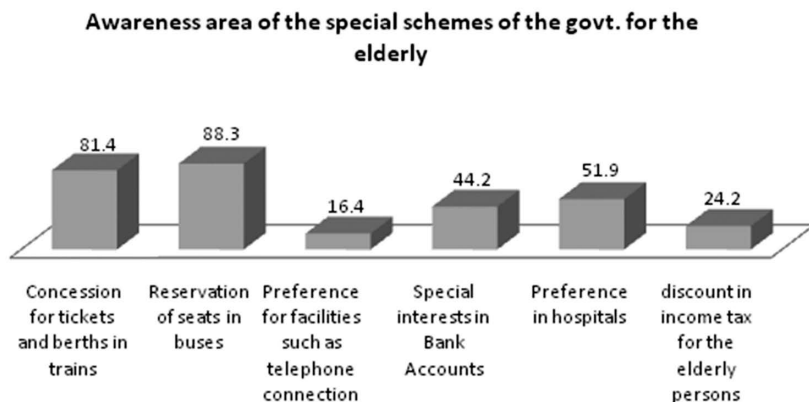


Fig 1

Figure 1, shows that most of the respondents (81.4%) are aware of the special scheme Concession for tickets and berths in trains of the govt. for the widowed elderly and there is 88.3% of them are aware of reservation of seats in buses. 51.9% of them aware of preference in hospitals. The study shows small percentages of respondents were not aware about concession in telephonic connections and discount in tax. Most of the respondents are not tax payers so they have no proper knowledge about income tax preferences.

Table 2: Receiving Pensions

Category	Other Pension	Frequency	Percentage
Welfare Pensions	National Old Age Pension	116	32.2
	Widow Pension	118	32.8
	Agriculture Labour Pension	32	8.9
Service Pension	Yes	83	23.1
	No	277	76.9

Table 2, there is 32.8% of respondents receive widow pension and 32.2 percent of the widowed elderly receive national old age pension. There is no one availing other welfare pension schemes viz. Pension to Unmarried Women above 50 years, Pension to the Physically Challenged Persons, Pension to the Mentally Challenged Persons and Unemployment wages. The availability of such pension become a great support for the widowed elderly.

Above table reveals that majority of widowed elderly (76.9%) are not getting service pension. There is 23.1% of them get any service pension. The availability of such pension is due to the previous employment nature especially that those who are worked in governmental sector and other formal sector.

Table 3: Coverage of Health Insurance Scheme

Covering under health insurance scheme	Frequency	Percent
Yes	259	71.9
No	101	28.1

The table 3, shows that there is most of the widowed elderly (71.9%) covered under any health insurance scheme and 28.1% of them did not cover under health insurance scheme. Government provides health insurance to all but due to certain factors some of them are not make use of it. Children are after their work and not ready to spend their time to bring their parents to complete the formalities for getting the insurance. There are most of the respondents get free/low cost medicines and some of them get free medical checkups. If the respondents are aware about their rights they definitely benefit from such insurance schemes. Even in many cases the widowed elderly go to the hospital without anyone to accompany them in such a situation they cannot avail the benefits the health insurance schemes.

Table 4: Awareness about Pakal Veedu

Awareness about Pakal Veedu	Frequency	Percent
Yes	148	41.1
No	212	58.9

The table 4, shows that majority (58.9%) of them did not hear about Pakal veedu. Only 41.1% of them heard about Pakal veedu. This reveals that many of the governmental programmes connected with the welfare of the old are not familiar with the aged group.

Table 5: Willingness to avail the facility of Pakal Veedu

Readiness for availing Pakal Veedu	Frequency	Percent
Yes	240	66.7
No	120	33.3

From table 5, more than half of the respondents (66.7%) are ready to avail the facility of Pakal Veedu. Only 33.3 percent of the respondents are not ready to avail the facility of Pakal veedu because they believe that it is the responsibility of their children to take care of them. But those respondents were willing to avail such facility argue that they can have a better time with similar minded people and can share their feelings with them and that will be a great relief for them.

Table 6: Knowledge about old age homes

Familiarity with old age homes	Frequency	Percent
Yes	340	94.4
No	20	5.6

The table 6, shows that there is majority of the widowed elderly (94.4%) are familiar with old age homes. Only a small portion of the respondents are not aware about the old age homes. In Kerala density of old age home is very high. Old age home can be seen in almost all the areas of the state. Some of them are run by government s and some are run by religious and other organizations.

Table 7: Willingness to avail the facility of Old Age Home

Thinking to stay in old age home	Frequency	Percent
Always	10	2.8
Most of the time	14	3.9
Occasionally	52	14.4
Never	284	78.9

Table 7, shows that majority of the respondents (78.9%) never thought of going and staying in old age homes whereas 14.4% occasionally thinks about it. 3.9% of them thinks most of the time. Most of the respondent felt family is main source of comfort. Society should provide all services to take care of elderly within the family itself. Many respondents have a negative attitude towards old age homes they think that in the old age homes they may not treated well and they are ready to suffer within the family than going to the old age homes.

Table 8: Age Group and Governmental support of the Respondents

Variable	Class	Governmental Support		Chi-square	p-value
		Yes	No		
Age Group	60-69	120 (70.2%)	51 (29.8%)	0.036	0.982 ^{ns}
	70-79	92 (69.2%)	41 (30.8%)		
	80 & above	39 (69.6%)	17 (30.4%)		

ns: non-significant, p>0.05

Table 8, shows that the above said age groups get similar level of governmental support. The minimum age of elderly for availing governmental support is 60 in most of the cases. The older elderly widowed were continuously availing the already availed benefits from government. In fact most of the people above 60 years are dependent and they desperately need the assistance from others.

In some of the cases they get adequate support from the family and community. In the absence of the above said support the state should take care of them by providing financial and legal support. In case of older respondents their family members and near ones help to avail the governmental support. Therefore the age is insignificant to determine the level of government support received by the respondents. There does not exist significance association between age group of widowed elderly and Governmental Support ($\chi^2=0.036$, $p>0.05$).

Table 9: Sex and governmental support of the Respondents

Variable	Class	Governmental Support		Chi-square	p-value
		Yes	No		
Sex	Male	124 (68.9%)	56 (31.1%)	0.118	0.731 ^{ns}
	Female	127 (70.6%)	53 (29.4%)		

*ns: non-significant, $p>0.05$

Table 9, shows that the sex of the respondents has no role in connection with governmental support. Respondents from both sex avail governmental support irrespective of their gender character. While the family and community are not supporting the widowed elderly, the government will take the responsibility. The only major amendment is in some cases the minimum age to receive governmental supports is 56 years for female respondents. There does not exist any significance association between sex of respondents and Governmental Support ($\chi^2=0.118$, $p>0.05$).

Table 10: Religion and governmental support of the Respondents

Variable	Class	Governmental Support		Chi-square	p-value
		Yes	No		
Religion	Hindu	128 (76.2%)	40 (23.8%)	10.605	0.005*
	Christian	60 (57.7%)	44 (42.3%)		
	Muslim	63 (71.6%)	25 (28.4%)		

*:significant, $p<0.05$

Table 10, shows that Hindu respondents obtain higher level of Governmental Support (76.2%) compared to Muslim respondents (71.6%) and Christian respondents (57.7%). This is because of the fact that the financial status of the Christian respondents is comparatively higher than the other two communities and their religious and communal organisations are more influential in this regard. There exist significance association between religion of widowed elderly and Governmental Support ($\chi^2=10.605$, $p<0.05$).

Table 11: Education and Governmental support of the Respondents

Variable	Class	Governmental Support		Chi-square	p-value
		Yes	No		
Education	No primary education	39 (72.2%)	15 (27.8%)	4.532	0.209 ^{ns}
	Up to 7 th standard	108 (73.5%)	39 (26.5%)		
	Completed high school	70 (69.3%)	31 (30.7%)		
	Degree and above	34 (58.6%)	24 (41.4%)		

*ns: non-significant, $p>0.05$

The above table 11, clarify that irrespective of education widowed elderly get equal Governmental support. The educational status is not the main criterion for imparting government support. The respondents in this study are receiving aid from government mainly due to the consideration of their old age. Hence here does not exist any significant association between education of widowed elderly and Governmental Support ($\chi^2=4.532$, $p>0.05$).

Table 12: Place of residence and governmental support of the Respondents

Variable	Class	Governmental Support		Chi-square	p-value
		Yes	No		
Place of residence	Rural	128 (71.1%)	52 (28.9%)	0.329	0.566 ^{ns}
	Urban	123 (68.3%)	57 (31.7%)		

*ns: non-significant, $p>0.05$

Table 12, illustrate the relation between place of residence and Governmental support. The Governmental schemes and provisions are executed both in rural and urban areas almost uniformly and the widowed elderly from rural and urban area equally avail them. Those who are in need seek for government support and avail aid of those schemes implemented for that purpose. The special schemes for rural and urban respondents did not create any sizable difference in the adoption of governmental support. There does not exist any significant association between place of residence of widowed elderly and Governmental Support ($\chi^2=0.329$, $p>0.05$).

Table 13: Family Type and governmental support of the Respondents

Variable	Class	Governmental Support		Chi-square	p-value
		Yes	No		
Family Type	Extended	93 (81.6%)	21 (18.4%)	11.11	0.001*
	Joint	158 (64.2%)	88 (35.8%)		

*:significant, $p<0.05$

The above table 13 depicts the association between family type and Governmental Support. In many of the cases, widowed elderly from extended family is helpless and not backed with family members. The Community support is also insufficient to a great extend. Government has a major role to perform in case of the respondents from extended families due to the structural and functional peculiarities of those families. Hence Government's supports extend to those respondents who are in need of those supports. Respondents from extended families are the leading beneficiaries of Governmental Support (81.6%) compared to widowed elderly from joint families (64.2%). There exist significant association between family type of respondents and Governmental Support ($\chi^2=11.11$, $p<0.05$)

Conclusion

Most the elderly aware about social schemes availed to them. Majority the respondents are beneficiaries of window pension from government. They are aware about different concessions availed from government. while analyzing their knowledge about legal literacy most of the respondents not aware about the legal protection. Legal literacy is the major area to be addressed by the sociologist.

The ultimate aim of a comprehensive social security scheme is to provide protection to the entire population of the country. Welfare of older people wants to be made as an integral part of the national development agenda. The range of elderly services in a country is contingent on the availability of human and financial resources, on the direction and development of health care and social services, also on the philosophy of care in a particular community. Now older people are excluded from the larger picture of community development and there is tuff competition between various groups that need social security. Efforts are made by the governments at centre and state to facilitate the availability and utilization of welfare services by the ageing in their homes and communities and thereby alleviating the grief, depression, separation and turmoil of the senior citizens. As a policy measure the hike in population of the aged people is being understood in terms of a framework of arrangement made by the society and the government for them.

There should be an allotment of resources for awareness creation in health, social issues etc. The implementation strategy and approach of NPOP should be revisited in terms of principles of economics and economic evaluation before final implementation. They also require a strategic restructuring of the profiling methods in vogue as at present. Above all several issues like Economic status, status of health, the pattern of intra-and interstate migration and gender related infirmities etc to be probed with thoroughness. Traditional

knowledge and wisdom of older people requires the establishment of institutional mechanism that facilitates the documentation of this knowledge and experience in academic paradigms. The perspectives of the beneficiaries of the programme should be considered as a serious matter for efficient functioning of the programme. There is a need for redistribution of resources by focus on research and creating awareness of and training in domiciliary care. There should be an emphasis on integrating educational, training and information needs of older people and provide them adequate opportunities for meaningful participation form community life and society.

It is high time to reorient the views about the needs of older people. Psychological dimensions have a direct bearing on the mental health of the aged and indirect influence on the realm of their life. Effective counseling interventions should be practiced. In addition, counselors and other mental health practitioners dealing with aged need to give up ageist attitudes and prejudices and put in their best efforts and resources to support older people help themselves.

But the problems of emotional starvation, feeling of loneliness, craving for affection and consideration etc are not to be solved by any schemes only through the value orientation of youth towards the care for elderly. In this situation a radical change should be brought out on enriching the entire curriculum framework from the elementary level to university level towards value conceptualization orientation, sensitization on the care for the aged. Above all total change of mind alone can bring generations to co-exist.

Based on the findings, the following suggestion are put forward

- (i) Improve participation of older persons in the economic life of the society by creating conditions conducive to employment on a part time or honorary basis in the unorganized sectors.

- (ii) Prevent destitution of elderly by creating conditions conducive to the continuation of the elderly within the family fold.
- (iii) Encourage the aged people to create their own co-operatives and voluntary organizations. This is to be helped by the Govt. on priority basis under their programmes of grant in aid for undertaking social services.
- (iv) Flats and cottages should be built and rented out to the aged people and tenancy or sale agreement to be valid till their lifetime.
- (v) Evolve programmes and policy incentives for the unorganized sectors/society which are not covered by the regular pensions/retirement benefits.
- (vi) Promote recreational activities among elderly persons
- (vii) Give emphasis on geriatric medicine both in teaching and in practice
- (viii) Families should be oriented on the health and nutrition needs of elderly
- (ix) Most of them are aware of old age homes but never thought of going and staying there. This attitude should be changed
- (x) About 91.7% widowers are aware of the special schemes of the govt. for the elderly but the awareness in different area varies. So Each and every old people to be educated for the various schemes of the government for the benefit of their future.
- (xi) 32.8% of widowers receive widow pension and 32.2% receive national old age pension. But there is no one aware about the pension schemes viz. Pension to Unmarried Women above 50 years, Pension to the Physically Challenged Persons, Pension to the Mentally Challenged Persons and Unemployment wages. So pensioners to be educated and special emphasis to be done for reaching the pensions to the needy.

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ROAD ASSET MANAGEMENT IN LOCAL GOVERNMENTS: A CASE STUDY OF SELECTED GRAMA PANCHAYATS IN KERALA

Girish Kumar R* & Relfi Paul**

Abstract

Protection of roads and other public properties is a mandatory function of Panchayat under the Third Schedule of Kerala Panchayat Raj Act 1994. Kerala has high volume of rural road facilities compared to other states. More than 80 per cent of the roads are managed by grama panchayats. The maintenance and protection of these roads are one of the major concerns, even though one third of the State plan resources are transferred to them. Efficient management of road assets provides better service delivery to the local people. This article aims to evaluate, how panchayats are managing its roads using 'life-cycle approach'. Case study method is used for the study and three sample panchayats namely Kanjiramkulam in Thiruvananthapuram district, Kadaplamattom in Kottayam district and Kuttikkol in Kasargod district are selected as samples.

Introduction

Kerala Panchayat Raj Act 1994 vests public roads other than those classified by the governments as National Highway, State Highway or major district roads and all adjacent land, not being private property appertaining thereto under the custody of panchayats (Article 169, KPRRA, 1994). It further specifies that the maintenance of these roads, the prevention of their encroachments, keeping them free from garbage, sewage and other waste materials shall be the duty of the Panchayat (Article 170 KPRRA, 1994). But many a time, the Panchayats are not able to maintain their roads due to lack of sufficient financial resources. This inefficiency proved

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costly to the State and the public, the real beneficiaries of road assets. This article backs a 'life-cycle approach' for road asset management to meet a required level of service in the most cost-effective way during all stages of road's life – creation, operation and maintenance. The life-cycle approach is central to asset management and takes the total cost of an asset throughout its life into account.

1 Road Asset Management: A Lifecycle Approach

Kerala Panchayat Raj Act 1994, states that the panchayat is duty bound to meet its strategic objectives – economic development and social justice. In pursuit of achieving these goals, the LGs manage and maintain a large volume of road assets. The concept of road asset management through life cycle approach is increasingly recognized among local governments in developing countries. It is realized that stronger asset management programs help grama panchayats (GPs) to achieve their constitutional objectives with limited resources. Road assets intended to be acquired or created by local governments (LGs) should commensurate with the immediate and long-term requirements. Introduction of life cycle approach to road asset management ensures effective process of creation, operation and maintenance of road assets. The original construction of the road can also affect future maintenance requirements. Therefore, the financial implications of not undertaking routine maintenance can affect the requirements for the planned maintenance and also the improvement activities for a piece of road during the life cycle. Convergence of schemes and various sources of funds were attempted in the maintenance of panchayat roads. Besides own funds and plan grants, support from other tiers of GPs like block and district panchayats, central and state government grants and local area development funds of MPs and MLAs were also utilised for maintenance purpose. In this session we will discuss road asset management using life cycle approach namely creation, operation and maintenance of road assets in local governments.

Creation

The process involved in road creation is slightly different from that of other public assets. When the campaign for democratic decentralized planning was at a high during the early years of decentralisation in the late 1990s, civil society organisations, local arts and sports clubs, religion institutions, etc. took the lead in constructing new roads, where road facilities were absent. Since the Act, land users were convinced about the relevance of roads, land owners, who were also potential users, generally offered free land and labour, and voluntarily cooperated with the temporary committees. Those households, who were not willing, were persuaded by force to handover land for road construction. Once temporary mud roads were built by individual or group of people, the general practice was to transfer them to Panchayats. The panchayat committee decide whether those mud roads need to be acquired or not. There are some procedures, however. The first one is issuing a public notice expressing panchayat's willingness to acquire a particular road. If beneficiaries/public have no objection in this regard, they will present it before the panchayat committee and once the committee approves it, the road will be entered into the asset register. Then it becomes the property of the panchayat.

Construction of new roads and up-gradation of existing roads in rural areas are taken up by centrally sponsored scheme called Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana (PMGSY)¹ from the priority list maintained by Block Panchayat. Based on the scheduled rates of 2008 prevalent in the State, estimates for the works so sanctioned are being prepared. Once the estimate for the work is sanctioned, the Government of India will not bear any cost escalation, as per the norms in force. Barely 33 per cent of the allocated funds (fewer than 46 projects of the PMGSY scheme) were utilized to build roads in 2012-13 in the state. However, in 2013-14 and 2014-15, state

utilised 97.3 per cent of the allocated fund of the schemes. During 2013-14, an amount of 121.15 crores were utilised and 77 roads were completed. In 2014-15, 190.59 crores were expended and 118 roads were completed (345.75 km) under PMGSY scheme in Kerala. This growth of utilization of fund from 2013-14 was because of state government interference. The State has paid tender excess to the contractors as per the latest PWD rate of schedule.

Table 1.1 Financial and Physical Achievements under PMGSY in Kerala

Year	Total Fund	Expenditure	% of Expenditure	No. of Roads
2012 - 13	17567.72	5729.32	33	46
2013 - 14	12338.4	12115.5	98	77
2014 - 15	19702.9	19059.42	97	118

Source: Commissionerate of Rural Development, Government of Kerala.

The reason for lesser utilisation of PMGSY fund by the state was the strict rules and regulations of the Ministry of Rural Development. Many of the conditions regarding the length and width of the roads did not meet central government's requirements. However, the Government of Kerala lodged several requests to the Union Government for relaxation of rules. Considering the high density of the state and socio-economic conditions of the beneficiary states, the Government of Kerala requested restructuring of centrally sponsored schemes. In our study we have taken GPs from three geographical locations – Lowland, Midland and High land. Road from each of these categories necessitates different treatment. For instance, roads in many of the low land pass through low-lying areas, and are likely to experience submergence for a long period of time every year. Due to submergence and capillary rise from the raised ground, the roads are subjected to settlement, which results in damaging road surfaces or the crust as a whole. More often, these roads are not constructed

with proper design and repeated maintenance works are found essential, especially in rainy seasons. Road creation, hence requires, proper designs with sufficient drainage systems.²

Operation

The road assets need to be operated to ensure that they do not get misused or encroached. Compared to other roads like National Highway, State highway and District roads, less importance is given to the operations of panchayat roads, despite the fact that chunk of roads in India are panchayat roads. For instance, in Kerala, local governments operate around 82.24 per cent of total roads, which provide connectivity to all settlements.. To ensure the effective operation of roads, proper performance evaluation and monitoring are required. The key performance indicators for road assets are given below.

Table 1.2 Performance Indicators

Service and User Rating	Safety, Sufficiency and Security	Physical Condition ³
Present Serviceability rating Ride quality Vehicle operating cost	Rating based on skid resistance, crashes / accidents, congestion, pollution Security	Present service ability index International roughness index Pavement Condition index Pavement Condition rating Security rating

Source: Uddin, Waheed, Hudson, W. Ronald and Ralph Hass, (2013), *Public Infrastructural Asset Management*, McGraw Hill, New York.

