ISDA Journal 27 (3) 2017, pp. 283-303.

CIVIL SOCIETY AND SOCIAL CAPITAL IN KERALA: A SOCIO-HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract

The civil society and social capital emerged in Kerala through a historical process contributed by multiple factors. It brought radical changes not only in the realm of politics, but also in the socio-economic life of the people cutting across, caste, class, religion and region. In other words, the radicalisation of civil society and social capital brought democratisation of political institutions, access to land and education, and to improve the everyday life of the people which ultimately contributed to the emergence of a new model of development in Kerala. While politics in a democracy is often considered as a stumbling bloc to radical changes, in Kerala's case, political commitment and vision contributed to the radical changes in the society. This article tries to analyse the civil society and social capital in Kerala in a socio-historical perspectives and to how it contributed to the development of the state.

Key Words : *KSSP, KGS, Land Reform, Educational Reforms, Radicalization.*

In the 1920s, a low-caste man put his left hand on his breast, and his right over his mouth, if he dared to speak to his superiors, for fear his breadth may pollute the air. By the 1950s, however, it was more likely that men – and increasingly women too – would use their hands differently: as clenched fists, shaken above their heads, as they chanted 'Inquilab Zindabad' (victory to revolution) and marched in demonstrations . . . . .The servile hand before the mouth gave way to the challenge of the shaken fist. *(Robin Jeffrey)*

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The above description aptly captures the transformation of civil society and social capital in Kerala. Since its formation in 1956, society and politics have undergone radical changes, as it is manifested in every aspect of human life. Kerala has always been known for its vibrant civil society and high stock of social capital, which evolved through a long historical process. The social and political history of Kerala shows that this was not a gift, but various factors contributed to the development of civil society and solid social relations in the state.

In fact, the radicalization of civil society began in the second half of the nineteenth century. It was the result of long struggles by various social groups and sections - youth, students, women, farmers, and the like. Public campaigns, protest marches, public spirited media, etc. radicalized and activated civil society. The anti-caste struggles led by lower caste people, anti-feudal, anti-imperial struggles of the Malabar tenants, various community reform movements, the rationalist movements and anti-British struggles first waged by petty chieftains and their bonds of loyalties and later by broader sections of the people democratized the civil society (Mohan, 1991, p.24).[1]

Kerala is also known for its strong associational life. The local newspapers and media strengthened the associational life. Ashutosh Varshney (2003) in his comparative study of Aligarh (in Uttar Pradesh) and Calicut (in Kerala) observed that Hindu-Muslim violence was comparatively less in Calicut. Because, in Calicut (Kerala in general), civil society was actively strong and civic links between the two communities were strong (Varshney, 2003, pp. 424-455). World Development Report 2004 emphasised that 'longstanding social movements against caste divisions, its culture (including matrilineal inheritance in certain communities) and openness to foreign influences (including missionary led education)' all helped to democratizing and radicalizing civil society and social capital (The World Bank, 2003, p. 44).

The most important contribution to the process of radicalisation of civil society and social capital was given by social reform movements. Unlike social reform movements elsewhere in India, it has a certain distinctive characteristics in the Kerala context. It confined not only to the lower castes and classes but also extended to the upper castes and classes. In short, social reform movements actively worked both in the upper and lower social groups. While the agenda of social reform movements by the upper strata was 'reformist' in their respective caste and religious groups, for the lower strata movements the agenda was 'inclusive'. The social history of Kerala shows that both the struggles – the 'struggle for reform' and the 'struggle for inclusion' – began in the early 1930s. The reformist movements among the Namboodiris and Nairs tried to abolish the social and cultural evils and reform its social structure from within. However, the movements of Ezhavas, Pulayas and others concentrated on their inclusion in the public sphere. The lower caste people fought against both feudal and caste oppression and thereby tried to democratizing and even radicalizing the civil society and social capital. The 1930s and 40s witnessed the struggles of low caste associations for accessing to public places and schools and all branches of government.

Before analyzing the role of the social reform movements in democratizing civil society and radicalizing social relations, it is imperative to throw light on the social history of Kerala. Unlike rest of India, Kerala had a very hierarchically-structured society. Along with untouchability, unseeability was also frantically practised in Kerala. An extreme form of unapproachability or 'distance pollution' existed. Lower caste women were prohibited to wear clothes above their waist. Caste discrimination extended even to the naming of a lower caste child. While a child from upper caste was given names resembling Hindu Gods and Goddesses, a child from the lower caste was denied that. Social inequality manifested in all aspects of

life – birth, death, marriage, occupation, food, dress and freedom of movement. Lower castes people were prevented from accessing public places like roads, wells and temples. Education, an instrument for social change, was restricted to the upper castes.

The 1920s and 1930s witnessed the emergence of a number of social reform movements that tried to democratizing civil society and deepening social capital. The various social reform movements within the upper castes sought internal democratization. For example, the reform movements of Namboodiri Brahmins and Nayars fought against the old values, practices and norms that existed in their respective castes. Certain sections within the Brahmin community came forward to the upliftment of their community. The leaders include V. T. Bhattathiripad, I.C.P. Namboodiri, Unni Namboodiri and E.M.S. Namboodiripad, Mannath Padmanabhan and others pioneered the reform movements within the Nayar community. At the lower caste level, Sri Narayana Guru, Dr. Pulpu, Sahodaran Ayyappan and Kumaranasan in the Ezhava community and Aiyan Kali in Pulaya community led vibrant movements against casteism and fought for social equality and justice. As Jeffrey opines, social reforms stemmed in large measure from the 'political consciousness of the poor majority' (Jeffrey, 2003, p.7).

In 1914 Mannath Padmanabhan founded the Nair Service Society (NSS), which initiated social reforms in the Nair community such as abolition of matrilineal joint-family. Earlier in 1903, the SNDP Yogam and the Pulaya Samaj were founded. However, one can maintain a scepticism regarding the social reform initiated by the upper castes and its solidarity with reform movements among the lower castes. It can be seen as an attempt to consolidate the Hindu community, which was facing a grave threat from Christianity in the wake of massive conversion among the lower caste Hindus. Yet it has to be remembered that Mannath Padmanabhavan extended

his support to the Vaikom Satyagraha (1925) over the right of lower castes to use roads near temples.

The constant struggles and prolonged pressure from the lower castes changed the old value system that existed in Kerala for centuries. Education spread among the lower castes as they enrolled in the government schools. They were liberated from religious orthodoxy and envisioned a secular social ideal. Even though caste feeling has not been removed completely, the rigidity of the caste system has broken down. The new generations of lower castes who have acquired higher education within and outside the state express their reluctance to pursue their traditional work assigned by the caste hierarchy. Some social groups, by virtue of their access to education, have even climbed the rungs of the secular hierarchy.

Along with social reform movements, communist mobilization also played an active role in democratizing and radicalizing the civil society. From 1920s onwards, communist ideas spread throughout Kerala. The success of the Russian Revolution and the ideas of equality attracted many political stalwarts in the State. A number of communist classics were translated into Malayalam, thereby facilitating the spread of Marxist ideas. These ideas were not confined to the intelligentsia but it spread among the common masses especially in the countryside. In fact, Marxism was perceived as the solution for the problems of the poor and the socially marginalized sections. In the 1930s, mainstream Indian nationalism swept over Kerala. It has to be remembered that the goal of the mainstream nationalist movement was not just political independence but the establishment of a good socio-economic order by abolishing all unjust social structures and to build a 'just' society. Unfortunately, the leadership of the Indian National Congress undermined the second goal. However, communist in Kerala waged the twin struggles simultaneously. They fought against caste system and native monarchies along with

British colonialism. The communist party forged a class and mass organization alliance and attempted to organize people on the basis of their economic demands centred on wages and land reform. It demanded adequate wages and redistribution of surplus land to the landless poor. Unlike mainstream nationalism, social equality became an important agenda for Malayali communist nationalists in a big way. Post Second World War, because of the spread of inclusive nationalism, the influence of political and massive struggles, a new political culture developed in Kerala. This new culture was more conducive to the development of a vibrant civil society and active social capital.

The communist mobilization against caste oppression, to certain extent, liberated Parayas and Pulayas, the lowest strata in the caste hierarchy, from their traditional bondages. As Aloysius puts it, 'the emergence of the communist movement in particular through its formally universalist ideology transformed the segmented struggles into a non-sectarian movement for economic betterment and socio-political egalitarianism for the masses as a whole' (Aloysius, 2002, p.10). Unlike the rest of India, the communist parties initiated the political mobilization of the untouchables. They mobilized lower caste people against untouchability and caste oppression and gave leadership to a number of agitations that sought to ensure social justice and equal opportunity. Along with other social reformers, the communist leaders like P. Krishna Pillai, A. K. Gopalan, etc. provided leadership role in the temple entry agitation demanding the entry of lower castes in Hindu temples. The Communist Party acted as the vanguard for the socially marginalized sections for the elimination of caste discrimination and caste oppression. The early political leadership in Kerala was also committed to bring social justice and an egalitarian social order. Early communists addressed the concerns of lower castes as it linked anti-caste struggle to the

anti-feudal struggle. The communist parties expanded their mass base among the Pulaya agricultural labourers and the poor Ezhava coir workers.

The communist parties while fighting against social inequality upheld the economic rights which were finding no place in the agenda of Dalit movements in contemporary India. For example, land reform, minimum wage to the agricultural labourers, pension schemes for elderly agricultural labourers (majority of them are untouchables), in fact, transformed their lives.

Land Reform – A step towards distribution of primary goods.

The land reform legislation initiated by the communist governments provided that the members of each hutment were entitled to ten cents of land surrounding the kudil (hut) on the grounds of 'kudikedappavakasham' (homestead rights). Thus, the agricultural labourers who had been living on the land of the jenmi (landlord) could actually possess their hutment land. This unique provision, which was absent in the land reform legislation in the rest of the states in India, had a positive impact on the socially marginalized sections in Kerala. The Agricultural Workers Bill piloted by the EMS led communist government in 1957 was depicted by the Chief Minister himself as 'the Labourer's Magna Carta'.

Since the ownership of land and caste system was closely related, land reforms transformed the agrarian relationship in Kerala. Land reforms broke both the religious hierarchy and the secular hierarchy that were dominated by the upper castes for a long time. Kerala was, in fact, the first state where land reforms were firmly put on the political agenda. Land reforms affected changes in the agrarian social relations in Kerala. Land reforms shattered the domination of landed communities like Nayars and Namboodiris. Land reforms played an important role in transforming existing social relations – caste-feudal social relations. As Jeffrey argues, land reforms, even

though they have not brought prosperous equality to rural Kerala, have changed the structure of rural classes (Jeffrey, 2003, p. 160). Surplus land distribution initiated by the subsequent government had a far-reaching impact on the agricultural labour, especially the Dalits. As Lieten notes, kudikidappavakasam has had 'a tremendously liberating effect on the kudikidappukars who henceforth were in a position to maintain an autonomous existence, freed from feudal subservience' (Lieten, 2002, p. 1542).