Maintenance

The maintenance of roads can be classified into ordinary maintenance, renewal of surface, and special maintenance. Routine

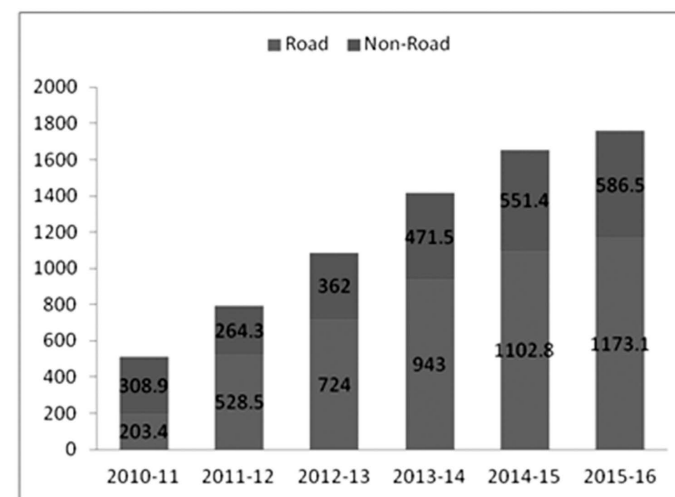
maintenance works of repetitive nature are required to maintain the road in good condition, except renewal of surface, shall be included under ordinary maintenance. Special maintenance refers to such items of maintenance for re-construction or additional construction occasionally necessary to keep the road in good condition. This includes construction or re-construction of retaining walls, raising a portion of the road, widening of pavements, etc. Some of the major road maintenance works are the following: a) Patch work to metalled, black topped and earthen roads; b) Clearing jungle growth, sectioning and forming shoulders, clearing side drains; c) Filling up of erosions and removal of slips; d) retaining walls, and e) Painting sign boards, kilometre stones, guard stones, etc. Renewal of roads of different kinds needs to be carried out periodically and the suggested period of renewal could be as follows: concrete roads – once in 10 years; black top roads – once in 5 years; metalled roads – once in 3 years; and earthen roads – once in 3 years (Fourth SFC, 2011).

The maintenance expenditure for road works is generally calculated according to the length of road. Normally, the road width is not considered in this calculation as the width of the major roads maintained by PWD more or less conform to standard measurements. However, this is not the case with the roads maintained by the local bodies. The width of roads varies depending upon the land available. Hence, it would be appropriate to estimate the maintenance costs per unit area, thereby accounting for both the length and width of roads. This may be followed for estimating maintenance expenditure for roads in LGs too. The government has set maximum maintenance expenditure for different types of maintenance such as ordinary, renewal and special maintenance. For ordinary maintenance of 80 per cent of the total length of roads, it allowed an expenditure of Rs. 2 lakh/km with an average width of 3.60 meters. Similarly, for renewal work the department has spent Rs. 12 lakh/km with

an average width of 3.60 meter. However, at least 20 per cent of the road should be renewed annually. Moreover, 20 per cent of the ordinary and renewal maintenance will be allocated for special maintenance (Fourth SFC, 2011).

For the implementation of the Second Finance Commission recommendations, the budgetary provisions of grants categorized maintenance fund into two, road fund and non-road fund. The budgetary allocation to LGs for development of road and non-road assets from the year 2010-11 to 2015-16 is illustrated below:

Figure 1.1 Budgetary allocation (in Rs. Cr.) of Maintenance Grant to LGs



Source: State budget 2011 – 2016. Figures in Rs.

During the period from 2010-11 to 2015-16, total road maintenance allocation was increased from Rs.203.4 Cr to Rs.1173.1 Cr. It is necessary to address the issues of fund allotment and requirement for the maintenance and upkeep of Panchayat roads.

Financial requirements remain a matter of concern as the budget allocation to LGs under this head is insufficient to meet the need. With the ongoing road development in the state, several models of partnerships among various stakeholders have emerged and have been tried out. Currently, the state is providing 9 per cent of the own revenue to the LGs towards maintenance of roads and non-road assets. The maintenance cost of panchayat roads has been increasing year by year making it necessary to increase the percent of allocation to maintenance of roads and non-roads to at least 15 per cent (Fourth SFC, 2011). In none of the sample panchayats disposal of roads was noted.

Roads In Sample Panchayats

Among the three sample Panchayats, Kanjiramkulam Panchayat implemented more number of road projects related to creation, operation and maintenance. The Panchayat had a total length of 108.55 km roads with an average width of 4.42 meter from 148 projects. Approximately 70 per cent of the total roads constructed in the Panchayat in 2015 were tarred roads and only 19.45 per cent were katcha roads. Compared to Kanjiramkulam Panchayat, Kuttikkol Panchayat maintains 148 km roads with an average width of 5.92 metre from 104 projects. However, 36.42 per cent of the roads constructed in 2015 of this Panchayat were katcha. Only 50.25 per cent were tarred roads. During this period, Kadaplamattom Panchayat was able to build 93.77 km roads with an average width of 4.34 metre from 108 projects. Out of 93.77 km around 60 per cent of the roads were tar finished and 28.61 per cent of the roads were katcha.

Table 1.4 Profile of Panchayat Roads in Sample Panchayats

Panchayat	Total Projects	Total Length	Cement (km)	Tar	Metal	Katcha
I	148	108.55	1.96	75.89	9.41	21.11
II	108	93.77	6.45	56.93	3.25	26.83
III	104	148.00	Nil	74.37	19.34	53.9

Source: Compiled from the Asset Registers of Sample Panchayats, 2015.

Note: I- Kanjiramkulam; II- Kadaplamattom; III-Kuttikol

In all the sample Panchayats, a strong network of roads exists. There exists variation in the number of roads among the lowland, midland and highland regions. Physical observation of four sample roads was done on surface condition basis. Survey was also conducted among 50 beneficiaries who use or live on the sides of the road in selected wards. For this purpose, beneficiaries were selected at random from the household list provided by the Panchayat.

Sample Roads Selected for the Study

Four roads from each Panchayat (two pucca roads and two katcha roads) were selected through random sampling. The Panchayat wise details are as below:

3.1 Kanjiramkulam Panchayat

The survey made analysis on the basis of field visits to these roads, information collected through informal interviews with elected representatives, panchayat officials and surveys conducted among the beneficiaries.

Table 1.5 Details of Sample Roads - Kanjiramkulam Panchayat

Sl.No.	Road Name	Ward	Length	Tarred	Category
1	Kallumala-Plavila Road	1 & 2	0.200	0.200	Pucca
2	Malinamkulam-Moonumukku	4 & 2	1.3	1.3	Pucca
3	Melevilakom-Kottampazhynji	4	0.146	0.15	Kacha (50 m.)
4	Karumakkala-Rafa Church	9	0.3	----	Kacha (0.3 m.)

Source: Compiled from the Asset Registers of Kanjiramkulam Panchayat, 2015.

Kallumala- Plavila Road is a 200m long road starting from Moonumukku leading to Plavila. The road was constructed in 1998. It is in good condition in terms of quality delivering better service to the people, though there are no records of its maintenance. No encroachments were found. The second one is the Malinamkulam-Moonumukku road, which also show good physical conditions. It gives direct connectivity to Kanjiramkulam market and bus station. The road, constructed in 1983, is 1.3 km long, 6m wide and spreads over 4 wards of the Panchayat. The road was retarred in 2013, with an expenditure of 5,00,00 rupees. No notable damages could be found. A small bridge and a culvert, both in good condition, are also present on the road. There is better drainage facility. Neither any encroachments nor an illegal construction has been reported so far.

Another sample road is the Melevilakom-Kottampazhynji, 146m long and 3m wide, constructed in 1990 as part of the minor irrigation project. There are eighty beneficiary families living on either sides of this road. The road was tarred in 2012 for Rs.3,32,000. The quality of tarring was found to be below average. The road was tarred in 2012 for Rs.3,32,000. The quality of tarring was found to be below average. We identified two illegal constructions, which included one permanent house and one temporary house.

Surprisingly, the permanent house constructed on the road had a building licence and a house number allotted by the Panchayat. It was further found that a compound wall was also constructed on the road.

The fourth sample was Karumakkala-Rafa Church Road in ward 11, which is indirectly linked to Kanjiramkulam--Poovar Road. There are only 15 direct beneficiary families living on both sides of the road, and it is connected to a shortcut to Nellikkakuzhy, Parithivila and Pazhedu. Though created in 1993, the road was just 4 ft wide. In 2014, with the help of the locals and beneficiaries, it was further widened making it 4 metres wide and 300 metre long. This is the only road which was converted as a road during the period of 2012-15 by the GP. The Panchayat did not spend any amount for the widening of this road. It is a mud road, but the road was found suitable for all purposes.

3.2 Kadaplamattom Panchayat

The study covered four roads, whose details are furnished below.

Table 1.6 Details of Sample Roads Kadaplamattom Panchayat

Sl. No	Road Name	Ward	Length	Tarred	Category
1	Kallupura - Marozhuka Road	12	0.5	0.5	Pucca
2	Karayogamandiram - Pareppedika Road	7	1.2	1.2	Pucca
3	Nedumala - Cheraveli Road	12	0.850	0.7	Kacha
4	VHS Neelambadom - Areekkattukunnel Road	11	1.1	1	Kacha

Source: Compiled from the Asset Registers of Kadaplamattom Panchayat, 2015.

Kallupura-Marozhuka Road, constructed in 1983, is 500 metre long and 3 metre wide. There are 30 beneficiary families living on both sides of this road. No illegal constructions or encroachment

on the road were found. The road was last maintained in 2012 with a cost of Rs.494,600. The quality of tarring is average, the side protection facility is only 30-metre in length, and there is a need to protect sides of another 50 metres.

The Karayogamandiram--Pareppedika Road was constructed in 1975. It is a 1.2 km long and 5 km wide road starting from Karayoga Manthiram Jn. and ending at Pareppedika. It also provides good connectivity/linkage to many other Panchayat roads. It was last re-tarred in 2013 at a cost of Rs. 15,88,327. The road is in good condition vis-à-vis quality, length and width. No encroachment was found on this road, and it provides good service to the local people.

Nedumala – Cheraveliwas constructed in 1985 with a length of 0.850 km and 3.5 metre width, and it spreads over ward No. 12 of Kadaplamattom Panchayat. The road is an average road in terms quality of tarring. It was re-tarred in 2013 at a cost of Rs.840,000. Unfortunately, about 150 metres of the road is damaged due to laying of water pipes as part of the Jalanidhi project of the Government of Kerala, reflecting the absence of co-ordination among government agencies. This damaged portion has not been repaired and is considered as a katcha road. However, there is no encroachment on this road, and it provides good service to the local people.

The VHS Neelambadom-Areekkattukunnel Road, also known as Bandu Road, was constructed in 1980 with a length of 1.1 km and 4.5 metre width. There is a canal flowing through the side of the road. Till 2000 paddy fields were occupying one side of the road., But these areas are filled with soil now, creating water logging in the rainy season. Water is not available in the canal during summer season. The road was re-tarred in 2013 at a cost of Rs. 4,82,000. However, some portion of this road is not maintained and is kept as katcha. There is no encroachment or illegal construction on this road.

3.3 Kuttikkol Panchayat

In Kuttikkol Panchayat as per the asset register, there exists 104 roads. During the period of 2012-15, 15 more roads were created or transferred by beneficiary committees, which are not included in the asset register.

Table 1.7 Details of Sample Roads in Kuttikkol Panchayat

Sl. No	Road Name	Ward	Length	Tarred	Category
1	Bethoorpara – Kolikundu Road	1	1.95	1.95	Pucca
2	Kuttikkol Mahavishnu Kshetram Road	14	100	100	Pucca
3	Chayithadukkom – Thalappara Road	2	2.45	2	Kacha (450 m)
4	Fire Station – Vaniyamparambu Road	16	319	-	Kacha (319 m)

Source: Compiled from the Asset Registers of Kuttikkol Panchayat, 2015.

The initial construction of Bethoorpara – Kolikundu Road was in 2006 at a cost of Rs. 10 lakh. The road is directly connected to the Kasargod-Banthudukka PWD road and is found to be in good condition. It was last maintained in 2013 at a cost of Rs. 5 lakh. The surface condition of the road is above average, and there is no encroachment or illegal construction.

Kuttikkol Mahavishnu Kshetram Road was constructed in 2014 connecting Kuttikkol-Bandadukka PWD main road. It came under the ownership of Panchayat recently, as the private land-owner transferred it to the Panchayat. However, considering the importance of the road and its large users, particularly belonging to the Hindu community, the Panchayat committee decided to tar it immediately.

The Chayithadukkom -Thalappara Road serves the lower range of Kuttikkol Panchayat. The length of the road is 2.45 km, and out

of this around 450 metres are in katcha condition. The whole road serves the agriculture area, and the number of beneficiary houses is below 100.

The Fire Station-Vaniyamparambu Road is also recently transferred to the Panchayat by the beneficiary committees. It is a katcha road, but connects the town to an isolated part of the village. The beneficiary families are very less compared to the other roads in low and mid land Grama Panchayats.

Beneficiary Satisfaction Evaluation

The beneficiary satisfaction survey was conducted during January and February 2016 among the people who were benefitting from the sample roads. For this purpose, 50 beneficiaries of each sample roads were selected for the primary survey. Around 44 volunteers were involved in 12 sample roads spread over the three sample Panchayats, namely Kanjiramkulam, Kadaplamattom and Kuttikkol. The survey questions touched upon the levels of satisfaction among the beneficiaries at two levels. The first level was in terms of surface quality of road and width, length and connectivity of the selected road, maintenance of the road including period of maintenance, durability of maintenance, availability of maintenance fund, etc. The second level assessed the satisfaction level of available amenities like waiting shed, footpath, traffic sign boards. The sample roads were classified into two – Pucca roads and Kutcha roads – for beneficiary satisfaction survey.

4.1 Beneficiary Evaluation – Pucca Roads

We selected two pucca roads from each sample panchayats for beneficiary satisfaction survey as follows: Kallumala (Moonumukku) - Plavila Road and Malinamkulam- Moonumukku Road from Kanjiramkulam Panchayat; Kallupura-Marozhuka Road and Karayogamandiram-Pareppedika Road from Kadaplamattom Panchayat;

Table 4.8 Road Beneficiary Satisfaction Evaluation – Pucca Roads

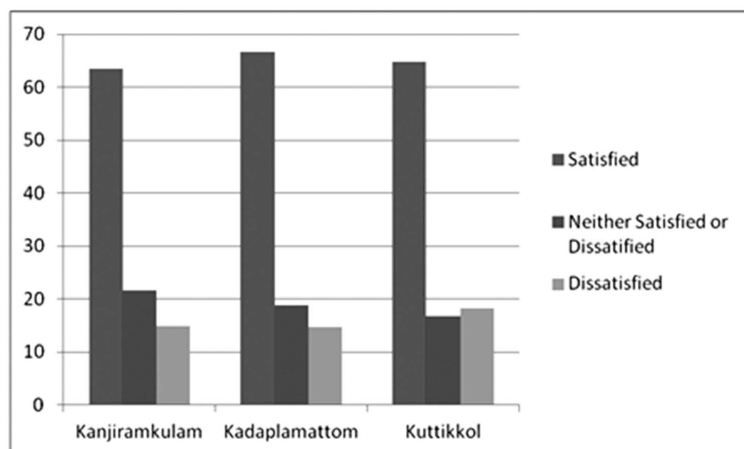
Sl. No.	Indicators	Kanjiramkulam			Kadaplamattom			Kuttikkol		
		1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
1	In terms of surface quality of the road	70	19	11	70	17	13	72	22	6
2	In terms of width	75	20	5	65	28	8	80	16	4
3	In terms of length	70	26	4	76	24	0	70	18	12
4	Connectivity to other roads	67	20	13	60	24	16	69	10	21
5	In terms of regular maintenance	62	22	16	70	11	19	64	24	12
6	In terms of durability of maintenance	50	15	35	61	12	27	64	16	20
7	Availability of maintenance fund	51	29	20	64	16	20	35	12	53
	Satisfaction Score	63.57	21.57	14.85	66.57	18.85	14.74	64.85	16.85	18.28
8	Safety of road in terms of accidents probability	35	6	59	7	21	72	21	8	71
9	In terms of footpath facilities	40	0	60	4	14	82	8	20	72
10	In terms of road drainage facilities	16	4	80	19	16	65	20	10	70
11	In terms of road traffic signs	10	1	89	0	20	80	5	10	87
12	Roadside amenities like waiting shed	10	2	88	15	10	75	13	16	71
	Satisfaction Score	22.2	2.6	75.2	9	16.2	74.8	13.4	12.8	74.2

Source: Beneficiary Survey Conducted in Sample Panchayats in February 2016.

Note: 1.Satisfied; 2.Neither satisfied or dissatisfied; 3. Dissatisfied, Figure show percentage

and Bethoorpara--Kolikundu Road and Kuttikkol Mahavishnu Kshetram Road from Kuttikkol Panchayat.

Figure 1.2 Beneficiary satisfaction analysis – Pucca road



As the data from the beneficiary satisfaction analysis of pucca roads in the sample panchayats shows, all the three Panchayats scored well at the first level. The Kadaplamattom Panchayat had 66.57 per cent satisfied beneficiaries vis-à-vis road surface quality, maintenance, renewability and upgradation, fund availability, etc; while the Kuttikkol Panchayat holds the second position with 64.85 per cent satisfied beneficiaries followed by Kanjiramkulam Panchayat which had 63.57 per cent. Kanjiramkulam and Kadaplamattom Panchayats had same percentage of dissatisfied beneficiaries, which was around 14 per cent. At the second level –with regard to the beneficiary satisfaction based on available amenities like waiting shed, footpath, traffic sign boards, etc. – almost all the panchayats displayed similar results. Maintenance funds were dismal. Majority of the beneficiaries from all the sample panchayats were not satisfied, even though all six roads were under pucca category. The beneficiary dissatisfaction level was 75.2 per cent in Kanjiramkulam, 74.8 per

cent in Kadaplamattam and 74.2 per cent in Kuttikkol Panchayats regarding the available road-side amenities.

4.2 Beneficiary Evaluation – Katcha Roads

Two katcha roads each from the sample panchayats were selected for beneficiary satisfaction survey. Melevilakom-Kottampazhynji Road and Karumakkala–RafaChurch Road from Kanjiramkulam Panchayat; Nedumala – Cheraveli Road and VHS Neelambadom-Areekkattukunnel Road from Kadaplamattom Panchayat; and Chayithadukkom–Thalappara Road and Fire Station-Vaniyamparambu Road from Kuttikkol Panchayat were selected.

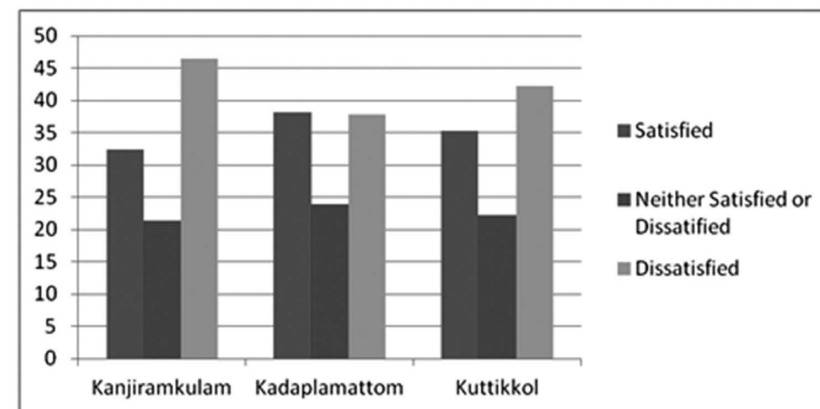
Table 1.9 Road Beneficiary Satisfaction Evaluation – Katcha Roads

Sl. No.	Indicators	Kanjiramkulam			Kadaplamattom			Kuttikol		
		1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
1	In terms of surface quality of the road	23	27	60	15	20	65	15	18	67
2	In terms of width	57	14	29	68	14	18	64	13	21
3	In terms of length	56	17	27	56	37	7	56	27	17
4	In terms of connectivity to other roads	43	21	36	54	36	10	42	39	19
5	In terms of regular maintenance	16	20	64	16	30	54	15	25	60
6	In terms of durability of maintenance	21	24	55	26	20	54	33	18	49
7	In terms of Availability of maintenance fund	11	34	55	32	11	57	22	15	63
	Satisfaction Score	32.42	21.42	46.47	38.14	24	37.85	35.28	22.14	42.28
8	Safety of road in terms of accidents probability	10	32	58	69	20	11	19	12	69
9	In terms of Footpath facilities	19	35	46	52	34	14	13	20	67
10	In terms of road drainage facilities	9	10	81	63	21	16	12	18	70
11	In terms of Road traffic signs	4	5	91	5	16	79	5	6	87
12	Availability of roadside amenities like waiting shed	2	6	92	13	12	75	11	16	75
	Satisfaction Score	8.8	17.6	73.6	11.8	20.6	67.6	12	14.4	73.6

Source: Beneficiary Survey Conducted in Sample Panchayats in February 2016.

Note: 1. Satisfied; 2. Neither satisfied or dissatisfied; 3. Dissatisfied, Figure percentage.

Figure 1.3 Beneficiary satisfaction analyses – Katcha road



During the beneficiary satisfaction analysis of katcha roads in the sample panchayats, Kadaplamattom Panchayat scored (38.14 per cent) the highest level of satisfaction in the first level, whereas the Kuttikkol Panchayat had 35.28 per cent and Kanjiramkulam had 32.42 per cent of satisfied beneficiaries with respect to road surface quality, maintenance, renewability and upgradation, fund availability, etc. It is interesting to note that majority of the beneficiaries were dissatisfied about the quality and performance of the roads. 46.47 per cent of the beneficiaries from Kanjiramkulam, 37.85 per cent from Kadaplamattom and 42.28 per cent from Kuttikkol Panchayats were found to be dissatisfied. In the second level of the survey, i.e., the satisfaction level with regard to the available road amenities like waiting shed, footpath, traffic sign boards, etc. both pucca and katcha roads, displayed similar results. Around 73.6 per cent of the beneficiaries were dissatisfied with the amenities available on the sample roads in Kanjiramkulam Panchayat. In Kadaplamattom and Kuttikkol Panchayats there were 67.6 per cent and 73.6 per cent dissatisfied beneficiaries about the road amenities, respectively.

Conclusion

Panchayat roads, comprising around 82 per cent of the total road network in the state, provide remarkable service to the socio-economic development of the villagers. The challenge to the LGs lies in both expansion of the network to provide road links to unconnected habitations and at the same time in conducting maintenance of the existing vast rural road network. Financial requirements remain a matter of concern as the budget allocation to LGs under this head is insufficient compared to the requirement. The central government is already contributing reasonable share of funds in construction of new roads under the PMGSY scheme. The quality of the PMGSY road is higher than the roads created with state fund. The state government needs to attach high priority to the maintenance of roads than creating new roads, and also provides reasonable allocations for maintenance so as to ensure serviceability of the road network. Needless to say, roads are one of the major infrastructures catering to all kinds of development, and hence good quality of roads also enhances the wider acceptance of the government. On assessing the effectiveness and overall performance of roads in sample Panchayats, it became evident that some of the common pathways are narrow, and bordering polders are first converted to mud roads and later to motorable roads. It is significant to note that there was no priority setting process done in any of the sample Panchayats. Road maintenance was found to be the single major demand raised by the people during Grama Sabha. The quality of tarring was found to be below average in Kanjiramkulam and Kadaplammattom Panchayats as compared to Kuttikol Panchayat. The study team identified many illegal constructions and encroachments in Kanjiramkulam Panchayat, which included one permanent house and one temporary house. It needs to be mentioned that the permanent house constructed on the road had building permit and

number obtained from the Panchayat. Improved road networks provided several positive externalities to the local community. For sustainable maintenance of the Panchayat roads, strong political will backed by administrative and technical support are required. Road assets need to be monitored frequently to ensure that they do not get encroached. To ensure this, there is a need to have a proper database, which provides real-time information about the status of the roads. As emerged from the study, the present system of monitoring and control seems inadequate in the sample Panchayats.

Notes

ⁱThe standard practice adopted for construction of roads is to provide: a) Sub base with 60mm and 36mm stones in a proportion of 7:3, spreading 100mm thick which is compacted to 75mm thick; b). Base with 36mm stones spread to 100mm thick and compacted to 75mm thick; and c). Black topping using 20mm chipping carpet. The average cost for construction of new road having one kilometer length with a width of 3.6m (with double layer metalling and 20mm chipping carpet) worked out at the schedule of rates in 2010 (SOR) is Rs. 15.6 lakh.

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FEDERAL FINANCING IN INDIA: REVIEW OF APPROACHES OF NEGOTIATIONS BY STATE GOVERNMENTS FOR GREATER HORIZONTAL DEVOLUTIONS

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Abstract

Formula based intergovernmental transfers through the Finance Commission of India are significant for States. This paper aims to bring out the pattern of negotiations of typical States with the FC before the formula is decided. The negotiation for greater vertical devolution favoring States is very straightforward. Individual proposals on formula for horizontal devolution reflect the game theoretic negotiation with FC. The proposal on the parameters and weights proposed by individual States is a reflection of the constraints faced by them. Linkages with state income, its performance in human development index explains the choice of parameters. Despite opposing discretionary grants in favour of greater formula based devolutions, they are flexible in proposing sector/ state specific grants in aid to further their own cause. States could do well to cooperate and scientifically design parameters that best reflect their individual concerns as well

Key Words: *Fiscal federalism, Finance Commission, Negotiations, Political bargain, Sub national governments, India*

Intergovernmental transfers are crucial for the sub-national governments in India. The Constitution of India assigns revenue raising powers and expenditure responsibilities to both the Union and State Governments¹. However, there is exclusive tax raising powers with the Centre, which are transferred to States in ways recommended through the constitutionally mandated Finance Commission (FC). Also, grants for Plan purposes are given through

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the Planning Commission² and grants for Centrally Sponsored Schemes (CSS) are designed by different Union ministries implemented with a matching/non matching contribution from States. RBI report on State Finances (2016-17) highlights the increasing share of intergovernmental transfers in State finances citing that in 2014-15, the share of central transfers to states was 5.4% of GDP while their own resources formed 7.4% of GDP.

Article 280 of the Constitution of India provides the mandate for the appointment of the Finance Commission every five years or earlier, and assigns the major tasks of the union finance commissions. Article 275 provides the grants related mandate to FC that must be recommended for specific states that require such assistance. Vertical devolution of taxes between the Central and States is the result of the assessment of expenditure requirements of the Union and State and the expected macro economic and fiscal scenario that is likely to impact the country. Horizontal devolution of taxes amongst the states is formula based with the objective of balancing equity and efficiency. Every FC considers the views and suggestions of the state governments, political parties, industry houses and local leaders and interest groups, academicians, etc.

States that are low contributors to the aggregate Gross State Domestic Product (GSDP) face inability to generate more funds on account of cost disability and low fiscal capability and they demand more share to address developmental needs. States that contribute heavily demand more to meet the high spending obligations in order to address huge inter regional disparities. This paper explores the approaches of political bargain that states enter into with Finance Commission.

Section I presents a review of relevant literature on the intergovernmental transfer-vertical and horizontal devolution and the impact of partisan politics. In Section 2, the operational features

of FC set the context of negotiation between States and FC. A discussion on the proposals by states to FC and the recommendations by the FC on the same is presented in Section 3. An analysis of the proposals by States within the backdrop of states' income and ranking of HDI etc. brings out the pattern of negotiations and revealing insights on the nature of demands by States. Section 4 presents the conclusion and way forward.

Relevant literature

a. Intergovernmental Transfers in India

The mechanism of intergovernmental transfers can be set in the context of the economic asymmetry and the Constitutional mandate to balance the responsibilities of Union and States with revenue raising powers and through transfers. Rao and Singh (2004) highlight the economic asymmetry³ existing within Indian federalism. This was aimed to be corrected through constitutionally mandated general purpose transfers. Rao (1999) emphasizes the significance of the general purpose FC devolutions towards offsetting cost disabilities, revenue requirements and providing incentives to States. A review of literature on the type of intergovernmental transfers shows increasing trends towards discretionary transfers and more partisan influence on discretionary transfers than on formula based transfers through Finance Commission (Rao, 2004). Srinivasan (2006) too emphasizes the impact of partisan politics on Plan grants. Rule based transfers have been proposed as a channel to counteract the partisan effects on transfers to state governments (Khemani, 2003).

During the period of 10- 13 FC, the proportion of Union transfers through the FC has been in the range of 67-69% of total transfers. Overall, the ratio of Union transfers has grown from 4.09% to 4.95% of India's GDP.

Table 1: Transfers to States (2012-13, % of total Union transfers)

Period	FC Transfers	Other Transfers	Total	% GDP
10 FC (1995-2000)	68.61	31.39	100	4.09
11 FC(2000-05)	69.38	30.62	100	4.16
12 FC (2005-10)	68.91	31.09	100	4.86
13 FC (2010-15)	67.44	32.56	100	4.95

Source: Report of Fourteenth Finance Commission, India (2015-2020)

b. Vertical devolution

In a federal set up, national government collects more taxes and the resources are reassigned to the subnational governments. Vertical devolution is meant to correct the asymmetry between the revenue raising capacity and the expenditure related responsibilities of Union and State governments. Bagchi(2006) noted that transfers from the centre are a common feature in all federations and results in what is called a vertical gap. Rangarajan and Srivastava(2008) mention that a vertical gap is often deliberately created for efficiency gains that result from the relative assignments and fiscal transfers that are used to close the gap or convert it into a balance economic union of the federation.

c. Horizontal devolution

Norm-based equalization serves both equity and efficiency. Bagchi (2002) emphasizes the goal set by Gulati for federal transfers, viz, equalisation of primary civic services based on acceptable standards or norms. Horizontal equalisation leads to equity and efficiency, as it is expected to provide fiscal headroom to poor States to provide similar levels of services and goods, as would be available in richer states. Rangarajan and Srivasatava(2008) argued that the locational efficiency(by reducing migrants from poorer to richer states) and

redistribution(return to the richer states by avoiding congestion) serves the purpose. Musgrave (1961) noted the disadvantage that some states are called upon to contribute to the services of others which, while needy, refuse to make an adequate effort of their own. Practically, this makes the task of FC quite critical so as to balance the incentives for States to fiscally stay sound and make up for the revenue/cost disabilities for low income States. However, the FC has been critiqued for its so-called gap-filling approach in the assessment of needs and resources and the prevalence of implicit adverse incentives (Rangarajan & Srivastava, 2008). Bagchi(2001) cites the findings of Jha et.al(1999) that higher the ratio of central grants in total expenditures of a state government, the lower is its tax effort. Rao (2004) mentions that States were incentivized to lower tax ratio and increase expenditure and still could access FC devolutions without any serious fiscal management. The deterioration in state finances lead to an additional Terms of Reference to 11FC and its recommendation of target based reduction in deficits. Singh and Srinivasan (2006) reviewed the methodology for horizontal devolution by 7FC to 10FC and remarked that it is non-transparent in its rationale and its outcomes. Chakroborty (2010) criticized the approach of the 13 FC on for choosing parameters that penalize States instead of incentivising improved fiscal performances.

d. State Specific grants

Grants are an important provision through FC in order to address the State or sector specific issues. The first FC sought the principle of equalization of basic social services through allocation of grants in aid to needy states. Rao (1999) and Baghchi (2002) argue that the responsibility of state specific requirement may be met by States individually, through fiscal management and prioritisation(if at all by giving them additional fiscal space). Sector specific focus, if any could be met by national programs or through extra support

to State's plan. Chakroborty (2010) criticized the approach towards sector/state grants adopted by the 13 FC establishing that it could lead to reduction in expenditure in the education sector.

In the following section, the quantum of flow of funds through FC is presented with a brief on the operational features of FC. This is followed by a review of memorandum of demands submitted by states. This brings interesting insight into the negotiations by states for greater devolutions. As mentioned earlier, the ability to politically influence the rule based transfers is rather limited. The political parties forming the government can press upon their requirements through the formal meetings and submission of memorandums of demands to the FC. However, the FC frames the final recommendations using its own assessments, as it is bound by the constitutionally mandated Terms of Reference through the Presidential Order.

Finance Commission: Transfers to States and ways to determine their requirements

Table below shows the trends in central transfers to States during the period 10FC to 13FC period (2000-2020). The total transfers almost doubled in 13 FC periods in comparison to 12 FC periods.

Table 2: Transfers from Centre to States (INR million)

FC Period	10 FC	11 FC	12 FC	13 FC
Total Transfer	2,266,430	4,349,050	7,557,520	17,066,770
Annual transfers	453,290	869,810	1,511,500	3,413,350
Amount used for vertical transfers	283,270	380,240	756,240	1,863,900
Amount for equalisation transfers	133,010	378,560	633,880	1,390,640
Amount used for cost differential and special needs	37,000	111,020	121,320	158,810

Source: "Finance Commissions in India: An Assessment", RBI, 30 March 2011, Report of Fourteenth Finance Commission

Panagariya (2014) brings out a positive relationship between greater devolutions by Centre to States giving greater fiscal space to low income states thereby setting a virtuous cycle of high growth. This further increases the share of developmental expenditure causing further higher growth in income.

Operational features of FC⁴: After the constitution of FC⁵, it starts functioning to assimilate data, conducts meetings of all stakeholders, collaborates with academic institutions falling within the realms of public finance as mandated by its Terms of Reference (ToR). The office of FC has approximately two years of time for inviting inputs and seeking public opinion, meeting relevant stakeholders across States (including the State Chief Minister), Central Ministries, Accountant Generals, conduct conferences, regional workshops, and to draft its recommendations on the ToR. 14 FC⁶ noted that the consultations with the State Governments and other stakeholders in the States have been an essential and enduring feature of work for all previous Finance Commissions.

Memorandum to the FC by States: Each State prepares and submits a detailed Memorandum of Demands (MoD) to the FC prior to the FC's State visit/consultation. MoD is used by States to communicate its perspective on the ToR. State would present its Fiscal overview, Social Report Card, bringing out its growth and development story. The State presents its suggestions on the formula for vertical and horizontal devolution, the manner for distribution of grants in aid and the measures for augmenting the Consolidated Fund of State. Also, based on the important reforms that is in the pipeline or such matters of national importance, the ToR demands responses on these to consolidate the State views⁷.

There has been rather limited documentation, outside of FC report itself, on the very nature of the consultations and the demands submitted to it, by the State and the stakeholders (public

at large)⁸. Each FC must visit all the States, and it would meet the government and the members of opposition (both the State level and the representatives of local government), industry groups, academic institutions, traders, and other groups. Each FC in its report documents the view points that it receives on the Terms of Reference and presents it in the report appropriately. A review of report of FC provides the nature of recommendations that has been placed by the States before successive FC. The data collection process and outcomes are documented in the report⁹.

The analysis of the variety of negotiation by the Indian States (that are economically, politically diverse and differ in their resource requirements), is an area of interest. The evolution of asymmetries in Indian federalism and its nature (geographic, economic etc.) has been documented. The political will determines the set of reasons that are proposed as response to the mandate of the FC. The political representative in the states influences the negotiations-each State chooses to propose the arguments for greater vertical devolution with an awareness that it is in best interest to cooperate for a higher vertical devolution in favour of states. While proposing for higher individual share, it highlights very pointed issues in its unique context, pushing for greater shares relevant for that that phase only.

Exploring the Linkages: Flavor of Negotiations by States

A. Observations on the recommendations of FC

Vertical Devolution:

Successive FC have increased the share of states vis a vis the union. The suggestions of States fall under four categories:

- (a) Increase in the share of tax devolution- Since the Tenth FC, the share of transfers in the Centre's tax receipts awarded by the Commissions have risen from 26% (Tenth FC) to 32% (13 FC) (Department, 2013). **14 FC accepted the demands of all**

States to enhance formula based tax devolution and raised the share of States to 42% in the divisible pool.

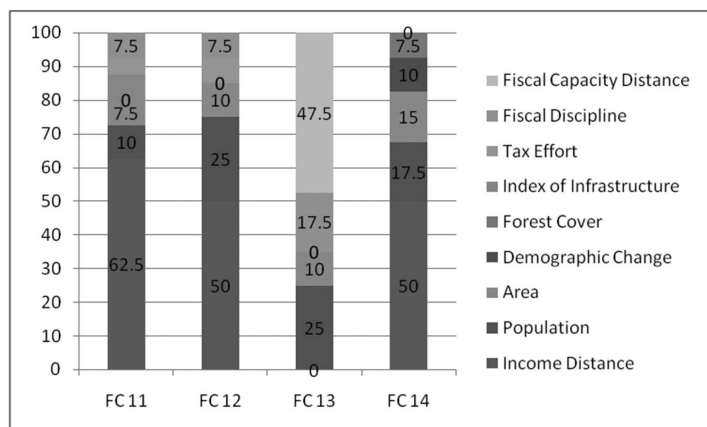
- (b) Demands related to including cess and surcharges and non tax revenue has been discarded by 14 FC as these are not mandated constitutionally (Kerala and Maharashtra)
- (c) Ensuring minimum guaranteed tax devolution has not been agreed by 14 FC
- (d) Reduce the role of Centrally sponsored schemes (CSS)- This is out of purview of FC and has been separately addressed through restructuring of CSS.

Horizontal devolution: Bihar has mentioned that three groups emerge for the seven different criteria that have been used by the 11, 12 and 13FC:

Table 3: Types of Criteria used by FC for the formula for horizontal devolution

Group	Criteria	Objective
A	1. Population 2. Area	To judge the relative size of the state.
B	1. Income Distance 2. Physical Infrastructure 3. Fiscal Capacity Distance	To capture the relative economic disadvantage of the states and, hence, their needs for additional resources
C	1. Tax Effort 2. Fiscal Discipline	to incentivize the states for prudent fiscal management in terms of resource mobilisation and limiting deficit/debt

Source: Memorandum to the Fourteenth Finance Commission, Government of Bihar(2013)

Figure 1: Criteria used by successive FC towards horizontal devolution(%)

Source: Reports of various Finance Commission

Population and Area remain the two constant parameters for horizontal devolutions for all FC though in varying degrees. 14 FC has increased the weights for both these variables in comparison to those accorded by the previous 3 FC. In addition to Population, recognising the importance of changes in the demographic make up post 1971, 14 FC has gone a step further by assigning 10% weightage to demographic changes as well. Area is assigned weightage with an increasing trend as 14 FC assigns 15% in its formula. Following 12 FC, 14 FC also puts the floor limit at 2% for smaller States. It assigned 15% weight citing the nonlinear relationship between the area and cost of services to be provided to its citizens. 14 FC recognises the cost disabilities related to the forest cover and assigned 7.5% weightage.

Income Distance defined as distance of actual per capita income of a State from the State with the highest per capita income has been assigned the highest weightage across successive FC- 11, 12 and 14 FC. 14 FC took a three-year average (2010-11 to 2012-13)

per capita comparable GSDP has been taken for all the twenty-nine States. Income distance has been computed by taking the distance from the State having highest per capita GSDP. 13 FC used the fiscal capacity distance- distance of actual per capita income of a State from the State with the highest per capita income, as a measure of fiscal capacity. Figure 1 presents the shift in choice of variables for horizontal devolution.

B. Analysis of Proposals by States on Horizontal Sharing

States have a mix of opinion on the purpose of horizontal sharing of funds through FC. Bihar, a high population, low Income State suggests that equalization of per capita development expenditure matters the most. Government of Kerala (2013) viewed that Horizontal Fiscal Equalisation (HFE) is fundamentally based on the principle of equity between sub national jurisdictions and this principle has been accepted by all the FCs. HFE is the equalization of the fiscal capacity of the states.

Formula for horizontal sharing: Most states have restricted themselves to suggesting minimum 4 criteria namely population, area, fiscal discipline and tax effort, and a maximum of 7 criteria and weights have been assigned accordingly to arrive at the horizontal devolution formula. Total of 30 criteria were suggested together by 29 States, thereby bringing the State specific context as well. There lies huge variation in terms of geographical size, population, topography, demographic features. Indices related to Gross State Domestic Product, social sector indices and physical infrastructure brings out the variations and the prevalent inter State and intra state disparities.

Population: 13 States demanded the inclusion of Population based on 1971 Census while 10 States proposed using the recent Census 2011. The States pushing for the inclusion of 2011 Census reason out that huge demographic changes have happened since

1971. 7 States have proposed additional parameters like % of urban population, Composite SC/ST Population, States Dispersal of Population, Population Growth between 1971 to 2001. Gujarat also proposed 5% weightage to decadal migration index.

Area: 18 States have proposed inclusion of Area in their formula. 9 States have proposed inclusion of Cultivable Area, three dimensional Area, Border Length, Area Distance, Forest Area.

Human Development Index and Poverty Ratio: Sikkim and Goa proposed inclusion of Human Development Index while Jharkhand proposed Poverty Ratio as a criterion. **Index of social and economic backwardness** was proposed by Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh and West Bengal assigning 10% in their proposed formula.

Tax Effort: Andhra Pradesh, Goa and Karnataka (with one of the highest tax GSDP ratio) proposed tax effort

Income Distance: Income distance was proposed by 5 States (both high and low income) namely Bihar, Goa, Jharkhand, Odisha and Tripura.

Fiscal Capacity Distance: Fiscal Length Discipline was proposed by 21 States and 14 States proposed it with a combination of Fiscal Capacity Distance.

State's share in aggregate GSDP was proposed as a criterion by Gujarat and Punjab. Also Gujarat proposed 5% weight towards the reduction from fiscal capacity distance.

Fiscal Self Reliance was proposed by Karnataka (high income State) with a high weight (20%).

Table below summarizes the key proposals on horizontal devolution

Table 4: Proposals on criteria and weights for horizontal devolution formula by select States

Criteria/ weights(%)	Assam	Bihar	Maharashtra	All States	14 FC
Population	20	20	35	13 States for 1971 Census 9 States for 2001 Census	17.5
Demographic Change				7 other States suggested	10
Area	10		15	18 States 5 States also suggested other criteria related to area	15
Forest Cover	5			6 States-3 SC / NSC each	7.5
Income Distance		70		4 low incomes and 1 high income	50
Fiscal Capacity Distance	47.5		25	15 States	
Fiscal Performance					
Fiscal Discipline	17.5	10	25	20 States	
Tax Effort				4 States	
Total	100	100	100		100

Source : Analysis of Report of Fourteenth Finance Commission(2015)

Income capacity distance was used with a high weightage by 11 FC (62.5%) and 12 FC (50%). The 13 FC used the fiscal capacity distance¹⁰, a revenue disability indicator and fiscal efficiency indicator such as tax effort and fiscal discipline. These two indicators were still suggested by more than half of the states to be included in 14 FC formula, though with a varying weightage from 20-50%. Most States proposed a reduction in the weight assigned by the 13 FC, stating that better performing States were penalized in the income distance criteria¹¹ and States with revenue deficit were over burdened due to the fiscal discipline criteria. Bihar, Jharkhand, Odisha, and Tripura are the low income States but Goa is the smallest State with the highest per capita income (the Benchmark State). In 2013-

14, a comparable year, Goa has the highest Per capita Net State Domestic Product (PC NSDP)¹² (INR 132,320) while Bihar has the lowest PC NSDP (INR 14,356). Jharkhand (INR 27,010) and Odisha (INR 25,163) are slightly better than Bihar. Tripura (INR 43,574) is ranked 13 amongst the 29 Indian States.