The ownership of land provided entitlement to food and income and reduced social dependency. The reduction of dependency on landlords and access to material goods for livelihood improved the bargain potential of agricultural labourers with respect to landlords. Land reforms – access to land and other economic benefits forced them to move away from the hurdles imposed by economic bondage. Land reforms provided access to land and improved the entitlements and enhanced people's capacities. Various farmers associations were formed with the active support of the communist party and thereby mobilized the agricultural labourers. Thus, land reform is the basic foundation of all other subsequent developments in the state and acted as the instrument of social change in Kerala. Kunjaman, a distinguished economist in Kerala, argues that the greatest achievement, which contributed to the upliftment of the socially oppressed people, was the initiation of land reforms by the first Communist government in Kerala. The impact of land reforms, which made fundamental changes in the society, was far better than the activities of the leaders of backward caste movements like Sri Narayana Guru and Aiyan Kali. Citing examples from other states in India, he affirms that even though a number of social reformers like Sri Narayana Guru were active in these states, feudalism could not be wiped out from society. This shows that no reform movements can bring transformation in the society without

fundamental structural changes.[2] However, the radical land reform provided a new patronage for the agricultural labourers by the communist party, especially the lower sections of the society.

Educational Reforms – A step towards enlarging people's capabilities and generating entitlement

Education has always been a contentious issue in the society and politics of Kerala. It has to be reminded that the temple entry was preceded by decades of demands for the right to enter schools from the lower castes. Aiyan Kali, the Pulaya leader in Travancore made a clarion call to the agricultural labourers for an indefinite boycott of agricultural operations to pressurise and achieve an access to education. Though the enlightened kings often extended their royal support for creating a network of schools, it did not benefit the lower echelons of society.[3] The attempt towards the 'massification of education' by kings did not meet with the desired goals because social and economic changes did not precede these educational reforms. The communist government in the 1950s initiated this holistic vision.

The objective of educational reforms initiated by the communist government was the massification and universalisation of education, and away from class and caste privileges. The Kerala Education Bill attempted to regulate the encroachment of private sector in the salary and appointment of teachers. It has to be kept mind that though initial activities of the Christian missionaries contributed to the spread of education in the state, in course of time, education sector came under the domination of these religious groupings who sought to keep the government as a spectator. In this grim situation, intervention was needed even in institutions of civil society, especially in the field of education. This rationality often questions the argument that 'state intervention in institutions of civil society, such as education and industry, severely constrains their autonomy and

rationality' (Tharamangalam, 1998, pp. 23-34). Supportive programmes such as mid-day meal programme, distribution of free study material followed extension of education. Financial support in the forms of scholarships and stipend attracted the lower caste children to enter schools. As Franke and Chasin point out school lunches helped to make possible more effective use of affirmative action programmes for lower caste people whose children entered into the school (Franke and Chasin, 1991, p.18). Unlike in other states, the spread of education initiated by the government was boosted not only by reservation, but by these supportive programmes. Moreover, the 'school feeding' lessened the caste feeling among the children and broke down traditional social barriers. Thus social capital developed.

The radical public policy initiatives, especially land reform and educational reforms enabled, to a certain extent, the next generation among the socially marginalized sections to access education and government jobs. In other words, social empowerment contributed to some level of economic empowerment. Thus, one can see that the communist initiative of radicalizing public policy, in fact, became an instrument for 'Dalit empowerment' in the state. The emerging crisis in the agrarian sector in one way is the offshoot of the positive trends generated by the radical public policy. The labourers are now interested in sending their children to schools and then to secure government jobs rather than seek employment for them in the traditional sectors. This created a situation of 'labour deficiency' in traditional sectors related to agriculture which ultimately resulted in this crisis. Whatever the criticisms levelled against the communist radical reforms, the crisis of traditional sectors in Kerala is the successes of effective public policy on the socially marginalized sections that cannot be witnessed in the rest of India.

Communist governments attempt to radicalizing civil society and social capital, through public policies, however, it has created

certain counterproductive tendencies too. Caste and communal forces – both minority and majority – tried to communalize and de-radicalize civil society. The Catholic Church and Nair Service Society (NSS) vowed to dislodge the communist government by launching the Vimochana Samara (Liberation Struggle). In the liberation struggle against the communist government a grand alliance of caste and communal forces were forged with the support of the Congress party. Thus, the political cost involved in the radical policy was so high that it finally succeeded in over-throwing the communist government in 1959.

To counter the challenge posed by the caste and communal forces, the communist party tactically entered into an understanding with the Muslim League. In 1967, the United Front government led by CPI (M) shared power with the Muslim League. This, in fact, gave an opportunity for the minority communalism in influencing political decisions and public policies such as education. However, some others view the alliance between the communist party and the Muslim Leagues as based on the success of communism in its ability to align itself with liberal Muslims while at the same time attacking the material roots of caste inequality in the differential access to land (Menon, 1994).

In the latter course, many programmes of the communist party, which were implemented through its government, had the potential to radicalize the civil society and strengthening social capital. For example, total literacy campaigns and people's planning, etc. However, total literacy campaign and the people's planning are considered to be the attempts made by the party to transform social capital in its favour.

Public intellectuals played vital role in flowering civil society and strengthening of social capital in Kerala. They initiated new debates touching the life of common people from time to time. They

popularized new themes, ideologies and ideas that were current to their daily life. It sensitized the people regarding their rights and instigated them to fight against oppression and for social justice. Intellectuals not only played a vital role in sensitizing people but were also active in radicalizing civil society, especially since 1930s. Unlike in the other parts of India, the intellectuals in the state created a 'public' space by reflecting the concerns of the common people in their writings. It has to be kept in mind that in every society intellectuals alone are not enough to nurture a flourishing civil society. According to Kamrava (1993) 'if civil society is to develop, the intellectual elite must have three particular characteristics. Firstly, they must be committed to the principles and practices of democracy to the point of having internalized them'. In other words, an intellectual must be both a believer and practitioner of democracy. Secondly, 'the social resonance of intellectuals, both in terms of the message they have and their accessibility to the rest of the society'. Finally, 'these intellectuals must give themselves an institutional forum, through which they can meet and circulate ideas, solidify their links with one or more social classes, and bear direct or indirect pressures on the state. These institutional forms may range from adhoc clubs and syndicates (e.g. a writers' association or a Civic forum) to full-blown grassroots organizations (Base Ecclesiastical Communities) and Political Parties (Solidarity)' (Kamrava, 1993, p. 194). In Kerala, Progressive writers associations and clubs 'massified' literature. They popularized radical ideas through easily understandable medium to the common men.

Radicalisation and democratization of public policy is the peculiar feature of Kerala. Various public policy measures initiated by the government from time to time radically changed the social life of the people. Land reforms, homestead rights, minimum wages to workers, social security measures to agricultural labourers (such

as old age pension to the agricultural farmers), etc. are some of the examples. In fact, the attempt to radicalize civil society and social capital started with the public policy adopted by the first communist government in 1957 (Prabhash, 2004, pp. 403-418). The public policies were 'inclusive' in nature. Citizens were participating at every level, through their representative organizations and political parties, in crucial decisions as to priorities and the budget (Alves, 1991, p. 25). The twin policy measures initiated by the government – land reforms and education reforms – attempted to democratize the civil society. The communist governments through its public policy expanded social sectors and welfare measures.

The recent public policy initiative of decentralized planning is a right step adopted by the left government towards democratizing civil society and strengthening social capital in the process of development. It emphasises popular participation in development and the devolving of responsibility for a large share of plan expenditure to local bodies. The state government intervened actively to assist local people in identifying opportunities and constraints. As Harriss (2001) argues, people's planning is a three-way dynamics between local and central government and civil society that is politically articulated (Harriss, 2001, p. 124).

People's planning involves more public participation in decision-making. It enables the 'construction of social capital' by making use of neighbourhoods and communities.[4] People's planning strengthens the civil society and social capital at the grass root level by ensuring more popular participation (Bijukumar, 2000, pp. 339-369). By strengthening civil society and activating social capital, people decide their own fate in development. People's planning activates civil society by involving mass organizations and movements in the development experience. People's planning provides an opportunity for associational life and creates a conducive atmosphere for building

social capital through collective action. It also provides a new approach for the new leadership, especially the SCs, STs and women to expand their sphere of activity.

The Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) in Kerala also contributed much to the democratization and radicalization of civil society in Kerala. The role played by both Kerala Sastra Sahitya Parishad (KSSP) and the Kerala Grandhasala Sangham (KGS) is commendable in this respect. In the early 1960s, especially in 1962, the KSSP took its root in Kerala. In 1967, it emerged as a mass movement sensitizing people regarding social evils and practices that existed in society. Kerala is, in fact, the first state in India, which through the people's science movement popularized non-mystical scientific thinking and technological knowledge among the common people, especially the rural poor and socially marginalised sections. By championing the slogan of 'science for social revolution', it made a clarion call to the people that science should become a weapon in the hands of the poor and the oppressed in their struggle against feudalism, casteism and the exploitation by the rich minority. The activities of KSSP in imparting scientific knowledge to the rural and socially marginalised sections empowered them to participate in the development experiments of the state at various stages[5].

The KSSP also had a role in building social capital among the masses. It sensitized people by means of mass consciousness and mass mobilization. It has been in forefront for generating huge campaigns for civil action and community development and cooperation. Civil Society Organisations like KSSP launched the programme of people's planning giving a new awareness to the development experience. In the initial stage KSSP was engaged in mass science education. Its activities concentrated on formal school-related programs that aimed at making learning and teaching interesting, formulated alternative strategies to improve educational and curricular policies and waged

fights against corruption, privatization and commercialization of education (Isaac, Frank and Parameswaran, 1997, p. 40). In addition to this, KSSP's activities extended to industrial development, energy, forestry, health, local resource mapping, decentralized planning and development. It even championed an alternative development path for Kerala. Though in the initial phase of its formation, the KSSP focused on popularising science among the people, in course of time, its activities diversified. It actively mobilized people in total literacy campaign, local resource mapping and participatory development initiatives (Isaac, Frank and Parameswaran, 1997, pp. 34-44). In fact, the intellectual origin of both total literacy campaign and 'the People's Planning experiment' goes back to the relentless effort of KSSP.

A distinctive feature of Kerala is the wide network of public libraries. It has to be remembered that along with social reform movements and communist movements, library movements took root in Kerala under the initiative of Kerala Grandhasala Sangham. The public reading rooms strengthened social relations and contributed to building active social capital. It has even broken the caste hierarchy and maintained egalitarian character. Varshney (2003) points out that 'reading rooms are a unique Kerala institution that accompanied Kerala's remarkable rise in literacy and formed deep social networks between the 1930s and the 1950s' (Varshney, 2003, p. 446). Young peer groups from various communities joined together in the library, cementing social relations and connecting to each other through social readings. Thus, public libraries are considered not just as centres of knowledge dissemination but also as centres of social capital formation.

Kerala is known for its wider circulation of newspapers in regional languages in India. The common saying is that a Malayali can avoid bed tea but not the morning newspaper. Party newspapers

and magazines played an important role in democratizing and radicalising civil society. In the case of Kerala, it was the influence of 'print communism' rather than 'print capitalism'6 that sensitized the society. The establishment of schools and the circulation of newspapers contributed to the growth of a statewide consciousness of shared community, which help to build a strong social capital. The contribution of media and widely circulated newspapers and magazines widened the intellectual life of the people.

Popularisation of theatre movement is another peculiar character of the social life of Kerala. The KPAC, the people's theatre sensitized people regarding the day-to-day problems confronted by the society. Thus, people's problems often became the theme for plays. The plays of Thopil Bhasi and revolutionary songs of Vayalar Rama Varma and O. N.V. Kurup radicalized the civil society. In the 1950s, the revolutionary ideas popularized by plays such as 'Ningal Enne Kammyunist Akki' (You made me a Communist), 'Surveykallu' (Survey Stone), and 'Muladhanam' (Capital) sensitized people against caste and feudal oppression and motivated them to fight it. While in the 1930s, K. Damodaran's 'Pattabaki' (Rent Arrears, 1938) and 'Rakthapanam' (Draught of Blood, 1939) had led to the crystallization of an incipient alternative proletarian culture, in the 1950s, 'Bhasi's plays were avowedly about social transformation and reflected an attempt to create a new radical cultural practice founded on the lives of the 'people' (Menon, 2001, p. 42).

The Christian missionary activity is another factor that contributed to the social change in Kerala. The activities of Christian missionaries began in the 18th century. The Christian missionaries earlier concentrated on converting the upper caste Brahmins who were later known as the 'Syrian Christians'. However, in course of time, they expanded their proselytization activities among the socially marginalized sections – especially among the Pulayas and Parayas

who were latter known as the 'Latin Christians' (Tharamangalam, 1997, pp. 263-291). By converting the lower castes, and offering social equality and opportunity they challenged the caste stratification in Kerala. The Christian missionaries set up schools that admitted the students from the lower castes. The instruction in missionary schools was in the vernacular language. This attracted the common people. Even though, the objective was to convert the lower castes to Christianity, education was an important offshoot that was enlightening. The extension of missionary education to the lower castes 'inculcated values of equality and social justice and thus planted the seeds of the social revolution yet to take place in Travancore society' (Krishnan, 2000, p. 210).

In addition to the role played by above-mentioned factors, large number of marginal forces too contributed the democratizing civil society and strengthening social capital. The informal discussions and interactions in work place contributed to the build up of social capital. Trade Unions, students, youths, women organizations, etc. actively contributed to the democratization and radicalization of civil society and the strengthening of civil society.

Kerala's spectacular achievements in various spheres are due to the democratization of civil society and politicized social relations. This was achieved by means of 'high level of consciousness regarding the rights and potential of human existence and the need and legitimacy of struggles to achieve these rights and realize the potential' (Mohan, 1991, p.23). The development history of Kerala often mocks the theory of social capital as advocated by Robert Putnam. Kerala's development experience shows that not social capital alone but effective public policy, active public mobilization and radical civil society played an important role in socio-economic development. Moreover, social capital is neither a depoliticized entity nor an 'anti-politics machine'. Politics, especially radical politics, even radical

politics, always constituted an integral part in the development process. Politics, in fact, initiated the process of development and the social relations are highly politicized. As Harriss (2001) points out 'public action and political mobilization in the state was instrumental in bringing about many radical reforms including land reforms. According to him, 'not the social capital' that lies in the congeries of voluntary associations highlightened by Robert Putnam but rather powerful class and mass organizations' (Harris, 2001, p.125). The achievements in social sphere were not because of the existence of a passive civil society and social capital as described by Putnam, but because of popular pressure and state intervention (Tornquist, 1999, p. 147). This view was, in fact, upheld by Jean Dreze and Amartya Sen (1996) arguing that Kerala's success was the result of public action that promoted extensive social opportunities and the widespread, equitable provision of schooling, health and other basic services, female education and literacy (Dreze and Sen, 1996). Not only the access to mass education, but also the secular content of the textbooks radicalized social relationships among the students. Moreover, both gender bias and caste and class prejudices were removed from accessing education. Teaching in Kerala has not insulated from political activities as teachers involved in political parties and movements and sensitized and mobilized people over political issues. Even though different communities and religious groups set up educational institutions put provided admission to the students from socially marginalized sections (however under strong state intervention of the state). With the spread of English education, western political ideas spread to Kerala and many political and philosophical classics translated into Malayalam. In Kerala, politics occupies high command and all other spheres of life –social, economic and cultural – are determined by politics. Politics acts as a motivating force in the implementation of any public policy.

Politics, in this context, is not a stumbling bloc but a creative force to development in Kerala.

Endnotes

[1]The peasant uprising in Malabar sensitized the peasants about their rights. see Panikkar, K.N. 2001.

[2] Interview to India Today Magazine (Malayalam), 6-20th November, 1996, p.24.

[3] It is to be remembered that the Hindu rulers forced to extend education to the common masses especially the lower caste because of the 'threat' posed by the Christian missionary to Hindu community. In the process of conversion to Christianity, missionaries set up schools and provided access to socially marginalized sections which posed a challenge to the Hindu kings.

[4] Chathukulam and John in their empirical study of a village panchayat found that people's planning provided enough opportunity for building social capital at the grass root level. see Chathukulam and John. 2003.

[5] When science and technical knowledge was monopolized by the elites of the society, the state witnessed the popularization of scientific knowledge and even the 'massification of science' among the rural people. KSSP emerged as the pioneer in the history of mass movements in the State by imparting scientific knowledge and scientific thinking through regional language, by conducting street plays, awareness campaigns and organizing demonstrations and meetings around the demand for greater science education in regional language and the preparation of Malayalam Scientific Dictionary.
see Isaac, Franke and Parameswaran. 1997.

[6] The term was coined by Benedict Anderson.
see Anderson. 1983

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ISDA Journal 27 (3) 2017, pp. 305-320

TAX EVASION AMNESTY SCHEMES AND BLACK MONEY IN INDIA:
REVIEW OF PERFORMANCE AND IMPACT OF THE VOLUNTARY DISCLOSURE OF INCOME SCHEME (VDIS) 1997 & INCOME DECLARATION SCHEME (IDS) 2016

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Abstract

Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is considered as a comparable indicator of the size and strength of an economy. With around two and a half trillion US Dollars, India presently stands third in GDP ranking in the world behind the US and China holding the first and second positions respectively. While GDP constitutes the gross current annual income as entered into national accounting, a developing country like India contains a parallel economy comprising unaccounted income and wealth cumulated thereof over the years. The size of this unaccounted and tax unpaid black money economy by any conservative estimate comes around for a minimum of a quarter of India's GDP. Since Independence, the Government of India initiated and executed more than a dozen tax evasion amnesty cum voluntary income disclosure schemes to unearth black money in the economy. Analysis of those amnesty schemes is attempted here targeting its focus on areas of magnitude, source and causes of the problem and a comparison centered particularly around the last two of the schemes.

India has a dual system comprising a main-stream national economy and an underground parallel economy. While the national economy is in the main-stream advancing as planned on a set of

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national priorities in a regulatory environment, the parallel economy holds no bounds having a life of its own and sustaining with its roots in the mainstream economy. The black money constituting the tax evaded hidden wealth and income of the parallel economy harms the fabric of nation's political, economic and social systems. As Schneider (2006) estimates, using the dynamic multiple-indicators multiple-causes method and by currency demand method, the size of India's black money economy is between 23 and 26%, compared to an Asia-wide average of 28 to 30%, to an Africa-wide average to 41 to 44% and to a Latin America-wide average of 41 to 44% of respective gross domestic products. According to this study, the average size of the shadow economy as a percent of "official" GDP in 96 developing countries is 38.7%, with India below average.

Source of black money in India

The parallel underground economy is spread far and wide, and is oiled by bribes taken by even the lowliest of government functionaries. It includes tax evaded income, customs and excise evaded trade and manufacturing, wrongly invoiced exports and imports, clandestine real estate, foreign exchange transactions, and misappropriated government funds. Real estate is an area where the largest portion of black money is generated. A high percent of registration fee combined with ensuing property tax and tax on rental income lead to the popular option to value land and property at a much lower price. Unaccounted money of property dealers comes out of construction and development by massive evasion of sales and excise taxes on construction materials, and under-valuation of residential accommodation. Various tax exceptions accorded to the small-scale industrial segment simply resulted in many units under-reporting their turnover.

Indian corporates invariably under-invoice their exports and over-invoice their imports from tax haven countries such as Singapore,

UAE, and Hong Kong. The promoters of the public limited companies who hold rarely more than 10% of share capital, earn black money and park it abroad at the cost of majority shareholders and tax income to the Indian Government. The unlawfully acquired money kept abroad is subsequently routed back to India by round tripping processes. Round tripping involves getting the money out of one country, say India, and sending it to a place like Mauritius and then, dressing up to look foreign capital, and sending it back home to earn tax-favoured profits.

Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) is a legal channel to invest foreign funds in Indian financial markets. However, majority of such funds inflow to India originates from three or four small countries like Mauritius. It is apparent that with their small economies those countries cannot be the true sources of such huge investments and that the investments are routed through these jurisdictions for avoidance of taxes and/or for concealing the identities from the revenue authorities of the ultimate investors, many of whom could actually be Indian residents, who have invested in their own companies. Investment in the Indian Stock Market through Participatory Notes (PNs) or Overseas Derivative Instruments (ODIs) is another way in which the black money generated by Indians is re-invested in India. The investors in PNs do not hold Indian securities in their own names. They are legally held by the Foreign Institutional Investors (FIIs), but derive economic benefits from price fluctuations in securities market, and as dividends and capital gains, through specifically designed contracts.

Foreign funds received by charitable organisations, non-government organisations (NGOs) and similar other associations, to a large extent, add to black money. Gold imports through official channel and smuggling are other major conduits to bring back unaccounted money from abroad and to convert it into black

money locally. High value round trip transactions via tax heaven countries by diamond and precious stone exporters and importers constitute another channel for to-and-fro clandestine transactions. Fictitious software exports can be booked by software companies to bring black money into India as tax exemptions are permitted to software companies.

Unlike in earlier decades, the interest rates presently offered abroad in US$ currency is negligible and there is little capital appreciation of money parked abroad. So, the funds are routed back because the capital appreciation in Indian capital market is far more attractive. Infrastructure and human resource developments are yet to take place in developing countries like India at par with advanced countries. Therefore, Indians with black money parked abroad as well as foreign investors are eager to invest in those sectors in India in order to benefit from market growth and higher capital return rates.

Corrupt politicians and higher officials of government and its institutions take bribes from foreign and domestic companies, route through *hawala* channels and invest that money abroad in tax havens for transferring to India when needed. For instance, major national parties in India claim to have incomes of merely a few tens of billion rupees, but, in fact, they spend about a few hundred billion rupees annually on election expenses alone.