It is quite interesting to note that only 5 States have chosen income distance over fiscal capacity distance. Though States argued over the reasons of not being able to generate a high tax GSDP ratio, presence of cost disabilities etc.

Development indicators for consideration in horizontal devolution: Some States have proposed the use of non-material dimensions like education, health and access to basic amenities captured by the Human Development Index (HDI), poverty ratio, use of an index of social and economic backwardness as well. Consideration of the index of backwardness proposed by the Committee for Evolving a Composite Development Index of States (2013) headed by Raghuram Rajan, has also been proposed.

Linking the State's Income, HDI ranking and proposals on horizontal devolution: States usually propose the formula (parameters and the respective weights) reflecting their unique situation; either to build on their strength or to cover for their individual constraints. States propose in terms of their own size of population, geographical setting like coastline, extent of forest cover, proneness to natural disasters etc. pressures of urbanisation, etc. and lay emphasis on assigning higher weights reflecting these parameters. Table below links the proposals with the State's level of per capita Net State Domestic Product in comparison to the national average (NA) NSDP and its ranking in India HDI report¹²

Table 5: Sample States proposals, NSDP and HDI ranking

State	Suggestion on the formula @	NSDP 2013-14	HDI Ranking 2007-08
Odisha	Percentage of Scheduled & low population density Area in Total area.	Below NA	Below NA
Rajasthan	population should be weighted by the Composite index of i) SC/ST combined population (ii) proportion of youth below 25 years (iii) Crude birth rate (iv) Crude death rate (v) Child mortality rate and (vi) Maternal mortality rate Use of index of backwardness worked out by Raghuram Rajan Committee	Below NA	Below NA
Uttarakhand	Must serve the twin objectives of equity and efficiency	Above NA	Above NA
Meghalaya	states in strategic location should get more grants- Cost of living, Availability of rail, road, air link, Infrastructure distance, Revenue raising capacity, Administrative efficiency, Debt/GSDP ratio, Cost	Slightly below NA	Above NA
Nagaland	Factors: geographical location, infrastructure, historical factors like lack of capital, absence of scientific knowledge and industrial technology, absence of marketing and financial institutions and imbalance due to policy of locating major projects on the sole consideration of immediate gains. No suggestion on the specific weightage to be assigned to different factors.	Above NA	Above NA

Sources: @14FC Report NSDP in comparison to the 2013-14 all India average INR 39,904

HDI ranking based on Report of Institute of Applied Manpower Research (2011)

Observations on the State's context and proposals for devolution

Table below presents the facts related to sample states representing a low income (Bihar), high income (Maharashtra), Kerala (highest ranking HDI) and Assam (North East).

Table 6: Fact file of Sample States

Indicators(2011)	Bihar	Maharashtra	Kerala	Assam	India
No. of Districts	38	35	14	27	640
Area ('000 ha) (% share)	94.2 (2.9%)	307.7 (9.3%)	38.9 (1.2%)	78.4 (2.4%)	3276.5
Population million (%of India Population)	104.1 (8.7%)	112.4 (9.4%)	33.4 (2.8%)	31.2 (2.6%)	1191
Population growth (Decennial %)	25.4	16	4.9	17.07	17.6
Urban (% of State population)	11.3	45.2	47.7	14.1	
Literacy rate (%)	61.8	82.3	94.0	72.2	74.10
Density (per sq.km)	1106	365	860	398	382
Sex Ratio (2011 Census)	918	929	1084	958	943
Gross State Domestic Product at Factor Cost (2014-15 at 2004-05 Prices)* (INR million)@2013-14	1,897,895	9,475,497	2,262,085@	924,316	57,417,910@
Per Capita NSDP at constant (2004-05 INR	16,801	72,200	58,961@	23,968	39,904@
Debt GSDP ratio 2013	26.4	21.3	31.6	21.4	22.1

Source: Report of 14 FC, 2015 and the data accessed through websites on 6 May 2017

Based on the statistics provided in the table above, following contexts for these states emerge.

Table 7: Context of sample States

Bihar	Assam	Maharashtra	Kerala
Low Income, Per Capita very low as compared to National PC NSDP	Low Income, Per Capita very low as compared to National PC NSDP	High Income, Per Capita higher than National PC NSDP	Medium Income, , Per Capita higher than National PC NSDP
High proportion of rural population	High proportion of rural population	High level of urbanization	High level of urbanization
Lowest in terms of literacy, low Sex Ratio	High Literate population	High Literate population, Average Sex Ratio	Highest literacy, high Sex Ratio

Fiscal Deficit less than 3% norm, High Development expenditure GSDP Ratio (15.9%)in 2012-13	Development expenditure GSDP Ratio (21.3%) in 2012-13 similar to average amongst Special Category (21.9%)	High Debt GSDP Ratio Lower Development expenditure GSDP Ratio (8.1%) compared to Non Special Category (10.9%)	Higher FD than the 3% norm Low Development expenditure GSDP Ratio (9.3%)in 2012-13
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Stylised facts emerging from the MoD submitted to 14FC by select states

- Bihar's proposal for per capita development expenditure is a step towards equalizing the fiscal capacities of States. Low income States with high population high a huge committed expenditure. Fiscal management becomes a challenge with a target based reduction in fiscal/revenue deficit resulting in lesser fiscal space available for development expenditure. It is important in this sense when Bihar proposes equalization of per capita development expenditure, the rationale being equipping high population states with untied resources to reduce interstate and intra state disparities in growth and development
- Following principle of equalization, Kerala proposed for the dropping of tax effort and fiscal discipline from the formula. The population and fiscal capacity distance should be related through weights generated by the devolution ratio starting with the principle of equalization. It proposed that population needs to be redefined incorporating the cost disabilities imposed by the share of aged population, level of urbanization, forest area and effective population density.
- Maharashtra proposed that States should receive compensation for reduction in size of the Divisible Pool- It cited that certain sources of revenue that is contributed by States and yet it outside the divisible pool. The reasons cited were

- Tax Concessions given by the Center
- Growing size of Cesses & Surcharges
- Delay in revision of Royalty on Minerals
- Changes in Income Tax Act bringing in State bodies (carrying out the development function of State) in tax ambit
- Additional source of Non Tax Revenue of Centre arising out of Spectrum Sales, License Fees

Kerala and Maharashtra proposed for including the non-shareable cess and surcharges and non-tax revenues in the divisible pool. The proposals of higher vertical devolution in favour of States emerge against the background that Union has other sources of revenue outside the divisible pool, hence States must access greater share of divisible pool.

d. Demands for grants in aid(GIA) from FC

The ToR usually mentions that FC would provide the principles" and "sums to be paid to the states which are in need of assistance". The purpose is to help States meet their residuary budgetary needs after taking the devolution of taxes into account, to augment State expenditure, to ensure minimum expenditures on such services across the country. The previous FC recommended GIA for five purposes – revenue deficit, disaster relief, local bodies, sector-specific schemes and state-specific schemes. ***The first three types of grants are formula based while sector and state specific grants are discretionary.***

States present a range of demands to meet fund requirements from police, housing, coastal zone protection, eldercare, irrigation, special requirements for Mumbai city etc. During 14 FC, The total demand for sector/state specific grants was INR 11,890,370 million. Maharashtra had demanded for INR 210,970 million. Kerala demanded 68,851 million, Bihar proposed INR 414,541 million and Assam proposed INR 390,383 million.

States have presented a strong case for minimizing discretionary GIA in favor of formula based devolutions, yet they propose a range of state/specific grants with a view to not lose any chance of accessing the discretionary grants of FC. Bihar (2013) mentioned that of the total GIA by 13 FC, grants to Local Bodies and Post-devolution Non-Plan Revenue Deficits, totaled 50% of GIA and with the Implementation of Goods and Services Tax(GST) together account for 59.4 percent of the total grants. Yet it could hardly make any visible impact on the challenges. Still, Bihar maintained it should have a greater redistributive role and in favour of the disadvantaged States and claimed a 15% share in total GIA through 14 FC.

GIA has been in the range of 7.7 % (7 FC) to 26.1% (6 FC) (13 FC- 18.03%) of total FC transfers. ***14 FC refrained from allocating any sector specific grant with the argument that these requirements of the State should be met out of their enhanced fiscal capacity and through appropriate transfers from Centre, not through the GIA mechanism of FC.*** 14 FC assigned formula based local bodies grant, disaster relief(past expenditure based) and post devolution revenue deficit grant.

Views on Debt Relief

Maharashtra (2014) demanded a reduction in the interest rate on National Small Savings Fund (NSSF) loans citing that States were locked in high interest regime. Also, it proposed symmetric treatment of states and centre in the event of any conditionality that were to be imposed. Kerala (2013) recommended that full waiver or at least 50% of waiver of central loans to States would improve the debt situation of States. In contrast to several states demanding access to market borrowings, Bihar (2013) critiqued the lack of central mediation for borrowing and the option of raising market borrowings, as not useful for low income states like Bihar.

d. Solving the bargaining problem through Joint Memorandums to FC

In addition to their individual MoD, all the finance ministers of States, together presented a joint memorandum to the 13 FC under the chairmanship of Sri Asim Dasgupta, with a view to correct the imbalance in the Centre-State financial relations. States argued on lines that the annual developmental expenditure of the States (INR 3.62 lakh crore) was more than one and a half times that of the Centre (INR 2.33 lakh crore) while, the revenue collection was shared between Central and State government in 62:48 in 2005-06 (RBI data 2004-05). Venkatesan(2008) mentions the submission of a joint memorandum as a historic step. Major highlights included

- Enhance the share of the states in the net proceeds of central taxes from 30.5 per cent to at least 50 per cent
- Include all cesses and surcharges in the divisible pool
- Provide States with concurrent powers of taxation of all services like the Centre had appropriated the entire power of levy of service taxation
- Not to link the debt relief package of 12 FC with the enactment by the States of the Fiscal Responsibility and Budget Management (FRBM) Act.

States were not in favor of sticking to the reductions in fiscal and revenue deficits under the FRBM Act on the grounds of possible curtailment of development expenditure (Venkatesan, 2008). Many of these demands were incorporated in due course, by the 13 and 14 FC like greater vertical devolution to States, restructuring of CSS, access to market borrowings for states, consideration of flexible FRBM targets by 14 FC.

Way Forward

The empirical research on the intergovernmental transfers

shows that partisan politics affects allocation to States through discretionary transfers but is very limited on the formula based transfers through FC. States pushed for reduction in discretionary grants that has already resulted in restructuring of CSS and an increase in formula based shares to 42% through vertical devolution. States present memorandum of demands to the FC which is an important channel to express their stand on fiscal matters. The pattern of demands/viewpoints presented by States- High, Medium, Low; reflects flexibility on their part. States present their individual case with a view to tilt the negotiations for increment in individual shares through horizontal devolution. They propose their development agenda with specifics-laggard sector/ reasons for slow growth/development/constraints on development plans due to fiscal pressure. The reasons for increments in horizontal share may not be consistent. Low income States propose parameters -with a higher weightage, that would compensate for lesser own resource base, in order to overcome slow development, late start/legacy reasons. The low income States struggle to allocate higher budgets to development expenditure (school education and health care and public provisioning of urban civic amenities, rural and urban infrastructure etc.). High income States present a case for greater allocations on account of further requirements of maintenance of better social and physical infrastructure to continue the momentum of high growth/development. Experience shows that strict FRBM targets impacts the fiscal space available for development expenditure, on account of meeting a heavy committed expenditure in the first place. Exploring ways to inbuilt incentives for States to improve their fiscal situation still remains a challenge for FC. State's need to break the stickiness of their own sources as their dependency on central transfers increases over the years. Rule based transfers are critical and becomes interesting to further explore the flavor of negotiations to develop game theoretic model to solve the bargaining problem

of the States. The submission of joint MoD and an institutional arrangement like the Inter State Council could be explored. This can generate mechanisms to design formula driven transfers in the best interest of all States with inbuilt incentives for states to enhance its own revenue base, in the true spirit of cooperative and collaborative federalism.

Notes:

1. India is a constitutional democracy, now comprised of 28 states and seven "Union Territories" (UTs), the latter including the National Capital Territory (NCT) of Delhi. Schedule 7 of the Constitution of India lays down the fiscal powers of Union and State with regard to the Union List, State List and Concurrent List.
2. The Planning Commission was set up by a Resolution of the Government of India in March 1950 to promote a rapid rise in the standard of living of the people. In 2015, Government of India constituted the NITI Aayog to replace the Planning Commission. As accessed <http://planningcommission.gov.in/>
3. Rao and Singh (2004) explain "asymmetric federalism" based on unequal powers and relationships in political, administrative and fiscal arrangements spheres between the units constituting a federation.
4. Refer to The Finance Commission (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act, 1951 and Rules for more details related to the formation, function, powers and duties of FC in India
5. Refer to The Finance Commission (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act, 1951 and Rules for more details related to the formation, function, powers and duties of FC in India <http://fincomindia.nic.in/ShowContentOne.aspx?id=8&Section=1> as accessed on May 02, 2017
6. For the period starting 2020-2025, the preparation was kickstarted by Government of India through allocation of budget in 2017-18. The recommendations of the 15th Finance Commission will be implemented for the period starting 1 April 2020 to 31 March 2025. A new FC is set up two years before the end of the current period for which it sets rules for devolution of taxes. Some of the procedural insights that form part of the Paper are based on the author's consultancy experience of assisting two State governments in formulation of memorandums for 13 and 14 FC.
7. 14 FC covered all 29 States and held four meetings in each of them. It conducted meeting with the Chief Minister, Ministers and officers of the State Governments. Separate meetings were held with elected representatives of local self governments

both rural and urban, representatives of trade and industry, and representatives of recognised national and state political parties in the States.

9. In 13 and 14 FC, for example: views were sought on the impact of the proposed Goods and Services Tax on the finances of Centre and States and the possible mechanisms to compensate for revenue losses.
10. The focus of the current paper remains the negotiations between the State government and the FC. However, the FC conducts exhaustive consultation with Central Ministries, departments, structured discussions with economists, social scientists and so on. These deliberations are outside the scope of the current paper.
11. One can refer to the Report of the 14 FC for the list of meetings and discussions conducted by the Commission
12. For more details on State's proposal refer to the 14 FC report -State wise criteria and weights proposed for horizontal devolution; For HDI ranking refer to Report of Institute of Applied Manpower Research 2011

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RE-VISITING THE EVOLUTION OF MUSLIM POLITICS IN THE PRE- INDEPENDENT INDIA: 1877-1932

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Abstract

The Muslim politics in the British India began to evolve with the founding of the National Mohammedan Association of India and the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College. Sir Syed Ahamad Khan, the founder of the college, exhorted the Muslims to keep away from the Indian National Congress saying that their interests would not be secured by joining the Congress, and after the passing away of Ahmad Khan in 1898, his work was carried on by Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Viqar-ul-Mulk who attached much importance in politically organising the Muslims. This in the long run led to the founding of the All India Muslim League in 1906 and the granting of separate electorate and weightage to the Muslims in the Indian Councils Act of 1909. This promoted communal disharmony and was an impediment to the growth of nationalism throughout India.

The roots of Muslim Politics in the British India began not in 1906, the year of the foundation of the All India Muslim League, but in 1877, the year of the founding of the first significant Muslim political organisation in India, the National Mohammedan Association of India in Calcutta, founded by Syed Ameer Ali, and the foundation of the Mohammedan Anglo- Oriental College by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, which eventually turned out to be the Aligarh Muslim University. Syed Ameer Ali felt that unless the Muslims equipped themselves, they would be overturned in all walks of life by their Hindu fellow - countrymen, and this ultimately resulted in the founding of the National Mohammed Association which later changed its name to Central National Mohammedan Association.

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Though many other Muslim organisations had emerged before the founding of the Association, it alone could effectively represent to the government the wants and requirements of the bulk of the Muslims in the country. The early Muslim nationalism in India, it may be noted, worked on the premise that the welfare of the Muslims was closely linked with that of the other communities in India. This is indicated by the fact that the Association took upon itself the task of promoting the public interests of the people of India at large, and it had India two Hindu members in its committee of management out of a total of twenty - four members [Zakaria, p.38]. It gave special attention to the political issues related to Muslims, especially the poor Muslims share in the higher appointments to government service vis- a - vis the Hindus, for in the state employment alone lay the solution to the state of decadence and depression into which the community had plummeted.

The most important contribution to the evolution of Muslim politics in India was made by the Mohammedan Anglo- Oriental College, founded under the leadership and guidance of Syed Ahmed Khan. Though it was the first national institution in India for the propagation of learning among the Muslims of India, many Hindu students came to be admitted in it, and even some Hindus found place in its Managing Committee. Ahmad Khan, however, felt that the Muslims, being a minority, were likely to be sidelined in the vast sea of Indian humanity unless their identity was preserved and certain safeguards provided for the protection of their special interests. This view found a stronger assertion after the foundation of the Indian National Congress in 1885. The Congress demand for making elections as the basis for constituting legislature bodies was vehemently opposed by him stating that in India, which was peopled with different nations, it would result in overriding the interests of the smaller community like the Muslims. [Philips & Pandey, p.185.]

Thus Ahamed Khan stood himself as a zealous champion of Muslim nationalism in opposition to the all-embracing Indian nationalism of the Congress.

Sir Syed in the beginning had been a staunch supporter of Hindu - Muslim unity, and he once described the Hindus and the Muslims as "two eyes of the beautiful bride that was India." In course of time, Syed's interest in joint Muslim - Hindu endeavour began to wither primarily due to the rise in 1860s of a pro-Hindu movement demanding the replacement of Urdu by Hindi. After the foundation of the Indian National Congress, he exhorted the Muslims to keep aloof from it. He continued to remind the Muslims that, being an educationally and economically backward minority, their interests would not be secured by joining the Congress. The larger community would totally override the interests of the smaller community. This view was strongly opposed by Barduddin Tyabji, a prominent Muslim from Bombay who became the Congress President in 1887. Tyabji stressed the need of the different communities in India working together to bring about reforms for the common benefit of all. He admitted that each one of the various Indian communities had its own peculiar social, educational and even political problems to face, but on the general political questions concerning the whole of India the Muslims should work shoulder to shoulder with their fellow countrymen. [Zaidi and Zaidi, pp. 217 - 18]. To this Sir Syed replied that as the Hindus and Muslims belonged to two different nations, they could not co-operate politically [Zaid, pp. 33-46]. Thus it can be seen that Sir Syed Ahmed Khan articulated the two-nation theory in the last quarter of the 19th century.

The United Patriotic Association (1888) was the first political organisation founded by Syed Ahmad Khan to oppose the Congress and it was mostly composed of Muslims, but it had also a few Hindu members. But the recurrent Hindu - Muslim riots and Hindu

movement against cow - slaughter brought about a sea - change in his mind so much so that he founded in 1893 another organisation exclusively for the Muslims - the Muhammadan Defence Association. He reminded the Muslims again and again that the Congress demands for elected representatives and competitive examinations would only relegate the Muslims to the background. Therefore the best way for the Muslims was to go in for English education and work for Muslim - British friendship and co-operation. An important work done on behalf of the Association was the preparation of the draft scheme to secure adequate representation of Muslims in Upper India, jointly prepared by Theodore Back, the British Principal the MAO College and Syed Mohammed, the son of Syed Ahmed Khan. This could not be submitted to the government, thanks to the fact that both Syed Ahmed Khan and Back were busy engrossed in the work of the embezzlement of the Aligarh College, and their demise in quick succession in 1898 and 1899 respectively. Its importance, however, cannot be over-emphasised, and it brings out the fact that the ideas of separate electorate and weightage were not a sudden development in 1906 at the time of the Simla Deputation but were demanded at least ten years before that.

After the passing away of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan in 1898, his work was carried on by Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Viqar-ul-Mulk. Both of them attached greater importance than Sir Syed Ahmed Khan to politically organising the Muslims to safeguard the Muslim interests. This was because of the thinking among the educated Muslim elites of the time then that unless the Muslims took to politics, they would be left far behind the Hindus in the race for power and prestige. This line of thinking emerged especially in the wake of the UP government order permitting the use of Hindi in Nagari script, along with Urdu, in the courts of the province. The Muslims were greatly agitated over this, and they felt that they were not given their due by the British in spite of all their professed loyalty to them and vehement

opposition to the Congress. Mohsin-ul-Mulk, leading the agitation against this order, set up in 1900 the Urdu Defence Association. He attached paramount importance to the formation of a political organisation for the Muslims, and thanks to his consistent efforts, the Muslim Political Association was set up in 1901. Nevertheless the Association could not make any headway.