Amnesty Schemes

Voluntary disclosure of black income and wealth by the tax dodgers is one among various measures to check the evils of black money. Since Independence, there have been 13 tax amnesty schemes (see table 1) implemented in India. The first voluntary disclosure of income scheme was announced in 1951 followed by, after 15 years in 1965, four similar schemes, namely, National

Defense Gold Bonds, National Defense Remittance Schemes, Sixty-Forty Scheme and Block Scheme. Next amnesty scheme appeared in 1976, eleven years later. In early 1981, the government announced Special Bearer Bonds Scheme, and the next scheme came in 1985. In 1991, there were three schemes known as Foreign Remittance Scheme, India Development Bonds, and National Housing Bank Scheme. The Voluntary Disclosure of Income Scheme 1997 and Income Disclosure Scheme 2016 were latest and more prominent among them though none of amnesty schemes could unearth all black money and none of them enabled the prevention of its further generation.

Though then Finance Minister claimed that VDIS '97 would be the last chance for the tax evaders to come clean, nothing has prevented the government to announce the new Income Declaration Scheme in 2016. In over a dozen amnesty schemes since Independence, the average interval between consecutive schemes has been less than four years, though in 1990s, the average interval between the schemes was only one and a half years. Amnesty schemes, when implemented at fairly regular and periodical intervals, encourage people to dodge taxes because of their '*wait for the next amnesty*' behavior. Such schemes when periodically repeated do not induce tax compliance and adversely affect the growth of regular tax collections. Tax revenue drops before and after every amnesty schemes as observed in 1997. People knew from very beginning of the financial years that amnesty schemes were on its way, and therefore, advance tax receipts dropped. The government comes out at the end as a net loser by foregoing long term tax revenues.

The amnesty experience categorically proves that the country has millions of tax evaders and the schemes amount to the blatant and naked admission that the government and her tax departments do not have the legal wherewithal and adequate infrastructure facilities

to curb tax evasion. When motivation is at premium corruption becomes endemic. Statistics on number of assesses, income assessed and tax paid are not fully reliable because of inadequate and varying coverage, and pre-historic and thoroughly inefficient record keeping in the tax departments. A modern computer based information system is yet to be developed on a country wide scale. Under the circumstances, innovative disclosure schemes are perhaps the best practicable means [theory of the second best] to bring out what is hidden in a parallel economy rather than firmly holding on to the morality ground and ethics for the white economy. While taxation is not a morality play, it should not, however, become a play in immorality either by offering occasions to legitimize the loot at concessional tax rates under disclosure schemes.

The main issue, which all the amnesty schemes including IDS 2016 have failed to address effectively, is that of converting the unaccounted money held in the form of unproductive assets into accounted money held in the form of productive assets in order to add-it-on to our GDP. Unless the unaccounted money laundered by the declarants is productively deployed in the economy, any amnesty scheme will remain an event on the fiscal front without having any perceptible impact on India's overall economic progress.

Comparison between VDIS 1997 and IDS 2016

VDIS was12th and IDS 13th and latest among the schemes and they deserved a closer examination because of their relatively larger prominence and resulting yields. The results of the 1997 scheme at that time stunned everybody, and the scheme was acclaimed as a spectacular success in terms of volume of disclosed black money, collection of tax revenue and the number of declarants emerging from the shadows. However, an impassionate and closer observation of the performance of both VDIS and IDS does not lead one to this euphoria as both schemes have failed to unearth any significant

portion of the huge volume of black money in the country (see table 2 and 3).

Performance of VDIS

The Voluntary Disclosure of Income Scheme, 1997 was spanned from July1, 1997 to Dec 31, 1997 as per the provisions of the Finance Act, 1997. The declarants were required to pay tax on their disclosed income at the rate of 30 per cent in the case of individuals and 35 per cent in case of companies and firms. The tax dodgers could pay tax on declared income at once or within three months from the date of declaration with a simple interest of 2 per cent. The declarants were exempted from penal rate of the period of evasion, and were assured of confidentiality on all details of their disclosures. Voluntarily disclosed income wouldn't be included in the total income of the declarants for any year. The Central Board of Direct Taxes (CBDT) was assigned the task of operating the scheme through its senior officers. The cut-off date for valuation of disclosed assets was April 1, 1987 for certain type of assets, and for others, the actual date or just an affidavit to support the year of acquisition of such assets in the absence of evidence. The undisclosed income exclusively from exports was excluded from the ambit of VDIS '97. Those undergoing prosecution under TADA, COFEPOSA etc., were debarred from using VDIS '97. To elicit the interest of the State Governments, the scheme envisaged that 77.5 per cent of the tax collections under the scheme would be shared among the States. The government wanted all tax dodgers to make use of VDIS '97 as the last opportunity to regularize their past irregularities, to come out clean of parallel economy and to join the main- stream economy. The VDIS '97 had two main objectives, namely, to create a climate of tax compliance in the place of the culture of non- compliance, to effect attitudinal change in the tax payers and to instil in every Indian a feeling of pride for being a tax payer. Collection of revenue was only

an incidental objective and the entire focus was on potential assesses and not on revenue collection. The Finance ministry, however, regarded that if the scheme could garner 15 per cent of black money in circulation and Rs.4500 crores by way of tax revenue, the scheme would be a success. By this yardstick, the performance of the scheme in terms of the total disclosure of Rs. 33000 crore from 4,66,031declarants and a revenue collection of Rs. 9760 crore with an extremely low cost of 0.27 per cent in the place of the normal 1.35 per cent for collection amounted to a spectacular success of the scheme. The tax revenue yield on the last day of collection, i.e., on December 31 `97 alone (over Rs. 1850 crore) exceeded the gross revenue collected under all previous amnesty schemes. The reasons for this unexpected performance of the scheme may be traced to (1) planning, coordination and hard work of the tax department and the finance ministry,(2) media campaign giving strong message to tax dodgers to come out clean 'now or never',(3) the selective and publicized raid mid-way through the scheme, (4) the data base accumulated by the tax authorities and the fear of the powers of computerized information about evasion, and (5) extremely low cost of legitimizing the illegal assets.

Officials in the finance ministry at that time expressed their expectation of collecting Rs. 4500 corers as tax revenue at 30 per cent rate from the disclosure of at least 15 per cent of black money prevailing in the economy. The official estimate of black money was around Rs. 1,00,000 crore at that time, which constituted eight per cent of the Gross National Product (GNP) in 1996.The officially stated disclosures of Rs. 33,000 corers thus represent 33 per cent of black money, though it amounted to only 2.6 per cent of the country's GNP. The average disclosure per declarants under the scheme worked out to be about Rs. 7.1 lakhs. The performance of VDIS '97 viewed in terms of a large number of declarants, a

huge amount of disclosures, and an unexpected tax revenue tempts anyone to comment on the results as spectacular. However, a closer examination of the details of VDIS '97 does not lead one to this euphoria.

Estimated realistically, the volume of black money in the country was around Rs. 14,00,000 crore considering an addition of Rs. 10,000 crore every year to its corpus and the inclusion of Rs. 4,00,000 crore remaining hidden abroad. This huge unaccounted wealth then constitutes 110 percent of the GNP. Infact, the VDIS '97 disclosure of Rs. 33,000 crore represented less than three per cent of total volume of black money and the total revenue of slightly more than Rs. 10,000 crore at the end represented about two per cent of the potential yield. However, in terms of absolute revenue 1997 Scheme stands fifth in the list of various schemes. As a percentage to GNP at current prices, 1985 scheme with 4.63 percent stands first in the list followed by the schemes of 1975 (2.07 percent), 1951 Scheme (1.00 per cent), 1991(0.83) and 1997(0.79). Table -2 gives an overview of the performance of VDIS '97.

As per VDIS '97, reference date for the valuation of declared assets was April 1. 1987 for jewelry and bullion and the actual date for other assets, or even an affidavit for those assets whose acquisition date was unknown. It is not difficult for a tax dodger to obtain a pre-dated purchase bill for this tax-evaded assets or to prepare an affidavit referring to a convenient date. Since those assets have significantly appreciated during the previous 10 years, the scheme created an unprecedented opportunity for reducing the effective rate of tax far below the announced nominal rate of 30 per cent payable on disclosed income/asset as the real value of disclosures would be about four times the nominal amount of Rs. 33,000 corers. Therefore, the real value of disclosure would be Rs. 1,32,000 crore, and the revenue yield of Rs. 10,500 crore amounts to an effective tax rate of 7.9 per

cent. As a result, the average of disclosed income per declarants is about Rs. 28.3 lakhs; disclosures as portion of black money is 9.5 per cent; and that as portion of GNP is 10.5 per cent. The overwhelming response of the taxpayers and the apparent success of VDIS '97 in terms of tax collections are to a large extent attributable to such an incredibly low rate of effective tax on the actual amounts declared under the scheme. Had the effective tax rate been 30 percent on the current value of disclosed wealth and income, the exchequer would have received Rs. 39,600 corers implying a loss of Rs. 29,100 corers in this respect.

Performance of IDS 2016

The four-month window for unearthing black money under the Income Disclosure Scheme 2016 ended on September 30 after it was opened on June 01, 2016. As per the subsequent announcements by the Finance Minister, an estimated Rs.10,000 crore more would be added to the total figure that could go well beyond Rs.75,000 crore. The scheme was designed with the twin objective of tackling black money and boosting the revenue kitty. It provided a one-time opportunity to black money holders who had not paid full taxes in the past to come clean by declaring their domestic undisclosed income and assets by paying tax plus penalty at the rate of 45 per cent (see table 4). No target for disclosures or collections from the IDS 2016 was set and the government could mop up 45 per cent of Rs. 65,250 crore, i. e., about Rs 29,000 crore as revenue, in taxes and penalties. The CBDT removed the difficulties that had been expressed by those wanting to avail of the scheme, especially with respect to making the tax payment within a short span by agreeing to accept it in three instalments, the last being in September 2017. The declarants have been assured of absolute confidentiality. The income tax and penalties collected under the scheme are proposed to be used for public welfare.

The size of India's parallel economy, if considered to be of the order of 20%-25% of her estimated GDP of about US$ 2.25 trillion in 2016, is equal to Rs. 30 lakh-37 lakh crore at the Dollar-Rupee exchange rate of Rs. 66 per US Dollar. Accordingly, GDP of the country is estimated to be Rs. 148.5 lakh crore in 2016-'17 and volume of black money in the economy at present amounts to range between Rs. 29.7 lakh crore, which is 20% of the GDP and Rs. 37.127 lakh crore, which is 25% of the GDP. As noted before, the size of India's shadow/ parallel/ black money economy is around 25%, compared to the average of 38 per cent in all developing countries and to an Asian average of 28 to 30% of respective country-wide GDPs. The ratio of IDS 2016 disclosures to the volume of the country's black money, therefore, is 0. 02-0.022. It means that IDS 2016 could unearth only around two per cent of the black money in India's economy and the government could mop up revenue about 0.23% (less than a quarter of one per cent) of the current GDP.

Impact of the income disclosure schemes

Since most of the disclosures under the various schemes are in the form of unproductive assets, future potential for income generation and tax collection thereof is almost nil. But the sale of those assets by declarants at market prices can substantially benefit them by way of capital gains and Government's revenue from Capital Gains Tax (CGT) will also be substantial depending upon the volume of assets in the disclosures and the portion of assets sold in the market. If the amounts raised through the sale of declared assets are productively invested by the declarants, it can lead to a cumulative rise in output, employment, income and tax revenue over the years. The unsold assets remaining with the declarants would add to their accounted wealth attracting wealth tax, which would recur every year even at a very low rate and therefore important. A substantial part of the declared income, after the payment of tax, including the capital gains

induced sale proceeds from assets would enter into the economic system providing a surge in liquidity and would be beneficial to the stock market and money market including the banking system, trade and business.

A significant portion of the revenue mobilized through the disclosures schemes of the Center were to be shared among the States leading to the easing of the 'ways and means' obligations. Besides, the Centre could save interest charges, which would otherwise have been incurred on borrowings from open market. If States shares were to be treated as amounts held in suspense, the fiscal deficit might not have increased beyond the target of 4.5 per cent. The huge tax revenue collection of from such disclosures combined with capital gain tax would help the governments to reach the overall revenue receipt and the fiscal deficit targets. Establishing the culture of tax compliance would be a real gain that could be extended for years ahead and enable the expansion of tax base depending on what portion of declarants formed new assesses. Only a little above one percent of population falls in the tax net in India as against the tax base above 50 per cent of population in advanced countries. The envisaged agenda before the CBDT to expand the tax base of certain economic criteria, and eventually on the basis of the quality of living of the people can succeed only with an improved, efficient and corruption free system of tax administration. Amnesty schemes do not remove the lacunae of inefficiency and inability of the system to stop black money generation.

Conclusion

The roots of tax evasion in India may be traced back to the exorbitantly high tax rates of the Nineteen Fifties and Sixties; and the discretionary system of government clearances of the country's controlled economy has a direct link to black money generation. Better tax enforcement rather than economic liberalization per se

can do the job better. Administrative inefficiency in tax enforcement is another major reason for large-evasions. Inefficacious enforcement and corruption in the ranks of taxmen dilute the fear in culprits of being detected and punished for violations. The income generated from smuggling, corruption and real estate and trade has since long been invested and reinvested in further illegal activities.

The underground/parallel economy presently has a life of its own. While non-compliance continues to add to black money, the underground has developed an autonomy that does not require any fresh injections from tax evasions. Therefore, all amnesty schemes will only scratch the surface and administrative action by itself will not dramatically improve tax revenue. The IDS 2016 and VDIS 1997 would not be contextually different from all other past amnesty schemes in India, which could scratch only the tip of an enormous black money iceberg. Further, Tax evasion amnesty schemes violate canons of equity in taxation. Such schemes adversely impact the morale of the honest taxpayers in the country and majority of them are middle class and salaried people. Though we have a slightly progressive system of income tax in the country the frequent announcements of amnesty schemes for the black money holders ultimately strengthens the inequity between different classes of people in the society. Hence the incidence of all amnesty schemes for black money holders are regressive in effect both in the classical and Musgravian sense. Briefly stated, a judicious mix of coercion and cajoling play the trick to overcome reluctance of evaders to come out clean and to haul out the hidden income and wealth of the parallel economy. Even when the theoretical and normative dimensions of amnesty schemes are overlooked, what remains is the fact that such a scheme can at best serve as one of the many measures to convert black into white money.

Table 1- Various Disclosure Schemes, Income Disclosed and Tax Yield

(Rs. Crore)

Sl No	Disclosure Scheme	Year	Income Disclosed	Tax Yield
1	VDS Tyagi Scheme	1951	70.20	11.00
2	National Defense Gold Bonds	1965	18.00	*
3	National Defense Remitt. Scheme	1965	70.00	*
4	Sixty-Forty Scheme	1965	52.18	30.08
5	Block Scheme	1965	145.00	19.45
6	Block Scheme	1976	744.00	241.00
7	Special Bearer Bonds	1981	963.00	*
8	Amnesty Scheme	1985	10,778.00	700.00
9	Foreign Remitt. Scheme	1991	2200.00	*
10	India Development Bonds	1991	4500.00	*
11	National Housing Bank Scheme	1991	60.00	*
12	VDIS '97	1997	33000.00	9760.00
13	IDS 2016	2016	65250.00	29000.00

*Source: FICCI Background Paper on VDIS '97, & Govt. of India, Reports of Ministry of Finance (2016) (*scheme involved no tax payment*)*

Table 2-Performance of the VDIS '97 –An Overview

Sl.No.	Title of Estimates	Official/Nominal Estimates	Actual/Effective Estimates
1	Volume of Black Money in the Economy	Rs. 1,00,000 crore	Rs.14,00,000 crore
2	VDIS '97 Disclosure	Rs. 33,000 crore	Rs. 1,32,000 crore
3	Collection of Revenue	Rs. 10,050 crore	Rs. 10,500 crore
4	Tax rate	30 per cent	7.9 per cent
5	Number of disclosures	4,66,031	4,66,031
6	Average revenue per disclosure	Rs. 7.1 lakhs	Rs. 28.3 lakhs
7	Black money as portion of GNP	8 per cent	110 per cent
8	Disclosure as portion of Black money	33 per cent	9.5 per cent
9	Disclosure as portion of GNP	2.6 per cent	10.5 per cent
9	VDIS '97 revenue as portion of GNP	0.79 per cent	0.82 per cent
10	Ranking of VDIS '97	Second	Fifth
11	Criterion of ranking	Revenue Amount	Revenue as GNP ratio

Table 3-Performance of IDS 2016–An Overview

Sl.No.	Title of Estimates	Official/Nominal Estimates	Actual/Effective Estimates
1	Volume of Black Money in the Economy	Rs. 29,70,000 crore	Rs. 37,12,500 Crore
2	IDS '16 disclosure	Rs 65,250Crore	Rs. 75,000 Crore
3	Collection of revenue	Rs. 29,000 Crore	Rs. 33,750 crore
4	Tax rate	45 percent	45 per cent
5	No of declarations	64,275	64,275
5	Average per declaration	Rs. One Crore	Rs. 1.16 Crore
6	Black money as portion of GNP	20%	25%
7	Disclosure as portion of Black money	2.2%	2%
8	Disclosure as portion of GNP	0.44%	0.51%
9	IDS '16 revenue as portion of GNP	0.19%	0.23%
10	Ranking of IDS '16	First	Sixth
11	Criterion of ranking	Revenue Amount	Revenue/GNP ratio

Table 4 Tax on IDS 2016 Disclosures

Sl No	Tax Particulars	Tax Rate (%)
1	Tax rate on undisclosed income	30.00
2	Add: Krishikalyam Surcharge @ 25% on tax	7.50
3	Add: Penalty @ 25 % on tax	7.50
	Total tax	45.00

Table 5: Economy of India Statistics

GDP Estimates for 2016 (US$)		GDP for 2011-'15 (INR Crore)		
Particulars	Amount	Year	Current Prices	2011-'12
GDP	2,25 trillion (nominal), 8.72 trillion (ppp)	2014-'15	123,83,908	105,13,163
GDP rank	7th (nominal), 3rd (ppp)	2013-'14	112,05,169	98,00,813
GDP growth	7.6% in 2015-'16	2012-'13	98,71,777	91,72,925
GDP per capita	1718 (nominal),6658 (ppp)	2011-'12	87,55,188	87,55,188

Source: Ref. Reports (2017) of IMF, World Bank, and India's Ministry of Statistics & Programme Implementation

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ISDA Journal 27 (3) 2017, pp. 321-331.

CHANGING CONSUMPTION PATTERN OF DIFFERENT MPCE GROUPS IN INDIA

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Abstract

The beginning and the end of all economic activity is consumption. Economic growth of a country depends upon understanding an economy's consumption patterns.The best way to study consumption pattern of Indiais through the NSS household consumer expenditure surveys. Starting from the first round (1950-51) household consumer expenditure is one of the major areas covered by the NSSO. This study makes use of theNSS consumption expenditure data to understand the consumption pattern of different MPCE groups in India.It is found that the different income groups display different trends for different food and non-food items.Further, the study also show that there exits differences in consumption pattern of different MPCE groups in rural and urban India. Variations are also observed in the quantity of various food items consumed by the different MPCE groups in rural and urban sectors.

Keywords : *Consumption pattern, MPCE class , food and non-food, rural and urban*

Indian consumption patterns have shown fluctuating trends over the past three decades, with variations becoming increasingly noticeable across different groups and sub-groups. The Indian scenario is stated to have witnessed a sharp fall in the proportion of expenditure made on food items over this time period, with the decline being common to both urban and rural areas in the nation. Further, the proportion of expenditure made on the non-food items has shown a tremendous increase from 24% to a higher 37.7% for

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the period. However, the expenditure on food has remained higher in rural areas as compared to urban areas. Majority of the people of India depend on the agriculture to earn their livelihood and employment. It is important to follow the pattern and trends of the macroeconomic variables like national income, saving, investment, employment and consumption so that the economic performance can be measured (Sethia, 2013). The living standard of each household can be identified by their consumption patterns.

The Monthly per capita consumer expenditure (MPCE) in India is calculated as the households' 30 days' total consumer expenditure divided by the size of the household. This implies that an individual's MPCE is regarded the same as that of the household to which he belongs to. The National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO) working under the Ministry of Statistics carried out program implementation (MOSPI) schemes can be referred to as good points through which the Indian government has been able to study the patterns and behaviour of the lifestyle expenses of the Indian people (Mor & Setia, 2014). NSSO gathers the data on the basis of different facets of Indian economy by using sample surveys and assist in the policy making and socio-economic planning.

Need for this study

The fastest economic development of India over 1990s is presumed to be the reason for raising the per capita income or expenditure. At the same time, it has made an impact on the patterns of food consumption as observed in the early stages. Taking this in to consideration, the following study would be conducted to analyse the consumption pattern of India with special reference to the NSSO. Per capital monthly expenditure has been divided into two groups as per the food and non-food items.

The food and agricultural company which monitors country-wise regional, global and data based on food production and

consumption of the food stuffs and compares the data with their own nation.