The greater stimulus to the idea of a Muslim political agitation was provided by the partition of Bengal in 1905. The Muslims, in general, were in favour of partition as it would give them majority in the Eastern part of Bengal [Zakaria, pp. 9-10.] The Congress, on the other hand, charged the British with ulterior motives: to vivisect the Bengali homeland and strike a deadly blow at Bengali 'nationality', which had its strongest centre in Bengal. Undoubtedly there was ample justification for the partition because of the larger size and population of Bengal. That the main object of it was to weaken the nationalist movement could be gauged from the words of some of the British officials. For instance, Curzon, the Viceroy, wrote to the Secretary of State for India, Brodrick, that unless they would not be able to dismember Bengal, it would result in solidifying on the eastern flank of India a force which would be a source of increasing trouble in the future. The Home Secretary of the Government of India also spoke in the same vein : "Bengal united is a power, Bengal divided will pull several different ways... our main objects is to split up and thereby weaken a solid body of opponents to our rule." (Gopal, pp. 269 - 271). The British used the issue of partition to its greater advantage by building up Muslims as a counter-poise to the Hindus, who spearheaded the anti-partition agitation. The net result was the sharpening of Hindu-Muslim divide, and the Muslim political consciousness becoming much stronger.

It was against this background that the new Secretary of State for India, Morley, made a speech on the Indian budget in the House of

Commons on 20 July 1916 foreshadowing Constitutional reforms, an important aspect of which was the increased representation of Indians in the legislative Councils based on the elective principle. The Muslim leaders, fearing that the Hindus would reap the maximum benefit by dint of their majority, had decided that they should have an independent organisation to secure "independent political recognition from the British government as a nation within a nation." [Aga Khan, pp. 75-76]. This led to a deputation led by the Aga Khan waiting upon Lord Minto, the Viceroy, assuring him of the Muslim loyalty to the British government and requesting him to grant separate representation for Muslims. The deputation got most sympathetic reception from Lord Minto who reassured them of his support : the Muslims might rest assured that their political rights and interests as a community would be safeguarded . [Minto, p.47]. This ultimately paved the way in December 1906 for the formation of a Muslim political organisation: the All India Muslim League. As has been stated above, the urge for an all India political organisation was not a sudden development but had been there in the minds of the Muslim leaders since the foundation of the Central National Muhammadan Association of India and the Anglo-Oriental Mohammadan College. But the grand success of the Simla Deputation accelerated its fulfilment. Muslim League's greatest achievement was the torpedoing of Morley's liberal predilections which stood in the way of his accepting an electoral system based upon the religious affiliation of the voters. What he had suggested was a mixed electoral college in which Muslims would get seats in proportionate to their share in the total population. The Muslim League insisted on separate electorate and weightage for Muslims and pointed out that unless these two things were not provided for, it would adversely affect the unwritten Muslim - British alliance. Minto, who was fully convinced of the value of Muslim support

against the rising tide of Indian nationalism, prevailed upon Morley to concede the two demands. The result was the inclusion of both separate electorate and weightage in the Indian Councils Act of 1909, which remained an integral part of the Constitution of India right upto the transfer of power. Many Hindu political leaders and Muslim nationalists had blamed this system of communal electorates for perpetuating and exacerbating communal disharmony in the political field and for preventing the growth of nationalism and national parties in India. Thereafter the British looked upon the Muslim League as a counterpoise to the swelling demand for democratic government. The British attitude can be gauged from the words of Lady Minto when she described Minto's reply to the Muslim delegation as "nothing less than the pulling back of sixty-two millions of people from joining the ranks of the seditious opposition." (Minto, pp. 47-48.)

The arguments put forward by the leaders of the Muslim League for separate electorates and weightage for Muslims in this context went a long way in cementing the ideological foundations of Muslim nationalism. For instance Syed Ali Imam, in his presidential address to the second annual session of the League, characterised the Hindus and Muslims as two irreconcilabilities with separate identities in point of nationality, character and creed. He also attributed the Pan-Islamic connections of Indian Muslims as one of the factors behind their political status. [Pirzada, p. 61.] Mohammed Ali also spoke in the same vein when he said that the Muslims had a different outlook on life, different mode of living, different temperament and different politics (Pirzada, p.70). Amer Ali also echoed the same sentiment when he said that to regard the Muslims as a minority is a misapplication of the term and the Muslims formed a nationality as important as the Hindus. The Aga Khan, who saw eye to eye fully with these views remarked that "an Act of Parliament cannot weld

into one, by general machinery, two nationalities so distinct as the Hindus and the Muhammedans." [The Times, 15 February 1909].

From 1909, the Congress began to adopt a conciliatory tone towards the Muslim League. It wanted to bring the two communities together, and naturally it became willing to concede separate electorate to the Muslim community. As for the Muslim League, several developments around the time turned them towards rapprochement with the Congress. One such a development was the annulment of the partition of Bengal. For years the British had been telling the Muslims that the decision regarding partition was final and would not be reopened. The repeal of the partition made them so furious that they lost all faith in British pledges. Another development was the spurt in the Pan - Islamic movement as a result of a growing concern among the Muslims of India regarding the fate of the Turkish empire, whose ruler was none other than the Caliph or the head of the Muslims worldwide. It was felt that the European powers, particularly the British, entered into a conspiracy to do away with the empire. This gave rise to an understanding between the Indian nationalism and the Muslim nationalism represented respectively by the Congress and the Muslim league paving the way for the Lucknow Pact, a joint Congress - League scheme of constitutional reforms, in 1916.

It was believed that the end of the war would bring a substantial measure of self-government but repression took precedence over reform in the British scheme of things. The most evident testimony in this regard was the notorious Jallian Wala Bagh massacre. As for Muslims they were deeply concerned about the future of Khilafat and the holy places of Islam as there were reports that Turkey was going to be deprived of all its possessions. The Indian Muslims looked upon the Sultan of Turkey as their Caliph, they felt that as Muslims it was incumbent upon them to work for the preservation

of his dignity and power. Gandhiji saw in this a golden opportunity to forge Hindu - Muslim unity, and got included the Muslim question in the non-cooperation movement of 1920. Nevertheless as far as the Hindu - Muslim relations were concerned not every thing was perfect; the Hindus were upset by the mass mobilisation of Muslims but the Muslims felt that the Hindus had no interest in the Khilafat issue and they were using it to further the cause of Indian nationalism. Gandhiji's indefinite postponement of the Civil Disobedience Movement, thanks to the Chauri - Chaura incident, at a time when the Khilafat issue was far from solved upset the Muslim leaders very much.

The end of the Khilafat movement saw communal riots all over northern India. As for the Hindus, the mobilisation of Muslims on a religious basis and several other developments in its wake instilled a sense of fear and anxiety in their minds and led them to hate Muslims. On the other hand, the Khilafat movement deepened the communal consciousness of the Muslims so much so that they created in the minds of the Muslims a deep disturbance and hatred of the Hindus. The withdrawal of the Khilafat Movement even when the Khilafat issue remained unsolved added to their despair. This led to the leaders of the Hindus initiating movements like *shuddhi* and *Sangathan*, and those of the Muslims *Tabligh* and *Tanzeem*. These developments fouled the political atmosphere and led to the severe straining of relations between the top leaders of the Congress and the League.

This state of affairs led the Congress and the Muslim League to a fresh round of negotiations to settle the communal problem. By this time Jinnah, on behalf of the Muslim League, had brought out what came to be called the Delhi Proposals in consultation with prominent Muslim leaders. As per the proposals the Muslims would be ready to give up separate electorates subject to the following

conditions: 1) Separation of Sind from Bombay presidency 2) Treatment of NWFP and Baluchistan on the same footing as the other provinces 3) electoral representation in the Punjab and Bengal in accordance with population, and 4) one-third representation in the Central Legislature (Singh, p.138). These were thought as a major breakthrough then as it was thought that the Hindus would welcome the abolition of separate electorates and the Muslims their dominance over five provinces where they were in a majority. The Hindus were, however, opposed to the provision of Muslim dominance in the Muslim majority provinces and separation of Sind from Bombay on communal lines. They also insisted to give Hindus in Bengal and Punjab weightage at par with that given to Muslims in Hindu majority provinces. As far the Muslims they could not digest the very thought of mixed electorates replacing separate electorates (Indian Quarterly Register, 1927). The Congress in the circumstances called an All parties Conference which in turn set up a committee headed by Motilal Nehru to draw up the framework of a new constitutional structure. [Saiyid, p.120).

The committee's report, called Nehru Report, recommended : 1) abolition of separate representation 2) reservation of a number of seats for Muslims in commensurate with their population in the Hindu- majority provinces 3) introduction of adult franchise which would render the domination of Bengal and the Punjab by Muslims inevitable and communal representation redundant 4) separation of Sind from Bombay and full provincial status for Baluchistan and the NWFP and 5) only one quarter of seats in the Central Legislative for Muslims on the plea that the figure accurately reflected the proportion of the Muslim population. Nevertheless the Muslims were reluctant to give up separate electorates and wanted statutory majority in Punjab and Bengal along with weightage in provinces where they were in a majority. Jinnah who found himself

isolated from the majority of the Muslims on the questions of the boycott of the Commission and the abolition of separate electorate felt that he could get general Muslim support for the abolition of separate electorate only if all other Muslim demands contained in the Delhi proposals were incorporated in the Nehru Report. In the National Convention held soon after to have a final say of the Nehru Report, he stuck to his Delhi proposals only to be rejected by a huge majority. But after this he modified to some extent his position in tune with the views of his opponents in Muslim politics, and the most significant in this regard was the emphasis on the need of separate electorates. Jinnah had his own political compulsions for his volteface, and it was his need to regain position as a Muslim leader. As for the Congress, it had to safeguard its position as the leader of the Indian nationalism for which it had to steer clear through the conflicts and retain the support of as large a section of the people as possible and it was after all a stupendous task.

Jinnah, badly battered and bruised after the Delhi Proposals, wanted to mend his political fences with his co-religionists. He saw unity within the Muslim community as a sine qua non for the success of the negotiations with the Hindus. This he sought to do by patching up with Shafi and reuniting the divided League. As a step in this direction he evolved a unified response to the Nehru Report which came to be called the Fourteen points.(All Parties National Convention Papers). Actually they were a rehash of the twelve point charter of demands of the All Parties Muslim Conference which was conducted towards the close of the All Parties Convention. Naturally his fourteen points were fully supported by the Muslim Conference leaders which eventually led to the merger of the two factions of the League. However the All India Muslim Conference, which was formed at the All Parties Muslim Conference dominated over the Muslim League as the mouthpiece of the Indian Muslims

for some more years. As far Jinnah, his credentials as a Muslim leader remained badly eroded even then, thanks to his past efforts at Hindu- Muslim unity even at the cost of separate electorates and his continued interest in accelerating India's advance towards Dominion Status. For the Muslim politicians active on the provincial politics, the Domination Status meant a Hindu- controlled centre, and to prevent such an eventuality they sought the support of the British, (Prasad, p.303). Simultaneous with these developments, there occurred a hardening of the stand as far as the Hindu Mahasabha was concerned. It went back on its acceptance of the Nehru Report and argued for mixed electorates without any kind of reservation. It resulted in the strengthening of communalism among both the Hindus and the Muslims.

The Congress decision in its Lahore session in 1929 to jettison the Nehru Report, based on Domination Status, and adopt the goal of complete independence in its place and launch a campaign of civil disobedience to achieve it further strained the Hindu- Muslim relations. Dominion status meant there would be negotiations for the provisions of minority rights and representation. On the other hand the complete independence carried overtones of majoritarian democracy. The abandonment of Dominion Status by the Congress meant it was for majority rule, and uniform citizenship rather than minority rights and representation. Naturally the Muslim representation on the civil disobedience movement was poor, resulting in a spate of communal riots in several parts of the country. The two Round Table Conferences to solve the communal problem turned out to be a failure with both the Hindus and Muslims sticking to their old positions. This resulted in seeking to settle the issue through an award by the then British Prime Minister, Ramsay Mac Donald. The award, came to be called the communal Award, accepted all the demands of the Muslims. It was aimed at keeping the Muslims on the side of the British and create an ally opposed to

the rising tide of nationalist movement so that they could prolong their rule over India as long as possible. The award reinforced the traditional view that the Muslim interests could be safeguarded only by being friendly with the British and hostile to the Indian nationalism represented by the Congress.

Conclusion

A perusal of the political developments in the pre-independent India would reveal that the failure of the Congress, representing Indian nationalism, to steer clear of both Hindu and Muslim communalisms resulted in the Hindu- Muslim divide which paved the way for the division of the country in 1947. The idea of two nation theory was not born all on a sudden in the 1930s but was inbuilt in the movements for Muslim awakening in the 19th century. This feeling developed amongst the Muslims was cleverly used by the British in the partition of Bengal and the communal award. The rapprochement between the Congress and the Muslim League manifested itself in the Lucknow Pact, could not be sustained for long. As for the Congress it could not take into confidence the faction of the Muslim League under the leadership of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who in the initial stage stood firmly for Hindu Muslim unity and India's advance towards Dominion status. His efforts to settle the communal problem through pre-Nehru Report, Delhi Proposals, the six points offered as amendments to the Nehru Report and the Fourteen Points, was not heeded by the Indian National Congress. The resulted in the domination of the leaders of the Muslim majority provinces calling the shots and bringing the Muslims closer to the British. In the circumstances a Muslim political leader like Jinnah had not option but to implant himself firmly in the Muslim Camp.

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AN ASSESSMENT OF PHYSICAL FITNESS AND COMPARISON OF TEST RESULTS WITH INTERNATIONAL NORMS AMONG INDIAN BOYS CHILDREN IN QATAR

Fraijo S.C* & Madhavan N**

Abstract

The purpose of the study was to determine the assessment of selected physical fitness variables among Indian school children in Qatar. The study also had the purpose to compare the selected physical fitness status of Qatar-Indian students on the basis of International norms available. A descriptive study was carried out upon thousand boys from various selected Qatar Indian Schools, aged between 13-14 years. Out of 1000 subjects, 500 subjects from each age category were selected. All the selected subjects had been residing in Qatar for more than five years. The study observed that 14 yearboys students reported the highest average sit-ups scores (32.44 ± 17.35), push-ups scores (13.43 ± 9.23) and sit and reach test scores (19.92 ± 6.97). The poor performance boys in the age group of 13-year fall in 59.6%, 83%, and 83.4% in sit-ups, push-ups and sit and reach test performance respectively. The study reveals that majority of Qatar-Indian boys fall in poor performance category.

Key words: *Qatar-Indian students, Physical fitness, International AAPHER and Youth Fitness norms.*

Health, as we say, is wealth and it is considered the most valuable and precious for every individual. Good health means not only a state of absence of disease in the body but a complete physical, mental, emotional, social as well as spiritual well being of an individual. Good health is necessary to carry out day-to-day tasks. It also means being healthy in mind too. Regular exercise and eating the balanced diets are the best ways of keeping the body healthy. (Cavill, Kahlmeier, & Racioppi, 2006)

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The developments of the 1950s and decades following attracted many Arabs from poorer countries. Times were changing fast, and Gulf countries were moving toward a comfortable, luxury, improper eating style, and sedentary urban lifestyle, leaving the "grunt" work to the foreign laborers and lived without much physical effort. The sedentary life style, depending more on readymade junk foods, lack of physical activities, less involvement in social activities, climatic conditions, ignorance of more physical education periods in schools, parents office working times (night shifts), parents more concerned on job related matter rather than developing healthy family etc. brought about a big change in their health and physical fitness status.

Objectives

1. To determine the assessment of selected physical fitness variables among Indian school children in Qatar.
2. To compare the selected physical fitness status of Qatar-Indian students on the basis of International norms available.

Hypothesis

"There would be significant poor physical fitness in boys section, based on the respective International physical fitness norms available".

Methodology

A descriptive study was carried out upon thousand boys from various selected Qatar Indian Schools, aged between 13-14 years. Out of 1000 subjects, 500 subjects from each age category were selected. All the selected subjects had been residing in Qatar for more than five years and belong to Indian were eligible for this study. The variables, which had used for the study, were lower back flexibility (sit and reach test), upper body muscular strength and endurance (Push-ups test), abdominal muscular strength and endurance (Sit-Ups). The collected data on different study variables were subjected to statistical analysis using appropriate statistical techniques. Mean

and standard deviation (SD) were reported as descriptive statistics for summarizing the collected raw data.

Results

Table 1: Descriptive statistics relating to sit-ups, push-ups and sit and reach test for the comparison of age.

VARIABLES	AGE	13		14	
		MEAN	S.D	MEAN	S.D
Sit and Reach test		16.16	6.83	19.92	6.97
Push-ups		8.84	7.44	13.43	9.23
Sit-Ups		27.38	20.21	32.44	17.35

From Table 1, it is observed that 14 yearboys students reported the highest average sit-ups scores (32.44 ± 17.35), push-ups scores (13.43 ± 9.23) and sit and reach test scores (19.92 ± 6.97). According to International norms, the excellent performance boys in the age group of 14 year were 20.6%, 0.8%, and 0% in sit-ups, push-ups and sit and reach test performance respectively. According to International norms, the excellent performance boys in the age group of 13 year were 21.2%, 0%, and 0% in sit-ups, push-ups and sit and reach test performance respectively. But in the case of poor performance level, 14 year of boys fall in 58.2%, 71.2%, and 65.8% in sit-ups, push-ups and sit and reach test performance respectively. The poor performance boys in the age group of 13-year fall in 59.6%, 83%, and 83.4% in sit-ups, push-ups and sit and reach test performance respectively.

Discussion of the Results

Since more than 50% students fall in poor performance category for all physical fitness variables, **the research hypothesis was thus accepted.** Qatar-Indian students do not have regular training experience, they are habituated with intake of high fatty fast foods and junk foods, sedentary life style, ignorance of physical education

periods in Indian schools, spending their leisure time with video games, less involvement in social and extra-curricular activities, mental stress, parents over-concerned on academics rather than their kids healthy body etc. these all may be one of the reasons for this sort of findings.

Conclusions & Recommendation

The present study reveals that majority of Qatar-Indian boys fall in poor performance category. Similar study may be conducted throughout the Gulf nations to formulate National level norms as a standard reference for further Normative research work. To inculcate a sense of maintaining the physical fitness among the student community individually and collectively and thus making physical education as a compulsory subject by including more periods at schools in Qatar. Parents, school authorities, Qatar-supreme council of education, CBSE Board and teachers may be made aware of ill effects of sedentary lifestyle of Qatar-Indian students to make the children's involvement in sports, games and physical activities, thereby reducing the risk of sedentary diseases and building-up a healthy young generation.

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A REVIEW OF BIOFUEL INITIATIVES IN INDIA

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Abstract

Biofuels have been the most debated topic in the world since the awareness that renewable energy sources are going to be an indispensable part of human lives. This is especially due to the liquid nature of biofuels and the role it has in the transportation sector. The role of first generation biofuels is rapidly becoming outdated. Thus the focus has shifted to advanced biofuels which do not affect the food or feed supply. Indian case is exceptional with regard to feedstock used for producing biofuels as it permits the use of only non-consumable feed stock thereby not affecting the food supply of humans or animals. The advancements in bioethanol and biodiesel in India following the footsteps of the National Biofuel Policy has not been as expected till date. But the Paris agreement and its ratification by India seems to be a positive step towards improving the biofuel scenario in India. This paper is a review on the initiatives taken by India in the area of first, second and third generation biofuels.

Key words: Biofuels, ethanol, biodiesel, second generation fuels

Biofuels have been in news for a long time now due to the large number of benefits it promises in terms of environmental sustainability, energy security, rural development etc. Many countries in the world have biofuel use mandates due to these benefits. Biofuels are mainly in solid, liquid and gaseous forms of which liquid biofuels are mostly used for transportation purposes. The most popular among liquid biofuels are bioethanol and biodiesel. Bioethanol is produced from sugar and starch based crops like sugarcane, sugar beet, sweet sorghum, corn etc through the process of fermentation and distillation. Biodiesel on the other hand is produced from vegetable oil, animal fat, etc through the process called trans

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esterification. The above said types of bioethanol and biodiesel which are produced from food crops are known as first generation biofuels. There are two other types of biofuels namely second generation biofuels and third generation biofuels. Second generation biofuels are mainly produced from cellulosic and lignocellulosic material like agricultural by products in the form of rice and wheat stalk, corn stover, sugarcane bagasse, bamboo etc and from plants grown specifically for producing fuel like willow, miscanthus, eucalyptus, reed canary grass etc. Third generation biofuels are those which are produced from algae and are also referred to as algal fuels.