Figure 1 Per capita food consumption of global and regional areas

Region	1964-66	1974-76	1984-86	1997-99	2015	2030
World	2358	2435	2855	2803	2940	3050
Developing Countries	2064	2152	2450	2881	2850	2980
Near East & North Africa	2290	2591	2953	3008	3090	3170
Sub-Saharan Africa	2058	2079	2057	2196	2380	2540
Latin America & the Caribbean	2393	2546	2689	2824	2980	3140
East Asia	1957	2106	2559	2921	3080	3190
South Asia	2017	1986	2205	2403	2700	2900
Industrialized Countries	2947	3066	3206	3380	3440	3500
Transition Countries	3222	3385	3379	2906	3060	3180

Source: (Kumar, 2006)

The above table presents the interregional differences and time trends in terms of energy intake of the world for the last few decades. As per the per capita food consumption presented in the table, it has been observed that the energy intake is high in the developed countries compared to the developing ones.

NSSO has been used by the Indian government to conduct the quinquennial Consumer Expenditure Surveys since the year 1972-73 (27^{th}, 32^{nd}, 38^{th}, 43^{rd}, 50^{th}, 55^{th} and 61^{st} rounds) (NAS, 2007). The surveys conducted by NSSO provide crucial time-series data of the expenditure on both food and non-food items in the different income groups, residence (i.e., rural & urban) and states of the nation.

Research Aim and Objective

The present research aims at examining the consumption patterns of Monthly Per Capita Expenditure (MPCE) groups in India.

The objective is to study the changes in consumption of food and non-food items of different MPCE groups in India based on NSSO data.

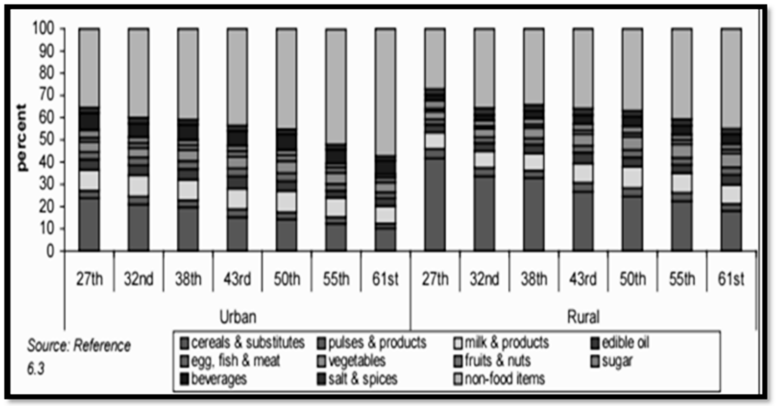
The following section of the study would develop the chosen topic in details by the addition of data collection from different secondary sources like books, articles, journals and websites. The researcher also availed the help of the different statistical survey results of NSSO to conduct the study.

Time trends in the consumer expenditure of India

According to Gupta & Singh (2016), NSSO surveys help in providing the time-series data on the basis of expenditure of the non-food and food items in the different residence (urban and rural), state and groups. Considering the food consumption of the overall year, NSSO reports and computes the level of household consumption of the various food items.

The Indian consumption patterns have shown fluctuating trends over the past three decades, with variations becoming increasingly noticeable across different groups and sub-groups. The expenditure proportion of India has been declining in terms of food items in the rural and urban areas (Gupta & Mishra, 2014). But, on the other hand, it has been analysed that the expenditure on the non-food items is increasing continuously and for the last few decades from 24% to 37.7%.During the period of 1972-73 and 2004-05, the total consumer expenditure of the food share declined from 73% to that of 55% as seen in the rural areas. In the urban areas, the decline has been noticed from 64% to 42%. The decline has been noticed in the use of cereals. The decline may be due to the low quality of cereals and there had been low consumption of cereals in the high-income and middle groups.

Figure 2
Time trends on the various expenditure of food items as per NSSO



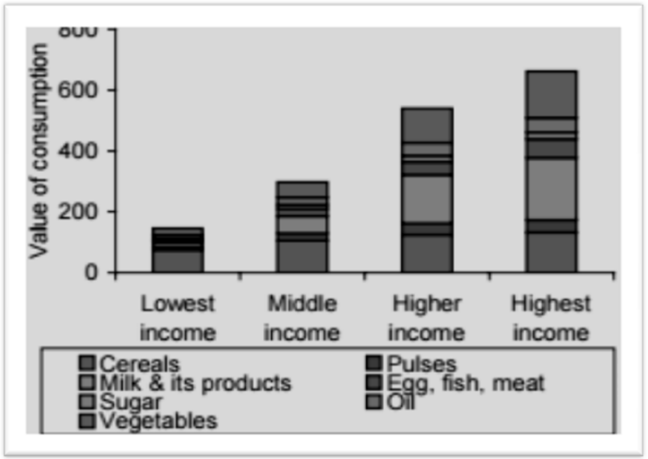
Source: (Gupta & Mishra, 2014)

The above table presents the food consumption level of India while highlighting its decline in the consumption of cereals.

The consumption expenditure as per different income groups

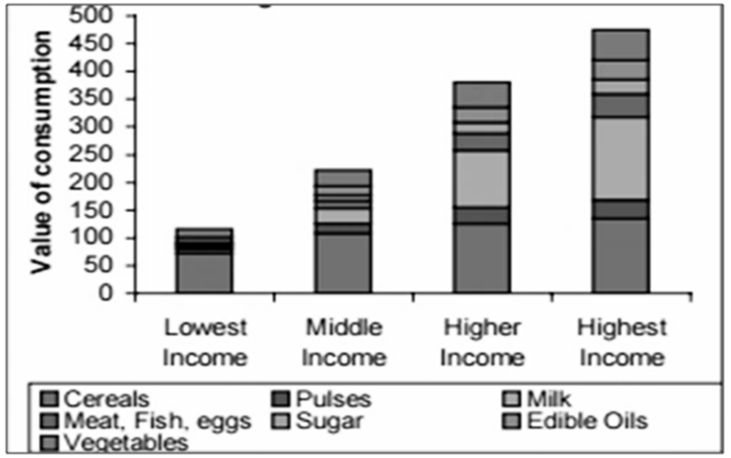
An enhancement of vegetables' intake and dietary diversification is an important sustainable method to improve the nutrient level of the Indian people. As per the NSSO survey results, it has been identified that vegetables are consumed in a low amount due to non-availability of the vegetables and that also at an affordable cost (NAS, 2007). On the other hand, it has been found that the dietary diversification enhances with the increasing income of the family. For instance, the consumption of animal products like milk increases with the increase in household income. In the high-income families, milk is the main source of protein, but, in the low and middle class families, the rate of consumption lowers down.

Figure 3
Consumption of food in urban areas as per income



Source: (NAS, 2007)

Figure 4
Consumption of food in rural areas as per income



Source: (Mor & Setia, 2014)

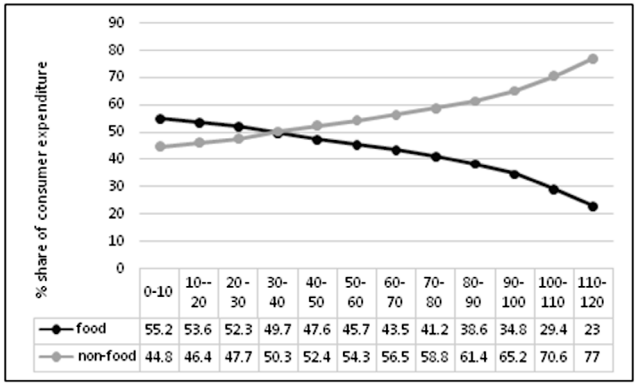
The above figures 3 and figure 4 mention the consumption rate of food of both urban and rural areas according to their sources of

income. It can be analysed that the high-income families consume more food compared to the low income people.

Share of food and non-food in consumer expenditure across fractile classes

Figure 5 shows the shares of food and of non-food across different MPCE class based on MRP method used by NSSO (2011-12) for the rural sector. At the point of intersection of the food and non-food curves, the share of food falls to 50% and beyond that more is spent on non-food than on food. Thus it is clear that persons below the 7th decile (70th percentile) of the MPCE distribution spend more on food than on non-food. While those above the 8th decile spend less on food and more on non-food and those persons falling in the '70-80' percentile class in the rural sector on an average spend equal portions of their budget on food and non-food.

Figure 5
Shares of food and Non-food across different MPCE (MRP) Classes - Rural



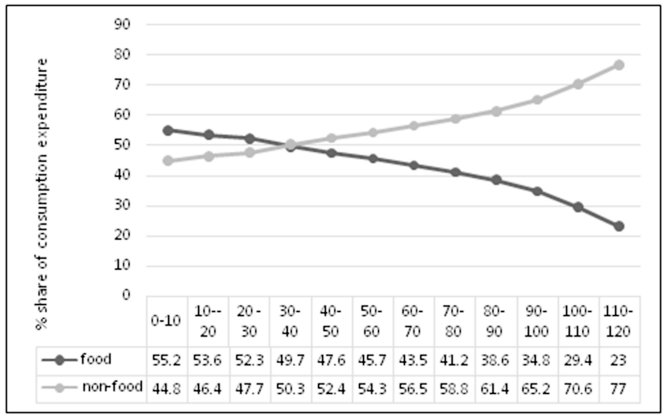
	0-10	10--20	20-30	30-40	40-50	50-60	60-70	70-80	80-90	90-100	100-110	110-120
food	55.2	53.6	52.3	49.7	47.6	45.7	43.5	41.2	38.6	34.8	29.4	23
non-food	44.8	46.4	47.7	50.3	52.4	54.3	56.5	58.8	61.4	65.2	70.6	77

Source : NSS 68th Round

The shares of food and of non-food across different MPCE class based on MRP method used by NSSO (2011-12) for the urban

sector is displayed in figure 6. The share of food falls to 50% at the point of intersection of the food and non-food curves. Thereafter expenditure on non-food rises as compared to food. This shows that in urban sector persons below the 3rddecile (30th percentile) of the MPCE distribution have a higher food consumption expenditure as compared to non-food expenditure. Those persons above the 40th percentile of the MPCE distribution spend less on food and more on non-food in urban sector.

Figure 6
shares of food and non-food across different MPCE (MRP) classes- urban



	0-10	10--20	20-30	30-40	40-50	50-60	60-70	70-80	80-90	90-100	100-110	110-120
food	55.2	53.6	52.3	49.7	47.6	45.7	43.5	41.2	38.6	34.8	29.4	23
non-food	44.8	46.4	47.7	50.3	52.4	54.3	56.5	58.8	61.4	65.2	70.6	77

Source : NSS 68th Round

Conclusion

The recent literature base has strongly presented the claim that the consumer spending on food has declined over the years consistent with the nation's overall economic growth. However, the different income groups display different trends for different food and non-food items. For instance, the expenditure on cereal has largely declined for the overall population of the low and middle

income groups, but the individual results for different MPCE groups showcase different patterns. The NSSO survey results for the years 1972 to 2005 display that the highest income group expenditure on cereals, on the contrary form a relatively low proportion of the total expenditure which has remained stagnant over the last three decades. On the other hand, among the lowest income group there had been drastic rise in the consumption of cereals since there was the prevalence of the PDS system dominant in the region. This has caused the poorer segments of the population also to shift to rice and wheat as their staple food which are the major products available under the PDS System.