The largest bioethanol producers in the world are USA, Brazil, Germany, Argentina etc, wherein US produced 35,779 thousand metric tons of oil equivalent and Brazil produced 18552 thousand metric tons of oil equivalent in 2016 and together they produced almost 80 percent of the entire ethanol production in the world. In the case of biodiesel USA, Brazil, Germany and Indonesia are the largest producers wherein US produced 5.5 billion litres and Brazil produced 3.8 billion litres in 2016 (Statista, 2016). As far as India is concerned it is in the developing stage with regard to production of biofuels. According to (Aradhey, 2016), India produced 2085 million litres of ethanol with sugarcane molasses as the main feed stock. In the case of biodiesel the same study recorded that India produced 140 million litres of biodiesel with used cooking oil and animal fat as the main feed stock.

India's Biofuel Policy

Though biofuels were not a novel concept, India's official biofuel venture started under the initiative of the Ministry of New and Renewable Energy by the name of the National Policy on Biofuels in 2009. The urgency for the policy emanated from the rise in crude oil prices in 2008 to \$ 140 per barrel which led to an alarming situation in the country as in most other oil deprived countries. Another reason was the increasing level of air pollution as a result

of emissions from the transport sector. The major goal of the policy was to achieve the indicative target of 20 percent blend of ethanol and biodiesel along with ordinary petrol and diesel by the year 2017. This goal was to be met by the use of non food feedstock for the production of both bioethanol and biodiesel. This feature is unique to India's biofuel policy as against most other countries which use food crops for producing fuel and thereby inviting the famous food versus fuel controversy. Bioethanol was to be produced mainly from sugarcane molasses and for the production of biodiesel waste and degraded forest and non forest land was to be used for cultivating oil seed bearing crops like jatropha and pongamia. A bonus was that employment generation in such cultivation practices was made eligible for participation in the National Rural Employment Guarantee Programme (NREGA). It was mandatory that the produced biofuel should follow BIS standards and OMCs were responsible for storage, distribution and marketing of biofuels (National Policy on Biofuels, 2009).

Though the policy started off very ambitiously it did not gain much momentum in the years that followed. This can be understood from the blend rates achieved over the past decade in ethanol and biodiesel.

Year	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Ethanol Blend Rate (%)	0.6	0.3	1.8	1.4	1.6	1.4	2.3	3.3	2.0	2.2
Biodiesel Blend rate (%)	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01

Source: India Biofuels Annual 2017, GAIN Report No: IN7075

It can be seen from the data above that ethanol blend rate follows a cyclical pattern which is in tune with the availability of sugarcane molasses which happens to follow the same cyclical trend as a result of the famous Indian sugar cycle. The highest blend rate which India could achieve in ethanol was 3.3 percent, in the year 2016. In the case

of biodiesel the blend rate with ordinary diesel is almost negligible throughout the decade and the reason being the unexpected losses from jatropha which was supposed to be India's miracle feed stock for biodiesel production. It is clear from the statistics that India is nowhere near the perceived target of 20 percent in 2017. It has been seen from many studies that the target of 20 percent blend is almost impossible to achieve for India with the use of present feed stocks. So there is a need to search for other alternative feed stocks to achieve the target not only for the sake of the national policy but also to achieve the Intended Nationally Determined Contributions (INDCs) submitted by India as a part of the Paris Agreement. This has paved way for new ways of achieving the targets by introducing second generation biofuels and also by innovating in the area of first generation biofuels.

First, Second and Third Generation Biofuels

First generation biofuels have been facing criticism from many corners due to its effect on food supply and prices, doubts regarding the environmental benefits it promises etc. So currently the world is focusing on use of advanced biofuels like second and third generation biofuels which in no way harms the food supply and is also environment friendly. Second generation bioethanol is produced via the biochemical route wherein the cellulosic material is converted into sugar through a process called acid and enzymatic hydrolysis and is then fermented and distilled to produce ethanol. Second generation biodiesel is produced by the biochemical route wherein the biomass undergoes the process of pyrolysis or gasification to form syngas which uses the Fischer Tropsch method to produce biodiesel (Mandil and Eldin 2010).

Second generation biofuels have many advantages when compared to first generation biofuels. They do not compete with land as most cellulosic products are produced as a byproduct of agricultural

production. Examples for this are sugarcane bagasse, corn stover, rice husk, wheat stalk etc. India has huge potential for production from these sources as India is an agricultural country and almost all agricultural products have by products which can be converted into second generation biofuels. Other second generation biofuel feed stocks include plants and wild grasses like reed canary grass which does not require much water and can grow in marginal and degraded land. Another important advantage of second generation biofuels is that it does not compete with food production and as such does not enter the much debated food versus fuel controversy. It has been seen from a study by (Sims et al, 2008) that second generation biofuels have higher energy yields than first generation biofuels when the feed stocks are grown in the same land and it has the potential to turn poor quality land into income generators. It also has the capacity to reduce green house gases to the extent of 70 to 90 percent which is the same range as sugarcane ethanol which is considered as an advanced fuel by the US. This when compared to other feed stock is very advantageous as corn contributes to green house gas reduction by only 15 to 35 percent and palm oil by 50 to 80 percent (FAO, 2008). A problem which is often seen in biofuel production is the use of fossil fuels in the production stage. This disadvantage is avoided in the case of second generation feed stocks as the energy requirements are met by using the lignin portion of the feed stock rather than using fossil fuels.

Along with the numerous advantages that second generation biofuels promise, there are a few disadvantages too. In the case of infrastructure building for producing 2G biofuels there is need of large scale investment and as such the cost of production is higher than first generation biofuels. There has also been a criticism regarding certain invasive plant species which take up vast areas of land. As the properties of second generation biofuels are almost the

same as first generation biofuels all the disadvantages that accrue to first generation biofuels are applicable to second generation biofuels too (IEA Bioenergy, 2006).

Another category of advanced biofuels are the third generation biofuels which are produced from algae and are called algae fuels. Unlike the case of many other biofuel feed stocks, they do not compete with food, land or water. The advantage of algae is that it can grow large amounts of biomass and lipids per hectare at a faster pace than any other plants grown on land and as it grows all year round it permits many harvests. It does not require fresh water sources or pesticides for growth and several types of algae have oil content in the range of 20 to 50 percent of the weight of biomass (Singh and Gu, 2010). The oil yield from algae of different varieties was in the range of 58700 to 136900 litres per hectare and that for corn, soya bean, jatropha and oil palm were 172, 446, 1892 and 5950 litres per hectare respectively according to a study (Chisti, 2007). These statistics project algae to be a very good option for solving the diesel hazards of the world. But it has some disadvantages as the production process is time consuming and expensive and as such algae fuels are still in the primary stage of biodiesel production.

Indian Biofuel Initiatives

India's bioethanol production has been from initiation been based mostly on sugarcane molasses and is mainly produced in private sugar mills, cooperative sugar mills and stand alone distilleries. The ethanol produced is used not only for transportation but also in other two main sectors namely the potable alcohol sector and the chemical industry. It has been seen from many studies that forgoing ethanol use in these two sectors for the purpose of transport is not feasible. Other feed stocks which are used for ethanol production are corn, sugar beet and sweet sorghum, of which sweet sorghum is largely propagated as a very good alternative to sugarcane by International

Crop Research Institute for the Semi Arid Tropics (ICRISAT), Hyderabad. In the case of biodiesel, though jatropha was taken as the major feedstock, it could not live up to the expectation and as such used cooking oil and animal tallow are currently the major feedstock used for biodiesel production. A small proof to this is when we visit hotels which have the poster of biodiesel producers to whom they supply their used cooking oil. Even though this is the case, India is struggling to meet the desired targets as could be seen from the blend rates of ethanol and biodiesel over the last decade.

India at present is in the nascent stage of developing second and third generation biofuels but it seems like the only way in achieving the ambitious targets set by the government in relation to renewable energy. Few initiatives which have been started of late are summarised here. In April, 2016 a 2G ethanol plant was started in Kashipur in Uttarakhand. The plant has the capacity to convert agricultural by products and residues like bagasse, bamboo, rice and wheat straw, cotton, wood chips etc into ethanol in less than 24 hours. It is said to have the potential of consuming 10 tonnes of biomass per day (Economic Times, 22/4/2016). Another initiative was by HPCL in December 2016, when a 2G biofuel refinery was set up in Bathinda in Punjab. The raw material for the biorefinery is agricultural waste and it is expected to produce 100 KL of ethanol per day. This project expects to generate employment to the range of 1200 to 1300 persons and additional income up to Rs 20 crores per annum for farmers who supply the required feed stock. It also promises to produce 30000 tonnes of bio fertiliser per annum. There are also talks going on for establishing 12 more biorefineries following HPCL's lead (PIB, 23/12/2016). A joint venture has also been started in February 2016 by Chempolis Ltd and Numaligarh Refinery Ltd in Assam using bamboo as feed stock (Chempolis, 2016).

A latest effort in the area of advanced biofuels has been started in Gujarat by Praj Industries who are a popular name in the area

of biofuels. In May 2017, the group inaugurated its first integrated second generation technology smart bio-refinery to produce [ethanol](#). The raw material for the plant comes from a variety of sources like rice and wheat straw, bagasse, cotton stalk, corn stover and a lot more of agricultural waste products (The Economic Time, 2017). Indian Oil Corporation in association with carbon recycling company Lanza tech has signed the deal for establishing the world's first gas to bioethanol plant at IOC's Panipat refinery with the promise of reducing green house gas emissions by 70 percent compared to ordinary petrol (The Indian Express 2017).

Though not many initiatives have been taken in the area of third generation biofuels, it is high time that required infrastructure for producing these fuels are set up so as to keep the promises India has made in the area of renewable fuels as a part of combating climate change and achieving climate justice. The National Energy Policy 2017 of NITI Aayog upholds the continuation of biofuels in all forms, be itsolid, liquid or gaseous in state and will vigorously try to augment the supply of second generation biofuels which are trending of late.

Conclusion

India is a country which has the potential to improve its biofuel market due to the availability of a variety of feed stocks for the production of bioethanol and biodiesel. The right kind of support from the government in the form of tax exemptions, subsidies and loans has the possibility of improving this sector to a large extent. Renewable energy has become a necessity in all countries following the alarming rate at which climate is changing and as such it is important that instead of looking at the feasibility and viability of different biofuel feed stocks, mandates should be formed to utilize the maximum amount of feed stocks that could possibly be used for the production of biofuels. Finding a substitute or at least an alternative

for fossil fuels is of ut most importance because transportation sector is one of the largest green house gas emitters. So all generations of biofuels are welcome.

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MARINE FISHERFOLKS IN KERALA: ISSUES AND INITIATIVES

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Abstract

The fisheries sector has a place of pride in the national economy. It occupies a prominent position in the socio-economic progress of the country. It has been accepted as a dominant income and employment generator as it kindles growth of a number of auxiliary industries and is a source of cheap and nutritious food in addition to a foreign exchange earner. But the social status of marine fishermen in Kerala is not at all worth commenting and the attitude of the mainstream society towards them is always negative. The prevalence of poverty in marine fisheries sector is much higher than any other backward sectors in the State. They have become an outlier in the scenario of socio-cultural progress made by the state of Kerala. The issues associated with the marine fisher folk and the initiatives undertaken for their development are the focus of this paper.

Key words: *Marginalization, Poverty, fisher folk*

Kerala has unique position in the fisheries sector of India. During 2015-2016, the fishermen population in Kerala is 10.24 lakh; 7.88 lakh in the marine sector and 2.36 lakh in inland sector. It is estimated that about 77694 people are engaged in activities related to fishery. These fisheries segment of the agricultural sector contribute about eight percent of the GSDP, these points specify the significance of the sector to the state economy.

As one of the decisive segments in the productive sector; marine fishery enjoys its spread throughout the length of the state with closely placed settlements and landing centres. Kerala has the second position in the production of marine fish. During 2015-

2016, the fish production in Kerala was 7.27 million tonnes, while 3.92 million tonnes were from the marine sector, 3.35 million tonnes was from the inland sector. At Present there are 222 marine fishing villages in Kerala and 113 inland fishing villages. But the benefits of this contribution have not been percolated to the fishing people; especially to the traditional sectors. The result is the socio-economic backwardness of the community in many spears of daily life like health, education, basic amenities like water, clean living environment and electric power.

Even though the fishing sector is contributing much to the economy of Kerala, the socio-economic condition of the fishing community is highly pathetic and alarming. Despite the sumptuousness of the natural resources they harvest, they are being deprived of the development process and restrained to poverty. They contribute much to the economic output and nutrition of the people of Kerala.

As per the National Marine Fisheries Census of 2005, the marine fisheries activities in Kerala are spread across 1,376 fish landing centres, with 3,322 fishing villages along the coastline on Kerala and the Inland territories of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands and Lakshadweep. Marine fisheries products constitute valuable food source and employment opportunities apart from being a net contributor to the balance payment. During the past 50 years the marine fisheries in Kerala have witnessed a progressive increase by about six times. It is estimated that almost 0.933 million people work in the sector on full time basis, on part time basis around 1.01 million are employed and on ancillary activities¹ there are about 1.39 million employed in the sector (Government of India, 2011). The depth ranges beyond 100 metres have avenues of development, although more in qualitative terms. The possibility of development spins around oceanic wealth like bill fishes, tuna, and allied species

that together figures to 0.2 million metric tons while yellow fin tuna alone contributes to the tune of about 40 per cent to it. Indian coastline has a rich wealth of around 1,707 species of fish and about 200 species have high commercial significance. During 2014-2015 Andhra Pradesh emerged as the leading marine fish producer of in India followed by Kerala, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu. In this context it is imperative to conduct a study to bring out the complex problems emerged through poverty and marginalisation in the marine fishing community.

This paper attempts to review the various issues associated with the fisher folk communities in Kerala with special reference to marine fisher folk. It also analyses the developmental strategies under taken by various organizations to overcome their problems. The discussion has been arranged in five sections. The first section introduces the issues in the marine fisher folk. The second section gives an overview of the global, national and state scenario of marine fisher folk. Section three analyses the socio-economic profile of the marine fisher folk. The fourth section discusses the initiatives under taken so far to overcome their dismal situation and the final section concludes and summarise the discussion.

Marine Fisher folk: An Overview

In every economy primary sector is prime for its development and is the back bone of the economy. This sector provides various facilities to the people for their development like employment generation, income generations and also it supply the important necessities to life of the population. Milk, Salt and Fish are the allied sectoral activities in agriculture in which fisheries play a significant role. This sector is the fist contributor of various nutrients, protein, vitamins iodine, retinol and selenium. For avoiding cardiovascular diseases and cancers consumption of fish is important. Not only that it helps in brain development and improve the learning abilities of

the children and protect the eye health also (FAO, 2009)

The participation of the women in the labour force has been consistently on a decline and the other is the climatic change. The climate changes indifferently in different regions, states and the nations or the world over. The effect of which is very crucial and adverse impact is there in every sphere of activity in the economy including agriculture and allied sectors. There is no exception of this climatic change in the production of marine fish as well. So care should be given in early understanding of the climatic change and take necessary precautions for survival of this sector. The change in climate can be observed by looking into whether there is a delayed monsoon or unexpected rains, rise in temperature, heavy snowfall, floods, droughts, rise in sea levels, etc...

The effect of this change may be caused due to deforestation, urbanization and emission of green house gases and other unfair activities of the human beings. All the said changes in climate do not create unfavourable impact on the allied sectors of the economy but only rise in temperature than the normal, heavy rain falls, unseasoned rain falls and drought which affect in the production of the allied activities in the primary sector including fisheries and aquaculture. On account of the adverse impact on corals it mostly affects the breeding of fishes. To tide over these unfavourable circumstances usually the species of fish shift to other places where the weather conditions are favourable (FAO, 2009).

In addition humidity, snowfall, melting of glaciers, cold, rise of sea level and ice sheets are the other factors which affects seriously the production of marine fish. Tiny organisms like phytoplankton and calcium building creators in ocean changes the dwindling in size of fish due to acidification and reduced water quality. Not only have that for every one degree risen in temperature, there is reduction in the size of fish from 6 to 12 per cent percent (Adhya Tiasa, 2011).

The disasters like cyclones and huge waves in the coastal areas of India damages the boats, fishing gears and landing of fishes all leads to huge loss to the fishermen. High rise in temperature affects the metabolism rate also. One degree celsius rise of temperature leads to a ten percent increase in the metabolism rate. This affects the development and growth of animals. It means any change in the climate which affects the survival and growth of the animals both in land and also in water.

It is evident from the 2004 Tsunami that in India fishermen are under the mercy of nature and natural disasters which damaged almost all the coastal areas and it became baseless after this disaster⁵(Ayyappan.et.al 2013). There is a loss of the entire coastal eco system on account of the changes in climates such as heat stress and rise of the sea level. Due to this there is a loss in coral reefs, sea grasses and mangrove forests. The consequences are very high and many species of fishes and cold water fishes are wiped from the sea. Some of them migrate to other favourable places (Kumar, Velu Suresh 2010).

In the Gulf of Mannar the most important wealth are coral reefs and is the source of food for millions of people in which it provides livelihood for them also. The change in climate globally threatens the life of coral reefs and also the fish population which depends on corals. The corals are very sensitive and not able to afford this sudden climatic change. The factors which affect coral reefs are water current, turbidity, wind flow, temperature, rainfall and also the depth of the corals. During 2010 summer the corals were bleached up with a temperature ranging between 29.1 degree Celsius and 33.6 Celsius. Within the depth of 0.5 to 2 meters, the corals were most affected in the shallow waters. When the rising temperature level is in a stage of control, the bleached corals were recovered (Sudhakar, 2010).

Tsunami is yet another factor which affects the fishing activities and the fishing population. The statistics shows that it affects the

socio economic conditions of 90 per cent of the fishing population. On account of such happenings there was a loss through damage of fishing nets, boats and houses of the poorest of the poor sections of the fishing community (Ranade, 2006).

Global Scenario

Fishery is the most prominent segment in all developed and developing countries while viewing it as income an employment generator. The development of the fishing sector kindles the employment and development in allied industries which contribute considerably to the total economic growth of the country. This sector plays a significant role in augmenting food supply and raising nutritional elves of the population. The aquatic resources of the world are varies, extensive and rich in potential and they can be broadly divided into two main groups-Marine and Inland which are again categories into capture fisheries and culture fisheries. The world has rich marine resources with an extensive coastal line extending along the mainland, with a fairly wide continental shelf and slope and high sea beyond. The Japan and Russia are the leading fish producers of in the world followed by Peru, China and USA. India stands in the seventh position with total production of 3.83 million tones.

National Scenario

India is gifted with an extensive diversity of water resources, which sustains a huge fisheries sector in the country. Having a coastline that extends to 8,118 km, India enjoys the third position in total fish production and second position in inland aquaculture. India's contribution to global fish production is nearly five per cent. During the last five years the fisheries sector in India has witnessed an average annual growth of almost four per cent. (World Bank, 2015)

According to figures available with the Government of India, the marine sector contributes about 39 per cent of the total fish

production in India that accounts to about 7.60 million tons. At the same time, 61 per cent of total fish production is from inland fishing. The sector contributes around one per cent of the National Gross Domestic Product. Thus the marine fishing sector plays a pivotal role in the economy of rural coastline. Fisheries generates employment, income and thus livelihoods as well as food security to over 3.52 million people in more than 3000 Indian coastal villages, who depend on fishing and related activities for their livelihoods. Almost all the working class people in those small coastal villages are employed in marine fishing or related activities for their livelihoods.

It is estimated that almost half of the village population are occupied full time in marine fishing activities and allied work such as fish processing and trading. The majority of the fishermen in coastal villages are small scale operators, having their fishing activities in inshore waters. Though the coastal fishermen communities generally have reasonably good access to health care and education and have facilities like electricity and roads, they do not have good level of education. They are characterized by high illiteracy, low levels of education, poor access to safe water and sanitation facilities. The majority of these small scale fishermen in the sub sector are economically poor with an annual income below Rs. 25000/-. Debt levels of fishermen in these villages are generally very high and this becomes worse because of the lack of cash surpluses from fishing and inability to find alternative employment during lean fishing seasons that last to around three months. Another problem is that they are able to go to sea only during the fishing season that lasts to around nine months. Such factors repeatedly lead the fishing communities to a continuous cycle of debt. (Government of India, 2014).

State Scenario

India has a seacoast of 6000 km of that 589.5 km coastal

line is in Kerala, has a of, which is around 10 per cent of India's coastline. Kerala is gifted with several inland water bodies consisting of 44 rivers (covering an area of 0.85 lakh hectares), Thirty major reservoirs (covering an area of 0.30 lakh hectares), tanks and fresh ponds (0.25 lakh hectares), backwater bodies numbering 45 and extensive brackish water area (2.43 lakh hectares). But the inland fish production in Kerala accounts to only around 11.06 percent of the total fish production in India. The potential of inland fisheries has not been tapped to the full extend. Kerala once enjoyed a leading position in the marine fishing sector in India is losing its importance in the sector, as states like Gujarat and Orissa began to manage it in a better way. The water coast of Kerala is blessed marine wealth with about three fourth of the fish wealth of the country. Abundant rainfall and the enormous number of rivers make Kerala the best habitat for fishes. Another speciality of Kerala coastline is mud banks, commonly known in the state as Chakara. It is formed with deposits of clay and organic matters in the coastline soon after the monsoon, resulting in a heavy harvest of fish. Whatever catch the season proffers, there is no much change in the plight of fishermen as there is no fixed rules and regulations in the traditional and mechanised sectors which deal with the trade of caught fish.

District-Wise Distribution of Fishermen Population in Kerala

Sl. No	District	Length of costal line	Active Fishermen	Total Population
1	Thiruvananthapuram	78	49929	170114
2	Kollam	37	25863	127401
3	Pathanamthitta	-	199	2119
4	Alappuzha	81	42820	190426
5	Kottayam	-	4894	24937
6	Idukki	-	182	706

7	Eranaklam	46	26148	136339
8	Thrissur	55	6809	75751
9	Palakka	-	481	2590
10	Malappuram	71	34504	94137
11	Kozhikode	72	23806	110526
12	Wayanad	-	0	235
13	Kannur	82	6825	44198
14	Kasaragod	69	10665	44347
	Total	591	233126	1023796

Source: Kerala Fishermen welfare fund board

Socio Economic Conditions of Marine Fisher folk in Kerala

The economic environment of fishing community is quite a different one from other agrarian, tribal and caste communities due to their occupational nature as fisheries. Their social and economic relations and behaviours are developed from their occupations. Their primary occupation, fishing, had a pivotal place in the early stages of the progress of human kind as it evolved as a chief economic activity and preceded even agriculture and farming. The fishermen in Kerala are bone in poverty, live in poverty and die in poverty.

The economic backwardness of marine fishermen found mainly due to two fundamental issues firstly due to the inequality in the assets holding among the fishermen and secondly due to the exploitation of the fishermen by those who are engaged in the process of buying the produce from them. Fish marketing is the main place for the middlemen. The activity of middlemen leads to the increase in the price of the fish that the consumer pays. The middlemen of the sea-shore leave off the fishermen and join the merchants with whom they come in contact ¹¹(John Kurien, 1984).

Traditional fishing among marine folk is now carried out individually breaking up all the family based support structures. The individuals borrow money from the middlemen and this makes

people highly dependent on tharakans (Middlemen). After this they have the right to auction the fish and take 5 per cent commission. The small scale fishermen, who are their own masters at sea often fall victims to the evil designs of these middlemen on reaching the shore (Nalini Nayak, 1993).

The socio economic indicator like employment, education, sense of ownership, per capita production, recreation, infrastructure development, income and expenditure etc has undergone swift changes all over Kerala since Indian independence. While development took place in all sectors, the fishing community remained isolated and witnessed little development. The Article 38 of Indian Constitution provides State to secure a social order for the promotion and welfare of the people and Article 43 provides living wage for the workers. Both of these directive principles of State Policy are being denied to fisherman. The per capital income of fishermen is only Rs 50,491 per annum against the State average of Rs 99,977 per annum.

The coastal communities in India in general and Kerala in particular largely follow non fishing activities and multiple fishing methods to extend their income generation from open access common property resources. They are not restricted to any one sector and can change employment options as and when they need. In rural areas also they work as seasonal labourers mainly in agriculture or as part time farmers or occupational earners to meet their family expenses. Members from these communities working in tourism, ports, industries, and mining and in relatively new industries where occupation is easily accessible.

Marginalisation is a practice where a group or community or someone is pushed to the margin of a group and given little significance. This is primarily a social happening by which a marginal or sub group is expelled and their wants or requirements and ambitions are totally ignored.

In social exclusion a community or individual or individuals are systematically jammed from or deprived of full access to a range of rights, resources and opportunities that are generally accessible to constituents of different groups and which are elementary to social addition within that meticulous group like healthcare, employment, housing, democratic participation, civic activities etc.

Development is unwaveringly a form of alteration, but not all forms of alteration could be termed as development. There are forms of change that may disadvantage communities and thus lead not to development, but to deprivation. The community goes not to an elevated level of well being, but to a inferior level. This is the course of change that leads to dispossession, where deprivation sometimes ends up with the society, or its members, being at a inferior stage of well being compared to their position before the course of change. In the language of social exclusion, this is a process of adverse inclusion, an inclusion that has largely negative results when compared to the state of exclusion (Dev, XAXA).

Exclusions are of two types, one is barring from access to or defiance of rights to various essential services, such as to education, healthcare, proper housing, access to safe drinking water and proper sanitation facilities. (Second Exclusion Missing) These two types of exclusion are often seen going together, without proper representation and voices not being heard apparently in scarce provision of services (Hirschman, 1970). At the heart of these infrastructural deprivations is political marginalization or political exclusion.

Marginalization is the procedure where persons are peripheralized or pushed to varying degrees from the socio-political and socio-economic centre due to their identities, associations, environments or experiences. (Burman and McKay's, 2007). They further contend that the marginalized are viewed as somewhat different from the usual. Marginalization involves racial, political, gender, economic

and cultural oppression. The Marginalized people have less power and influence than the dominant social groups. They often live in contested environments, their access to resources has to contend with enforced conformity and they have limited access to information.

The problems fishermen were facing limited their access and control of fishing resources leading to marginalization. It includes fishing License system and criminalization and punishment of fishermen (Bernad, Ibid 2016). The economic and political marginalization of fishermen started in Kerala in the 1950s with the commissioning of Indo-Norwegian Project. He claimed that the INP is the main cause for the depletion of fishery resources and the common resources are being encroached upon mainly by affluent industrial classes (Jacob, 1995)

Programmes and Initiatives for the Marine Fisheries Developments

The five year plans envisaged several programmes for the development of marine fisheries. They are:

- a. Resources on marine fishery are assessed through intensive surveys especially on Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZ).
- b. Exploitation at its optimum on marine resources by using all the means such as deep-sea fishing vessels, mechanized boats and traditional country boats.
- c. Intensive steps for the completion of minor fishing harbours and ongoing construction of major harbours to provide adequate landing facilities and berthing facilities to fishing vessels.
- d. Speeding up the process of transportation, processing and storage of marine fish
- e. Strengthen the co-operative sector for improving the marketing of cached fish
- f. Initiate measures for export of marine products where ever possible

Based on it some fishing villages were grouped to set up Fisheries Industrial Estates during the 7th Five Year Plan Period (Government of Kerala, 1990)

Programmes with International Aid for Helping the Fishermen Communities

In India several programmes were brought in by several international institutions and organizations for helping the fishermen communities'. Some of them are UNDP, ODA (UK and Japan), World Bank, DANIDA and NORAD.

For improving the socio economic environment of fishermen communities and also for helping the fishermen engaged in small scale fishing operations Bay of Bengal Programme (BOBP) was started in the year 1979. For the purpose of preventing the post harvest losses in marine fisheries, the UK provided technical assistance through their programme called ODA. In the sea food processing industries, FAO launched a new proposal to provide technical assistance for implementing Hazard Analysis Critical Control Points (HACCP). With the financial support of the World Bank a Shrimp and Fish Culture Project was started in 1992. The States included in this programme are Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal. In this project a brackish water area of 797 hectares under six sites were developed for the operations of the shrimp culture. Not only that for the development of fish culture another hundred and one reservoirs and 22 oxbow lakes were developed (AnjaniKmar.et.al, 2013)

Phases of Marine Sector Development

The marine sub sector has witnessed three accepted phases of development.

Phase I: this phase was up to 1965 and it was the development phase. During the time fishing was largely done using small crafts and gears which were made using indigenous craft technology. At

this time mechanization has just started and it was in the preliminary stage.

Phase II: This phase from 1965 to 1986 witnessed major developments with the introduction of synthetic equipments, thrust on exports, introduction of more large sized mechanized vessels, new fishing harbours with Government investment purse seine harvesting being introduced and the installing engines in small boats facilitating traditional boats extend their catch to offshore.

Phase III: (1986-2000) brisk growth in motorizing traditional small boats was the major development of this phase. These enabled traditional fishermen go to deep sea, extending their voyage. Introducing restrictions in fishing during particular season owing to the concern that sea wealth got depleting was another major decision during this phase.

Phase IV: (Post 2000) The emergence of mechanisation and modernization are the major changes witnessed in modern times. Decline in fish catch in inshore region, reduction in fish stocks, rising conflict over sea resources and tremendous increase in investment are the characteristics. Presently the nation is concentrating to increase the catch to 2.02 million mk^2 from offshore Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ), where there is scope for further development. Fishing is not treated as occupation and this concept itself was vogue since time immemorial. This occupation was treated as supplementary and was practiced by fishing communities on survival level with some minor inputs coming from external (Krishnan, et.al 2000)

The marine fishing sector in India was a direct function of technological change. Kerala enjoyed the primacy for a very long time in production, processing and export of marine products among the maritime states in India. It was due to the direct result of introducing advanced technology in the various domain of fishery industry. He has further stated that the development achieved by the

industry was curtailed by the limited growth strategy followed by the State Government (Karokandy, 1994)

Fisheries sector accounting for about 5.5 per cent of the worldwide fish production. India enjoys the position of being the second largest fish producer in international scenario. China is the world leader and India ranks second in the world for its fish production through aquaculture. (SPB, 2016)

The provisional figure for total fish production in India during 2014-15 is 10.06 Million Tonnes, of that 3.49 MT from Marine sector and 6.57 MT was from Inland sector. Fish production has witnessed a stable increase since 1991 with 3.84 MT which increased to 10.06 MT in 2014-15. A stable growth has been seen in marine fishing sector since 2008-09. Inland fisheries contributes 65 percent of the total fish production of the country. The sector contributes about one per cent to the overall Gross Domestic Product and around 5.5 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product from Agriculture and allied activities (SPB, 2015)

During 2014-15, export of marine products from India was 10, 51,245 tones valued at Rs33,441.71 crores compared to the previous fiscal, a growth of 10.6 per cent has been recorded in the value of exports.(SPB, 2016) Fisheries sector plays a pivotal role in Indian economy by providing employment to around 14.49 million people in the nation. It has been acknowledged as a powerful generator of employment as well as income.

India has a coastal line extending 8129 kms and it has an Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) extending to 2.02 million sq. kms and is a major marine fish producer ranking seventh in the World. The contribution of this sector to foreign exchange earnings is 1.4 percent of the Gross Domestic Product and more than six million fishermen in India depend on fisheries for their livelihood. The inland fishery resources are equally rich and varied comprising rivers

and canals (173,387 Kms) flood plain lakes (202,213 Hectares), Estuaries (285,000 Hectares), Mangrove (356,500 Hectares), Estuarine impoundments (12,35,000 Hectares), lagoons (190500 hectares), Upland –lakes (72000 hectares), Reservoirs (3153, 366 hectares) and Ponds (2254000 Hectares) (SPB, 2016)

In India, the inland fishery is classified in to fresh water aquaculture and capture fisheries, in rivers, estuaries, lakes, and reservoirs. The Ganga river system and its tributaries have a combined length of 12,500 kms and Bhrahmaputra is 4,023 kms long. The Peninsular rivers, Mahanadi, Godavari, Krishna and Cauvery cover 6,437 kms while the west flowing Narmada and Tapi of Western Ghats have a combined length of 3,380 kms. The catch from rivers does not contribute significantly to the total inland fish product in terms of volume although a large number of traditional, artisanal fisher makes a living on it. (SPB, 2011)

The importance of fishing activities in the economy of Indian is attaining momentum through the introduction of latest technologies to boost the yield per unit area of water and the foreign exchange earnings through it. Another aspect is that the problems persisting in the fishing villages like mal nourishment due to poor economic progress because of unemployment could be properly addressed by appropriately designed utilization of locally available resources with the involvement of people in the locale. (SPB, 2007)

The fisheries sector has place of pride in the national economy in which it provides seafood and ancillary industries and generates employment. The marine potential is enormous and only a small part of it is currently being exploited. India ranks second place in the production of shrimp (Ghart and Remani, 2011). Indian marine fishing sector is undergoing crisis due to it's over capacity and open access nature. During 2014-15, the total fish production in India was estimated to be around 10.06 million tons of which

6.57 million tons was from Inland sector and 3.49 million tons from marine sector (Government of Kerala, 2015).

Policies and Legislative Support for Fisheries Development

The following are the policies and legislative support extended by the India Government for developing the fishing industry:

a. Institutional Setting

Constitution of India in its Entry 57 of List 1 of 7th Schedule specifies Fisheries and Fishing beyond Territorial Waters as Union Subject, at the same time fisheries is a State Subject as per Entry 21 of List II. Considering these two entries together, it could be understood that the control and regulation of fisheries and fishing within the territorial waters under the control of the respective State, and at the same time if it's beyond the territorial waters, it would be under the domain of the Central Government.

The Union Government functions as a facilitator and co-ordinator who is accountable for policy formulation, conducting research in fisheries and allied areas, channelling financial assistance to the States considering the national importance and fulfilling the obligations, made to various State Governments and Union Territory Governments. The Ministry of Agriculture (Department of Animal Husbandry, Dairying and Fisheries-DAHD & F), within its limits of its owed business, helps the States having sea coast to develop fishing and allied activities within the territorial waters, apart from catering to the demands of the sector in the EEZ. Hence, administration of fisheries in the EEZ requires close co-ordination: between the States and the Centre.

DAHD&F is the focal point at the centre for fisheries management and in the State, the Department of Fisheries, other Central Ministries or Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Ministry of Food Processing Industries, Ministry of Environment and Forests,

Ministry of Earth Science etc play pivotal role in various phase of management of fisheries resources. Ministry of Defence acts through the Indian Coast Guard at the Union level for managing fisheries in the EEZ.

b. Role of Central Government

DAHD & F is given the responsibility for the management and development of fisheries in India. They design strategies for developmental activities in the sector and formulate policy guidelines for the management and development of fisheries. It also extends financial and technical assistance for developing fisheries in various States. The financial assistance extended is apart from the budgetary support provided by the Planning Commission to the States. Under the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, the Government of India established the Marine Products Export Development Authority (MPEDA) with the aim of promoting export of fish and fish product. But the processing of sea products comes under the Ministry of Food Processing Industries and the control of the marine biodiversity and marine pollution falls under the jurisdiction of Ministry of Environment and Forests and Ministry of Earth Science.

c. Role of the State Government

The State Governments are supposed to take care of the fishing and aquaculture procedures in their respective jurisdictions (both in land and in territorial waters). The respective government is responsible for the management and development of marine fishing sector and the thrust areas are planning and setting up of infrastructure facilities for easy landing of boats, berthing of fishing craft, set up marketing facilities, execution of various programmes for the development of fisheries by providing financial assistance for procuring and implementing fishing gears, executing various socio economic activities and exchanging ideas with the Central Government and related agencies for financial as well as technical help. Each State and

Union Territory having sea coast has a Department of Fisheries, and that would act as its key implementation agent for the development of aquaculture and fisheries.

Performance under 12th plan and Annual plan 2014-2015

In the 12th Five Year Plan, emphasis is given to setting up of comprehensive coastal area development project that would cover infrastructure development, housing for fishermen, implementing sanitation facilities, providing pure drinking water and employment. The Plan also envisages enhancing inland fish production from the present 1.17 lakh tones to two tons by the end of the Plan. It gives emphasis to seed production, reinforcing the post harvest infrastructure facilities by setting up better landing facilities, handling facilities, establishing a chain of cold storages, enhancing marketing facilities etc for improving and developing the sector. It also gives importance to value addition, credit support, micro enterprises, and coverage under social security. Annual Plans are shaped in tune with the priorities set up in the Five Year Plans, and hence, the third year plan programme of the 12th Five Year Plan was completed in 2014-15.

The total approved expenditure under the 12th plan for the fisheries sector was Rs 1,471 crores (including Special Area Development) which accounts for 1.44 percent of the total State plan outlay and 16.7 percent of the outlay under Agriculture and Allied Sectors. The actual amount budgeted during the first four years of the 12th Plan from 2012-13 to 2015-16 is Rs 1,053 crores and the expenditure reported up to 30th September 2015 was Rs 758.1 crores (71.9 per cent) Indian marine fisheries is also passing through a crisis due to its over capacity and open access nature.

The total expenditure under State plan schemes during 2014-15 was Rs 193 crores, which was 73 per cent of the State plan outlay. There are 9 partially aided central sector schemes having an outlay of Rs 60.5 crores and the expenditure during this period Multiplicity

of agencies and schemes pose the threat of overlapping of schemes implemented by various agencies.

Key Initiatives during 2015-16

In order to address the relative backwardness of the fisher folk population and the fishing community, the State has initiated a new scheme namely Basic Infrastructural Facilities and Human Development of Fisher Folk' in 2015-16 with an outlay of Rs 182 crores. Backwardness of the community is visible in terms of education, vulnerability to contagious diseases, poverty, lack of basic amenities like quality housing, drinking water, sanitation and hygiene. The new scheme targets overall development of the fisheries sector with focus on housing. Housing includes construction of individual houses and flats with land acquisition, renovation of houses, sanitation, drinking water, electrification etc. The scheme also provides for improvements in health facilities, libraries, diversification of employment activities, completion of ongoing fishing harbours and renovation of fish seed farms and hatcheries.

Welfare Activities of Fisheries Department for the Marine Fisher folk in Kerala during 2015-2016

Sl. No	PARTICULARS	Financial Lakh Rs	Physical No:
1	NFWF Hosing	368.07	896
2	Group Accident insurance scheme for allied workers	738.27	748626
3	Group accident insurance for fishermen	87.96	81762
4	Fishermen old age pension	3092.14	63939
5	Pension for wife's of deceased fisherman	642.24	93760

Source: Directorate of fisheries

Major Developmental Programmes

The Plan schemes of the Government under Fisheries sector can broadly be classified into the following :

- 1) Marine fisheries development
- 2) Inland fisheries development
- 3) Extension, Training & service delivery
- 4) Modernization of markets and value addition
- 5) Social Security to fishermen
- 6) Development of Fishing Harbours and management
- 7) Scheme for the Fisheries University
- 8) Coastal Area Development

As part of addressing issues prevailing in the housing sector of fishermen, new houses were constructed for 4990 fishermen families. The construction of 2861 houses that was started in the previous year using the assistance under the 13th Finance Commission Award, have been completed. Assistance was given to 3600 fishermen family for the construction of toilets. Using the assistance under 13th Finance Commission Award, infrastructure facilities of 14 colonies were improved. In addition, assistance was given to fishermen families for the construction of 562 new houses and the repair of 904 existing houses. In 2015-16, under the Plan scheme 'Basic infrastructure facilities and Human Development of Fsherfolk', Kerala State Coastal Area Development Corporation is engaged in the implementation of 3 health infrastructure, 1 library construction, 2 Sanitation works, 1 livelihood support scheme, 5 Educational infrastructure and 4 Anganawadis. (SPB, 2016)

Summary and Conclusions

Fisheries sector mainly faces acute scarcity of efficient and remunerative employments among fisher folks. They are being exploited by various sectors and the hope of escaping from such

exploitations is not seen in the immediate future. The main reason is that they do not know to plan their expenses in tune with their income and lack saving mentality. This makes them lead a life in debts all through their life. While evaluating the economic aspects of marketing the middlemen and moneylenders were hesitant to reveal their actual role and profits.

Though the fishing sector contributes much to the socio-economic economy output and nutrition of the people of Kerala, the social status of marine fishermen in Kerala is not at all worth commenting and the attitude of the mainstream society towards them is always negative. The incident of poverty in marine fisheries sector is much higher than any other backward sectors in the county. In short the majority are suffering from poverty and marginalization. These situations possess as challenge to the notion of Kerala being a 'Model of Development'.

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SOCIAL SECURITY MECHANISM IN PLANTATION INDUSTRY: A STUDY OF TEA PLANTATION INDUSTRY IN KERALA

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Abstract

The concept of social security has gained wider currency in the present day world. The security mechanism originated in the United States and has popular all over the world within a short span of time. The Right to social security is treated as one of the basic human rights by United Nations. But the Constitution of India did not recognize these as Fundamental rights. However the Supreme Court through various judgments recognized social security and declared that the Right to Life contained in Article 21 includes the right to livelihood. In the case of plantation sector in Kerala, the plantation owners paid less interest in providing basic social security to its workers. In the globalised era both formal and informal social security mechanisms show a declining tendency. The dismal performance of trade union added salt to the wound of the workers. The present article is an attempt to throw light on the abysmal security measures in plantation industry with special focus on tea plantation industry in Kerala.

Key words: *Plantation industry, Social security, welfare state, globalisation, collective bargaining, collaborative bargaining.*

The concept of Social Security has gained immense popularity in recent years. It originated in the United States of America and has become popular all over the world within a short span of time. The significance of social security has been acknowledged by different leaders and social reformists throughout the world in

various occasions (Hasan, 1972, p. 86). Social security has been defined by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) as “the security that society furnishes, through appropriate organisations, against certain risks to which its members are exposed” (Organisation, 2011, p. 112). In other words social security measures aim at adjusting a person's income to his essential expenditure, both of which may fluctuate to cause a deficit in his family budget. World community recognized the need for social security as an organisational base in the early part of the twentieth century and this has been recognized as a human right in subsequent years. Since the establishment of ILO in 1919, the achievement of social security has consistently been at the core of its mandate (Organisation, 2011, p. 113).