Further, there are also variations noted among the rural and urban counterparts and their associated share of the food and non-food items. As given out in the NSSO reports, there is a high level of similarity in the intake of food materials across the rural-urban areas, however, the average urban fat intake is remarkably higher than that of rural intake among all the fractile classes. The difference in per capita fat intake between a rural fractile class and its urban fractile class counterpart is never the same. It is less than 7.5gm among the poor fractile class (bottom 5% of population ranked by MPCE).

On the other hand, regarding the non-food item groups, the urban India accounted for the greater share. The report presented drastic differences across certain categories, such as cereals which showcased an 8% urban share as opposed to a higher 13.8% share in rural areas, rent which displayed 6% share in urban area and a meagre share of 0.5% in the rural area, as well as education which displayed an 8% share in urban and 3.6% in rural.

The Lorenz Ratios as estimated for the period 2011-12 under the NSSO surveys has displayed that the State-sector-level MPCEMMRP distributions for the rural sector ranged from 0.19

to 0.36, while the range as 0.21 to 0.41 for the urban sector (NSSO Report, 2011-12).

Thus, the period from 1993-94 to 2011-12, the real MPCE has been measured using different measures and methods. However, the results have largely explained the same trends as discussed above. For instance, when estimated using the Uniform Reference Period method, the real MPCE is estimated to have grown by about 38% in the rural India, as compared to a higher 51% in the urban India. Further, the measurements by the Mixed Reference Period method, has shown that the real MPCE has grown by about 36.5% for the rural India, while a greater 54% for the urban India over the same time period.

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ISDA Journal 27 (3) 2017, pp. 333-343.

RIGHT TO THE "SMART CITY" QUESTIONING CENTRALIZATION AND DEPOLITICIZATION OF URBAN GOVERNANCE

Piyush Kumar*

Abstract

Smart cities have been pitched as the next big thing in urbanisation and the discourse around "technologically-efficient and sustainable cities" has been endorsed by some of the most powerful technological corporations in the world like IBM, Siemens etc. This essay seeks to unpack this techno-scientific discourse through tracing the genealogical evolution of the idea and how it is intricately related to the neoliberal restructuring of urban landscapes. This restructuring involves a circumvention of democratic decision-making procedures within urban governing bodies and the installation of a centralized digital infrastructure that aims to render every part of the city "visible, readable and recordable". To bring citizens back to the centre of the urban agenda of the future, the essay suggest a revisiting of Lefebvre's concept of "the right to the city" and reformulating it to suit the cities of the "informational age". The essay concludes by situating the Smart Cities Mission of the Government of India within the insights that have been derived.

***Keywords**: smart cities; information technology; urbanisation; right to the city; India*

We live in an increasingly connected world where privacy and security are often privileges rather than rights. The transition of the Internet from Web 1.0 to Web 2.0 and beyond just in a matter of decades is something that has not made its impact on theory quite clear yet. Now, we are facing the prospect of having an "internet

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of everything" where a digital overlay could unify people, things and data. The Internet of Things (IoT) represents the next stage of evolution of systems.

While the evolutionary nature of the concept cannot be overstated(Atzori, et al., 2016, p. 122), it is important to note that systematic conceptualisation and definition of this term began only in the early years of this century, with the particular phrase being coined by Kevin Ashton and David Brock, both of whom were associated with the Auto-ID Center at MIT(Atzori, et al., 2016, p. 123). Simply put, the IoT is nothing but a "seamless connected network system of embedded objects/devices with identifiers in which communication without any human interaction is possible using standard and interoperable communication protocols"(Ministry of Communications and Information Technology, GoI, 2015). Its advent would bring about billions of intelligent systems, involving millions of applications, thereby creating enormous opportunity for the information technology (IT) and electronics industry. The applications range from refrigerators[1] and cars[2], to connecting the physical infrastructure of entire cities. Indeed, while having multiple applications in agriculture and manufacturing, it is with regard to its application in making cities "smarter" that we find its role extremely critical.

In the context of city planning, we have seen the use of vertical ICT solutions to improve city infrastructures. However, it was never possible to track the interactions among the different systems within the city and analyse the data to generate better solutions and enable better monitoring. What Smart Cities do is to put a digital overlay over the existing infrastructure in the city to gather data which would then be analysed in information-gathering end devices. Such a system claims to be better suited to respond to emerging challenges

in urban management and minimise risk, especially in densely populated cities (Macaulay, 2017).

While it is easy to get overwhelmed by the jargon of such techno-scientific and policy discourse, one must not take these concepts for granted. Indeed, we must ask – for whose sake are these technologies designed?(Winner, 1986) And what is it that necessarily makes a city "smart"?(Albino, et al., 2015) Even if there is a formula, is it something that can be replicated across the world without taking into account the "variegated nature of urban planning" (Söderström, et al., 2014)?

There is certainly a politics within this techno-scientific discourse that needs to be unpacked and "repacked". The networked, sentient, "smartified" city becomes the ideal site for such an exercise. In the rest of the paper, I would deal with IoT-enabled urbanization with specific focus on the discourse of "smart cities".I would then like to look at the concept of "right to the city" as formulated by Henri Lefebvre in the context of digitisation of city infrastructure. Then, I would briefly survey the Smart Cities Mission(Ministry of Urban Development, GoI, 2015), launched by the Government of India in 2015 to develop a hundred smart cities across India, to reiterate some of the insights that are received from a critical examination of this techno-scientific discourse. What is of particular interest to scholars of technology studies and critical urban studies is how users/citizens are profiled within these settings- as consumers whose needs can be anticipated and served in real-time. Everything in the smart city is made "visible, readable and recordable"(Crang & Graham, 2007). However, this utopian imaginary is not free from technical risks (Macaulay, 2017)and in terms of its implications on urban governance and participation, raises more questions than it answers.

'Smart cities' agenda: Genesis and dissemination

Cities have become growth engines of entire economies(Hayat, 2016, p. 179). With more and more people globally, flocking to cities in search of a better life, there are enormous challenges to urban governance – the stress on physical infrastructure, provision of urban amenities, regulation of services, being few of them. It is in this context that the need for "smart cities" as a "solution" arises(Söderström, et al., 2014, p. 308).

Smart cities as an idea has a long history in urban studies. Adam Greenfield defines the dominant corporate discourse on smart cities as a return to the high modernism of the 1860-1960 period(Greenfield, 2013). Townsend sees in it a return of the cybernetic urbanism of the 1970s(Townsend, 2013). Some scholars also consider it to be a part of the genealogy of urban theory that traces its origins in organicism (from which systems thinking also emerges) (Sennett, 1994). While traditional organicism viewed body as the model for urban planning, systems theory builds on the computer as the model where the urban totality becomes a large calculating machine instead of a biological entity (Söderström, et al., 2014, p. 313).

Nevertheless, one still cannot define what a "smart city" actually consists of. It means "different things to different people and in different contexts"(Ministry of Urban Development, GoI, 2015) and while the terms "digital", "wired" and "intelligent" have also been used (sometimes interchangeably with "smart"), it is quite clear that they do not mean the same thing(Hollands, 2008). For the purposes of our discussion, we can restrict our focus on the "smart urban agenda" put forward by the central actor of the discourse, which is IBM. While a large number of other players exist (like Cisco or Siemens), it is IBM's "Smarter Cities" campaign[3] which really made the discourse pervasive and influential in the public sphere.

While some have attributed the shift of IBM from a computer manufacturer to an IT consultancy, to internal knowledge management and an outcome of a "cultural crisis of the firm"(McNeill, 2015) , I would like to argue that this discourse is in many ways, intricately related to the global remaking of urban spaces(Brenner, Neil; Theodore, N.;, 2002), with urban governance shifting from managerial to entrepreneurial forms(Harvey, 1989). Increasingly, as the state withdraws from public investment, cities have tried to sell themselves as business-friendly enclaves and "smart" destinations for private investment, devoted to attracting the "smart" workers and committed to "smarter" utilisation of resources(Hollands, 2008, p. 309). The discourse on smart cities provides an ideal platform for municipal governments across the world to pitch such narratives of themselves. What happens in this process is a loss of autonomy in urban governance by deliberative bodies and total centralization of digital infrastructure at the hands of corporations that make local bodies dependent on them for everyday management of the systems. How exactly can urban citizens seek to exercise their rights in a centrally controlled, informational urban landscape?

"Right to the City": Challenges and possibilities in the era of "Smart cities"

"Right to the city" as a concept first appeared in the writings of Henri Lefebvre, the French sociologist, at a time when urban planning was dominated by engineers and architects(Lefebvre, 1972). He conceptualised this right as a "right to shape the city in a way the heart desires"(Shaw & Graham, 2017). For him, there is an *oeuvre* to the city that is produced through the daily labours of the millions residing in it (Ibid.). The right to the city was also thus a right to inhabit the city, to lead an unalienated life not dominated by logics of exchange value, to put it in Marxist terms. This was an explicitly political project that sought a renewal

of access to the core of the city, with a focus on self-management of resources(Shaw & Graham, 2017, p. 4). The aim was to break the cycle of surplus accumulation that led to urban inequalities. Regardless of his affinities with Marxism, Lefebvre deviated from traditional Marxism in the way he did not see the urban processes as inconsequential to capitalist development. He also differed from the traditional sociological approaches, namely the Chicago School, which saw cities as containers of reified social processes (Attoh, 2011, p. 674). To dispense with the "urban problematic" kept alive by forces of capitalism, he also envisioned a complementary "right to information", which he believed would lead to a gradual withering away of the state(Shaw & Graham, 2017, p. 2).

It is surprising, that despite half-a-century since his works were first published and large majorities of urban population having large amounts of information than ever before, urban inequality still persists in scales that are humungous. In his 1974 text, *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre talks about "abstract space" – urban space that is controlled and manipulated by architects and planners for seeking more and more capital accumulation(Shaw & Graham, 2017, p. 3). In the context of sentient cities, the abstract space has another source – digital information. Digital information, like GPS data not only produce representations but also mediate them to create a sentient and digitally-layered urban space. Graham et.al.(in Shaw and Graham 2017, 5) point out how digital information is now crucial in the reproduction of urban space – often reproducing the spatial hierarchies. They also augment spatial experiences. While authors like Townsend and Graham do not draw on Lefebvre, it is quite clear that a Lefebvrian understanding of "abstract space" is essential to understand the power of digital information in reshaping our urban future (Ibid.). Therefore, it is critical that we problem atize the hegemony of centralized information dissemination systems and concatenate "right to information" as envisaged by Lefebvre and

"right to the city", so that we do not see a separation between them.

A case in point is the control over urban spaces exercised by a single corporation – Google. Joe Shaw and Mark Graham in their paper published in 2017 argue how one corporation that has acquired the control over large swaths of "informational territory" in urban spaces needs to be interrogated using the five questions of power that British politician Tony Benn had raised in 2001: "What power have you got?; Where did you get it?; In whose interests do you use it?; To whom are you accountable?; And, how can we get rid of you?" (Benn, 2001) What differentiates Google from the planners and architects of Lefebvre's days is that Google relies much on user feedback in sustaining its urban digital infrastructure: the user is not a consumer but a "prosumer" whose consent is central to the reproduction of flows and circuits of informational capitalism(Shaw & Graham, 2017).