The concept of social security is one of the basic human rights according to Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the International Covenant on Social, Economic and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) (Subramania, 2007, p. 4). But the constitution of India does not accept this as a Fundamental Right. Nevertheless the working of Indian constitution and the timely intervention of judiciary ensured certain rights of people and this broadened the concept of social security in India. The Supreme Court of India in different judgments emphatically declared the intensity of Right to Life envisaged in Article 21¹ of Indian Constitution (Basu, 1998, p. 104). The court emphasized and made it clear that the Right to Life contained in the fundamental right part of Indian constitution includes the right to livelihood (Radhakrishnan, 2008, p. 309) which is the ultimate objective of social security. Before the freedom of the country itself, the concept of social security was a serious concern for the national leaders. The adoption of welfare measures during this period was based on the belief that development was not possible unless and until the exploited deprived sections of the society were elevated and uplifted. Therefore the social security programme

had to be truly comprehensive, integrated and all-pervasive to encompass within its fold the entire society, to achieve the ultimate objective. The concern expressed by the nationalist leaders towards social security during the freedom struggle was cemented through the adoption of new labour policy measures in the years subsequent to India's Independence.

Social Security Mechanisms in tea plantations

Social Security of tea plantation workers was a chimera for centuries. The colonial rulers who owned and controlled tea plantations treated the workers as slaves. They neither cared the workers nor gave them dignity. Social security of workers was not a concern for policy makers during the colonial period and the workers spent their life without any such mechanisms. Their daily life was centered on the wages that they had received in response to their job. These returns were meager and inadequate to fulfill their basic needs, but they continued the job because they had no other options. They were compelled to work in adverse circumstances without adequate working as well as living conditions. This continued until India's independence in 1947.

The independence of the country from colonial rule and the adoption of democratic form of government was a great relief to the plantation workers as well and this transformed the living atmosphere of workers to a larger extent. Further to improve the pitiable condition of plantation workers, the Government of India passed the Plantation Labour Act (PLA) in 1951 and which is considered as the “magna carta”¹ of plantation workers' rights in the country. The PLA contained elaborate provisions for protecting the workers' rights in the plantation sector (Singh, 2013, p. 7).

The independent Indian government inherited a country with wide illiteracy, acute poverty, an unstable economy, large

unemployment and underemployment. These problems were acute in unorganized sector and rural India than urban centres. The government in independent India rose to the occasion due to the political pressure from various quarters and introduced many measures for the protection of the workers in the plantation sector. Coercion on the part of management was relaxed and trade union began to function among the workers, enabling them to fight further for their rights. In 1952, for the first time, statutory minimum wages were fixed for the workers (Correspondent, 1982,p.2082).

Generally social security mechanism can be grouped into two types, i.e. formal and informal. Both of them can play significant role in creating a healthy atmosphere for the workers life and security. The formal structures such as the constitution and governmental structures such as legislature, executive and judiciary ensures institutional care and vigilance over the worker's rights, which was transgressed by the colonial powers for centuries. The formal agencies on different occasions intervened in the matters of workers. In the past the legislatures of the country, the central government and state governments, passed many reformative legislation such as PLA, Insurance Act, Prohibition of child Labour Act and Equal Pay for Equal Wages Act to address the problem in connection with plantation labour. The intervention of executive machinery is no less significant in the case of revision of wages and the regulation of working hours. The judiciary, which has been considered as the guardian of the rights of the people made far reaching judgments which cemented the rights of workers. Some of the judgments made by the judiciary had made everlasting contribution for assuring the dignity of workers in different walks of life.

Social security services in the plantation sector generally indicate the basic facilities that are necessary for the all-round development of a worker. It includes food, shelter and health care. In tea plantations,

the responsibility for ensuring social security measures has been vests with the management. The Government of India through PLA has delineated the responsibility of the management to protect rights of workers in the plantation sector. The Act could brought to an end the labour exploitation by the management. The Plantation labour Act and the subsequent legislations in the field like the regulation of working hours, prohibition of child labour, maternity benefits to women workers, insurance and gratuity, educational facilities to children, health related security measures, equal pay for equal work, organizational freedom etc, had profound influence of the heightening the standard of living of the workers in the past (Bhowmik, 1992,p.2288). The important among them are enlisted below.

The Indian Constitution

The first and foremost document for ensuring social security for toiling masses is the Constitution of the country as there was no such mechanism to safeguard such interests during the colonist period. The plantation was not governed by strict rules and regulations to protect workers interests. On the contrary, these rules were framed and interpreted by European planters by keeping their economic interests in mind. But the adoption of the constitution and the legislation subsequent to it had transformed the relationship between the management and the labourers. The Constitution of India provides for a welfare state. The Directive Principles of State Policy clearly envisages the welfare policy for the people. Article 38 of the constitution states that the state shall promote the welfare of the people by securing and promoting effectively as it may a social order in which justice; social, economic and political shall inform all the institutions of national life (Basu,1998,p.142). Similarly the Fundamental Rights contained in part III of constitution is considered as the heart and soul of the constitution, also enumerates the rights of the citizen.

The State and Social Security

In modern democracies the government plays a significant role in protecting the workers interests. In Indian Constitution, labour is a subject inserted in the Concurrent list, where both the Central and State Governments are competent to enact legislations. In order to address diverse problems in the field, a large number of labour laws have been enacted both by the central and state governments. With the help of these laws, the government both the centre and states intervene in different aspects of labour namely, occupational health, safety, employment, training of apprentices, fixation, review and revision of minimum wages, mode of payment of wages, payment of compensation to workmen who suffer injuries as a result of accidents or causing death or disablement, bonded labour, contract labour, women labour and child labour, resolution and adjudication of industrial disputes, provision of social security such as provident fund, employees' state insurance, gratuity, provision for payment of bonus, regulating the working conditions of certain specific categories of workmen such as plantation labour, beedi workers etc., (Correspondent, 1987,p.1272).

A large numbers of laws are prevalent in plantation sector. Broadly the labour laws in India can be grouped into four different categories on the basis of their enactment and its enforcement. They are:

- 1) Labour laws enacted by the Central Government, where the Central Government has the sole responsibility for enforcement.
- 2) Labour laws enacted by Central Government and enforced both by Central and State Governments.
- 3) Labour laws enacted by Central Government and enforced by the State Governments.
- 4) Labour laws enacted and enforced by the various State Governments which apply to respective States (Juliana, 2012).

In the first type of law (Juliana 2012), the central government has the sole responsibility for the making and enforcing of such laws. The second types of laws are enacted by the central government but its enforcement is shared by both the central and state governments. The third type of Labour laws enacted by the Central Government and enforced by the State Government. Though the central and state governments are authorised to legislate in matters of plantation sector, but some of the prominent legislation made by the government had made deep impact upon the industry (Juliana, 2012). The prominent legislations which made deep impact on workers' rights as follows;

Minimum Wage Act 1948

From the British period onwards Indian Plantation sector has been sustained by a capitalist system of production based on captive labour force living in an ethnic enclave. Independence of the country brought many changes, but majority of things remaining unchanged. The tea plantation communities are a socially marginalized and economically deprived group. The tea plantation communities are socially marginalised and economically deprived groups (Philips 2003:66). Unlike the colonial past, independence of the country brought many reformative legislations both by the central as well as state governments. The first radical effort in this regard was the passing of Minimum Wage Act of 1948. This ensured the workers certain amount of security in relation to wages Act also provides Dearness allowances. This was a landmark in the history of Labour Legislation in the Country. Apart from prescribing minimum wages, this Act prescribes dearness allowances. "The dearness allowance as its name implies as an allowance given to the workers and salaried employees to compensate them fully or partly, for the loss in real earnings caused to them by increase in the cost of living from time to time". (Srinivasan 2016:9)

Employee State Insurance Act, 1948

Another important milestone in the labour history was the introduction of Employee State Insurance Act [ESIC], 1948 (Meridien, 2018). The ESIC, 1948, is a piece of social welfare legislation constituted primarily with the objective of providing certain benefits to employees in matters of sickness, maternity and employment injury and also to make provision for certain other matters (India, 2018). Further, this Act aimed to attain the goal of socio-economic justice enshrined in the Directive Principles of State Policy under part IV of our constitution, especially in articles 41, 42 and 43 which guides the state to make effective provision for securing, the right to work, to education and public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement (Basu, 1998, p.143). This act becomes a wider spectrum than factory act in the sense that while the factory act³ is based on the health, safety, welfare, leave etc of the workers employed in the factory premises only. But the Employee State Insurance Act, 1948, on the other hand provides the employees ample insurance protection for workers working inside the factory or establishment or elsewhere or they are directly employed by the principal employer or through an intermediate agency.

Plantation Labour Act(1951)

The Plantation Labour Act(1951) is considered as the magna carta of plantation workers' rights. The Act was passed in 1951 with a view to drastically improve the status and working condition of plantation labourers. PLA is a labour legislation law assuring plantation labourers reasonable amenities such as supply of drinking water, suitable medical or educational facilities or provision for canteen and crèches, provision for sufficient number of latrines and urinals separately for males and females and housing accommodation for every worker. (Singh 2013:7). This Act also envisages about labor

rights exercised individually or collectively. Among these, rights to accept the job freely chosen, fair working condition, just wage, protection from arbitrary and unjustified dismissal, leisure and rest, limitation on working hours, holidays, protection from occupational hazards and ill health, to associate and be a member of workers organization etc., are highly significant (Singh, 2013, p.8).

Right to Payment of Maternity Benefit 1961

This act raised the status of women workers, who outnumber men in majority of plantation estates. The right to payment of maternity benefit helps the women community to a greater extent. Subject to the provisions of this Act, every woman worker shall be entitled to get maternity benefit from their employer. The worker receives maternity benefit at the rate of the average daily wage for the period of her actual absence immediately preceding and including the day of her delivery and for the six weeks immediately following that day. No woman shall be entitled to maternity benefit unless she has actually worked in an establishment of the employer from whom she claims maternity benefit for a period of not less than one hundred and sixty days in the twelve months immediately preceding the date of her expected delivery: The maximum period for which any woman shall be entitled to maternity benefit shall be twelve weeks, that is to say, six weeks up to and including the day of her delivery and six weeks immediately following that day (Sarkar and Bhowmik, 1998, pp.52-54).

The Child Labour(Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986

The pre independent and early independent period witnessed the presence child labourers in the plantation sector. They were less paid. The intention of the management was very clear in this matter. In 1986, the Child Labour Act was passed to remove such evils. This was also a reformative legislation. The estate authorities with their

tacit consent of the government exploited the children. The children simultaneously performed double role. As a worker he had work in the plantation and as a student he had attend school. To fulfil this double role, the schools timings were adjusted. Even little children at the age of eight were employed in the estates. Each estate had primary school and the children would work in the fields till noon and in the afternoon they would go to estate schools (Nair, 2006, p.514).

Informal Agencies for Protecting Social Security

Apart from formal structures, the informal agencies can also play a positive role in safeguarding the interest of plantation workers. The informal agencies such as press, non-governmental agencies and trade union can also a play decisive role in plantation sector. But in reality, barring trade union, none of the informal agencies played any noteworthy role in safeguarding workers rights. The role of trade union itself is declining due to variety of reasons.

Role of Trade Union in Protecting the Social Security

Before independence the presence of trade union was visible India with the setting up of the first trade union in 1920. The Indian trade Union Act of 1926 gave legal status and also gave them a measure of legal and social security (Sheth 1968:8). But their functioning was restricted by Colonial powers. But after the end of colonialism and the introduction of Indian constitution opened new vistas for trade union. In this scenario workers union played an important role in protecting the interest of its members. Normally trade unions are defined as, “those organizations of workers who work for the maintenance and enhancement of their economic status by insisting on a rise in money wages and improvement in working conditions” (Webb & Beatrice, 1920, p.1). Traditionally trade unions have been resistance organizations defending the interest of

the workers and protecting from being exploited. Trade unions are considered the vanguard for protecting the rights of workers. The history of working class movement could be traced back to India's Freedom Struggle itself. During this period the socialist thinkers of the freedom struggle recognized the strategy of collective bargaining as an important weapon in the hands of trade union (Gastin, 2002, p.380). To fulfill this, the framers of the constitution of India, inserted Right to form associations or trade unions in Article 19 (1) (c) of our constitution (Basu, 1998, p.82).

The need for trade union is more important in plantation sector than any other work place due to many reasons⁴. In plantation the workers are working and living in the plantations. Plantation is both an industry as well as agriculture. Both agricultural and industrial law is applicable in plantation industry. So the workers, most of them are illiterate, are unable to understand the laws and procedures related with their work. So the workers require the service of an expert in the form of trade union leaders. They can play an effective role in safeguarding the worker's salary, bonus and other benefit. More important among them is the timely revision of their wages. In any plantation, we can see that there is a platform in the form of Plantation Labour Committee (PLC) consists of management, the workers representative and the nominee of the government. They together sit and decides the salary and bonus related matters. But in the plantation sector especially in tea plantation, the revision of wages is possible only through the increase in workers target. This could create additional burden to the workers. It is desperate to say that in this matter most of the trade unions are a big failure.

Social Security from 1947 -1990

This period witnessed large number of welfare measures. These welfare laws include PLA of 1951. This act ensured the dignity

of workers while offering some of the basic rights such as right to health and live with dignity. In the field of health, this act made deep impact. These changes include provision for effective drinking water, provision for separate latrine for males and females, canteen facilities to the workers where more than one hundred and fifty workers ordinarily employed (Bhowmik,1992, p.2288). As per the provisions of the Act, it is the responsibility of the government to ensure availability of furniture, room facilities and the quality of food served in the canteen. In connection with welfare of children, this act makes it mandatory for the employer for the setting up of crèche for children below six years (Bhowmik,1992, p.2288). In the case of education of the children between the ages of six to twelve of workers employed in any plantation, if they exceed twenty five in number, the state government may make rules, requiring every employer to provide educational facilities for the children in such plantations (Bhowmik,1992, p.2288).

In connection with the accommodation facilities of the workers, this act authorized the employer to provide sufficient facilities to the families residing in plantation estates. Similarly the PLA also limited the working hours. It fixes the working hours forty eight hours per week. If a worker performs duty beyond forty eight hours, he is eligible to get overtime duty and should get twice the rate of ordinary wages. This act also fixed weakly holidays. For the women workers and children, this act prohibit night shift. As per the provisions of this act,the time fixed for women workers and the children are between 6a.m. to 7 p.m. (Bhowmik, 1992,p.2288).

Another noticeable feature of this act is that it allowed for the establishment and formation of union activities. This has made drastic changes in the field of plantation industry. Before the emergence of trade union, the working conditions of the labourers were determined by the employer itself. On many occasions, this

was determined without considering the needs of workers. But the freedom of trade union activities created a space for discussion and dialogue which had been curtailed by the employer for long period of time.

Social Security in Plantation in the Globalised Era

In the era of globalization, the plantation industry is in deep crisis. This is not only affected the workers but the management as well. In this era, security mechanism prevailed in the country until 1990 also subjected to change. This change could be seen in the functioning of both formal and informal structures. The below mentioned facts reveal some of the changes occurred in formal and informal structures in the era of globalization.

The role of the State

Once the government was considered the guardian of plantation workers, but the globalised era witnessed the withdrawal of government from welfare activities. Following the principles of a welfare state, the government in India after independence placed high regard for the workers. This made possible withthe formulation of different types of laws both by the central and the state governments. The sudden withdrawal of government and the removal of trade barriers resulted in the import of tea from other countries like Srilanka, Kenya etc.,without any restrictions (Mitra, 1991, pp.153-156). This paved the way for the reduction of price of tea in domestic market. This indirectly affected the workers. Tea plantation management in the pretext of globalization,is cutting the benefit of workers. They are less interested in improving the living condition of workers. This made the workers to live in a dilapidated building without proper maintenance.

The liberalized policy of the present day government drastically changed the welfare attitude of the sovereign states. The period

also witnessed the emergence trans-national and multinational companies. These companies not only ensured their presence in the market, but they actively interfere in the internal matters of the country with the support of trade related agreements and treaties. The withdrawal of state machinery from welfare activities created disturbances to the workers (Bhangoo, 2006, p. 397). The management in the globalised era is not interested in keeping the PLA provisions. On the contrary, they are reluctant to provide educational, health, recreational facilities to the workers. In 1990s, the Government of India implemented the policy of Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation Policy (LPG). This policy had its repercussion in the plantation sector too. In response LPG, the government was compelled to remove import export restrictions. The Multinational Companies and Transnational companies came to this country and dominated the market. As a result of this the government lost control over resources. The trade related agreements such as General Agreement and Tariff and Trade (GATT) the declined role of the state. The withdrawal of state from welfare measures adversely affected the plantation labourers to a larger extent (Munck, 2008, p. 15). In the globalised era though the government tries to intervene in the matters of workers, but their voice is very feeble. And the trade related agreement favors the management rather than the workers. The legislatures failed to address majority of issues raised by the workers. Apart from the formal structure the informal structures such as trade union, media etc., shows a declining tendency in the matter. These following points will reveal the changed attitude of the trade union.

Globalization and Trade Union

Trade union played an important role in safeguarding the interest of the workers. All the major political parties such as Indian National Congress, CPI (M), CPI etc., have trade unions in their

credit. These trade unions played a respective role in improving the working condition. The trade union leaders represent the workers in the Plantation Committee meetings (PLC). The PLC consists of management, the representative of the workers and the government nominee to decide on many issues including the wages, bonus and working condition. The trade union leaders through their strongest weapon of 'collective bargaining' fought with the management and earned some positive outcome in the past. The years since independence witnessed the flourishing of trade unions with the help of the constitutional provisions, PLC, 1951 and other laws made by the government. But in due course of time, especially 1990s due to emergence of globalization, trade unions in the state lost some of its earlier dominance (Rao, 2007, p. 680).

Many factors paved the way for the decline of labour power across the globe in the era of globalization. These include declining interest of the state in labour justice, emergence of large number of service organizations including IT enabled 'gold collar'⁵ and knowledge workers who are less interested in unionization. Employees' greater tendency to employ contract and casual labour rather than the core workforce also led to decline (Saini, 2017: 654). The growth in the reserve army of labour and the casualisation of employment have contributed to a weakening of trade unions, though there have been powerful additional factors working in the same direction. One of these is the privatization of public sector units. All over the world, trade unions have been stronger in public sector compared to the private and privatisation serves to reduce their strength further in the former. A second fact is, quite obviously, is the phenomenon that while capital is international and the workers are still organized along national lines also makes national unions rather ineffective. This weakening of trade unions has also had a social consequence, namely a weakening of the intervention capacity of the working class even on economic matters (Patnaik, 2017, p. 10).

In the globalised era the collective bargaining tactics of the trade union partially disappeared. Instead of collective bargaining, 'collaborative bargaining'⁶ decided the matters in the plantation committee meetings. In the era of collective bargaining trade unions played a dominant role. But in the globalised era the trade unions are bound to accept the concessions given to them by the management. Most of the time, they failed to appear as vanguard of workers' interests. This is obviously visible in analyzing the wage pattern of the workers. The wages of the workers in the plantation sector are very less when compared to other sectors. The globalised era protected the interest of the management than that of the workers. Globalisation has substantially influenced the nature of industrial relations (IR) policies being followed by employers, and reduced the power of trade unions (Baylis, Smith & Owem, 2006, p.233).

To sum up we can say that the social security mechanism played a respective role in improving the condition of workers in the plantation sector. Before independence there was no such mechanism to protect the interest of workers. The European merchants exploited the workers enormously and made huge profit at the expense of the latter. But gradually their condition improved when the country attained independence. Indian National Congress itself during the period of freedom struggle felt the need for social security mechanism in the plantation sector. This was reflected in the form of reformative laws such as PLA 1951 when the country was liberated from British colonial rule. Subsequently the government adopted several measures to improve the condition of the plantation workers. But with the opening of the economy, the clock is once again set back to the pre-independent period in which the state is withdrawing from social security matters slowly but steadily by placing the plantation workers at the mercy of the management. The emergence of Trans National Corporations (TNCs) and Multi

National Corporations (MNCs) further worsened the situation and the government is mere an onlooker. The rise of labour unrest paralyzed the workers interests. The decaying role of trade union and the erosion of collective bargaining in the plantation sector demands serious attention from the part of the decision makers both the government and the management, failing which the crisis situation jeopardize the whole industry, which will have its ramifications not only in the plantation sector but in other fields of activities as well.

Endnotes

1. *Article 21 says that no person shall be deprived of his life and personal liberty except according to procedure established by law.*
2. *Magna Carta was a landmark in the evolution of human rights of man. it happened in 1215 in England.. Originally issued by King John of England (1199-1216) as a practical solution to the political crisis he faced in 1215. It created for the first time the principle that everybody, including the king, was subject to the law.*
3. *The Factory Act, 1948 is aimed to ensure adequate safety measures and promote the health and safety and welfare of workers employed in factories. This act also makes provisions regarding employment of women and young person.*
4. *In any plantation industry whether it is tea or coffee majority of people are less educated. They are not in a position to understand various laws (both agricultural as well as industrial) applicable to them.*
5. *Gold-collar worker (GCW) has been used to describe either young, low-wage workers.*
6. *Collaborative bargaining is a style of negotiation which recognises the interests of the other party and emphasises cooperation between them.*

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