Shaw and Graham, therefore argue that there is a need to interrogate forms of power embedded in digital urban infrastructures in ways which Lefebvre doesn't and couldn't have foreseen. Following Zizek and Swyngedouw (Shaw & Graham, 2017, p. 12), they argue that people must actively shun the use of centralized sources of mediation (like Google) and stop becoming "informational prosumers" who inscribe these data mediators in the real through quantifiable acts. It is important to capture the oeuvre of the city back from these mediators and bring the people and their unalienated desires to the centrality of the urban core. Not only do these mediators exercise control over this urban centrality (masking it through "openness"), they contribute to the reproduction of uneven information-based urban geographies.

So, how do we engage with this in practice? Sassen's ideas of "cityness" becomes relevant in unpacking the dominating logic of sentient cities (Sassen, 2005). "Cityness", for Sassen, is produced

through intersections of the unfamiliar, to create events that are completely new and generate more varied forms of urbanity. With regard to smart cities, this would mean "urbanising" technology, taking it beyond the logic of the programmer or the engineer to mix the knowledge of urban dwellers in the way the urban is experienced. An example that Sassen talks about is that of the app named "Street Bump"[4] developed by the Boston Mayor's office to help drivers inform the local government about the road conditions while they drive. Rather than assume that local governments know little about technology and should outsource this task to a firm, what this demonstrates is that sensible use of technology to address localised issues can go a long way in restructuring the way citizens get to shape the urban forms they occupy. What is also essential, according to Sassen, is that technology should me made visible so that they can be open to communication with people's everyday practices(Sassen, 2011). Complete enactments of the engineer's logic renders many urban systems closed, which limits their potential. The search therefore, becomes of technologies that are incomplete, that leave some room for contextual adaptation and interaction. In fact, such efforts have begun in major cities across the world[5].

Conclusion: Smart Cities in India

While the digital divide in India remains massive[6], what really ails the Smart City Mission as envisioned by the Government of India is the fact that Indian cities are lacking in basic infrastructural necessities[7], which can be attributed to the lack of attention given to urban provisioning since Independence. Post-liberalisation, the Indian state has receded from public provisioning in cities and this space has been hijacked by private companies. As Theodore and Brenner point out(Brenner, Neil; Theodore, N.;, 2002), the neoliberalization of urban spaces is a process that is still on and the entry of the "smart city" agenda into the Indian policy space

is a reflection of that. As G.Sampath argued pointedly in an Op-ed column for *The Hindu* (Sampath, 2016), the large-scale handing over of urban governance to corporate firms represents a subversion of democratic procedures. Nothing makes this more evident than these sections of the Smart City Guidelines (SCG) document:

> "Each Smart City will have a SPV [Special Purpose Vehicle] which will be headed by a full time CEO and have nominees of Central Government, State Government and ULB on its Board…"(Ministry of Urban Development, GoI, 2015, p. 12)
>
> "Delegating the rights and obligations of the municipal council with respect to the Smart City project to the SPV."(Ibid.)
>
> "Delegating the decision making powers available to the ULB under the municipal act/ Government rules to the Chief Executive Officer of the SPV."(Ibid.)

Along with financial control, even the political control of urban bodies is being handed over to private investors. G. Sampath also raises questions about the financing options that urban bodies can seek as per the SCG including financial tools that have been discredited elsewhere. It is obviously not a surprise that such enclaves of "smartness" will only seek smart citizens and worsen the existing inequalities in Indian cities.

What is required is a democratisation of the smart city agenda that should begin with a public audit of all smart city tenders. Not just that, there needs to be greater involvement of citizens' groups in channelling their demands in the way urban infrastructure is developed. While it may not be possible to avoid winds of technological change, it is certainly possible to make it more humane and people-centric.

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ISDA Journal 27 (3) 2017, pp. 345-356.

RUBBER INDUSTRY IN KERALA: AN ANALYTICAL STUDY OF CAPACITY UTILISATION

Adarsh* & Varghese P.K**

Abstract

The performance of Rubber industry in Kerala in the recent times needs serious and in-depthanalysis. It should be capable of evolving viable strategies to make the industry more competent and active. The present study is an earnest effort to meet this requirement by evaluating the capacity utilization status associated with rubber industry in Kerala. The study undertakes a multi-dimensional analysis of the rubber industry's utilization of capacity. It is expected that the results of the study will be useful for the policy makers in formulating strategies to make theindustry proficient and operative.

India is predominantly an agricultural country. Most of its population still depends on agriculture. One of the major problems of Indian economy is, no doubt the high pressure of population on land. It is also a fact that agricultural operations provide only seasonal employment with the result that there is forced idleness (Cherian 2006). Natural rubber, which was identified by the people from very ancient days is regarded as one of the most valued raw material. There are proofs that rubber was used in Ethiopia for making play balls and other items for playing. From Ethiopia a ball game spread to Egypt and then to Lydians to whom Herodotus attributed its invention (Schidrowitz, l954). Although the great bulk of modern supplies of rubber is derived from plantations of Hevea Brasiliensis, rubber is present in a wide variety of trees (RRII, 1950). 'Rubber' is a particular name which is resultant of the ability of a

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material used for rubbing black lead pencil scripts out of paper From 'Rubbing' originated the name 'Rubber'. Joseph Priestly, the British Chemist, is said to have used rubber for this purpose (Schidrowitz, 1952). In 1978 Sir Henry Wickham, defying Brazilian law, removed thousands of seedlings from the Amazon area and planted them in Ceylon. From there the cultivation spread to Southern India and the South East Asian Countries which today hold a virtual monopoly of Natural Rubber (Kulkarni, 1971).

1. Rubber Sector: An Overview

Rubber is considered as a historical plant. Red Indians, the ancient tribe of South of America, called Rubber 'Caoutchoue' which means 'Tree which is crying'. This is because when we cut it off with blade, its normal latex spontaneously oozes out as tear from the tree. Red Indians were ready to use the Rubber tree and latex for their needs in kitchen and day-to-day life. The technique they used to make shoe was to submerge their foot into the latex and then raised their feet up and waited till it dried. After doing it several times; they were able to get a lower shoe. When some of the European travellers left home from South America they had brought with them some rubber collected from the Amozon region, called Para. While they were at home, they discovered that Rubber could erase pencil marks out from paper, Hence, they called it 'Rubber' or 'Para Rubber' and that name was later recognised by the public worldwide.

Whether it is for world economic strategies or for the use of the day today living of the humans, Rubber is playing an important role. As the nation achieves more and more social development, the requirements of the products made from the rubber also increases. In heavy industries for the manufacturing of different kinds of products, natural latex of rubber is used as a raw material. Even in our day today life we are using various kinds of products made

from rubber. From birth to death, rubber becomes a companion of the people in civilized countries of the world. As far as the Rubber cultivation is concerned, Thailand has the largest Rubber plantation in the world. Among the top rubber producing countries of the world, India occupies one of the top ten places.

2. Rubber Industry in Kerala

Kerala, often called God's Own Country, is predominantly an agrarian state. Among the rubber cultivating states in India. Kerala is on the top of the list. Kerala produces good quality natural rubber in India. Virtually, about 90 percent of the total production of natural rubber is accounted for Kerala. But the interesting fact is that the state consumes only nearly 17 percent. The rubber –based industries in Kerala are comparatively of recent origin. Kerala with its industrial backwardness and mounting unemployment rates expects to solve to some extent its problem of unemployment and poverty through rapid industrial development of the state. Rubber –based industries have a vital role to play in the industrial development of Kerala. Because, the state has easily available natural rubber as raw materials. (Aniyan, 2011).

3. The Problem and its Relevance

The performance of Rubber industry in Kerala in recent years need serious attention and deep evaluation. A worthwhile study can be undertaken only through a detailed analysis of Rubber industrial units in Kerala and the outcome will be of extreme importance in articulating strategies to make Rubber industry more efficient and effective. The present study is designed to meet this end by studying the capacity utilization associated with Rubber industry as the subject of investigation. A humble attempt is made by the researcher to find out answers to the following questions. Whether an organization uses its full capacity? If not, what are the reasons

for not utilizing the full capacity? Is there any association between capacity utilization and the nature of ownership? Is there any significant differences between mean ranks of reasons behind not utilizing full capacity? Is there any differences between the nature of ownership and the factors behind not utilizing full capacity? The study undertakes a multi-dimensional investigation of the capacity utilization of the Rubber industry in Kerala. The outcomes of this study are of utmost importance for the government and the policy makers in formulating strategies in this sector.

4. Objectives and Hypotheses

1. To make an overview of Rubber sector.
2. To understand the capacity utilization of the Rubber industry in Kerala.
3. To examine the reasons behind non-utilization of the full capacity of the Rubber industry in the state.

Keeping in view of the above objectives the following hypotheses were formulated and tried to test them by making use of the relevant data.

1. There is no overall statistically significant association between capacity utilization and the nature of ownership.
2. There is no overall statistically significant difference between mean ranks of reasons behind not utilizing full capacity.
3. There is an overall statistically significant difference between mean ranks of the nature of ownership and the reasons behind not utilizing full capacity.

5. Data sources and methodology

The present study is centred on primary data collected from the Rubber industrial units(Sole Proprietor, Firm and Company) from three regions of Kerala i.e., Southern Region, Central Region and Northern Region through interview schedule. The interview

schedules were constructed after consulting the experts in the field of Rubber industry. Based on their suggestion, some items were deleted and some items were modified. The investigator personally administered the interview schedule for the units of Rubber industry. The personal visits were extremely useful in making personal observation and assessment of the views of the personnel of Rubber industry. The responses of the users were, by and large, encouraging. They responded freely in highlighting different aspects regarding capacity utilization.

The sample comprises of two hundred and thirty three Rubber industrial units (233) of the total population (LM) of 590 with the Confidence level =95%, Confidence interval=5%, Level of Significance=5% and the Z value=1.96 (Two Tailed). The territorial spread of the field of investigation is confined to three major regions in the state i.e.: Southern Region (Thiruvananthapuram, Kollam, Pathanamthitta and Alappuzha), Central Region (Kottayam, Idukki, Ernakulum, Trissur, Palakkad and Malappuram), and Northern Region (Kozhikode, Wayanad, Kannur and Kasaragod). From Southern Region, sixty three units (27.0%) are selected and from Central Region one hundred and eighteen units (50.6%) are selected and from Northern Region, fifty two units (22.3%) are selected for the study. Since the exact target figure for Rubber industrial units working in the state are available (590), systematic sampling method is used in the study.

Statistical Techniques Used

The following are the statistical techniques employed for the study:

1. Chi-square Test to analyse the association between capacity utilization and nature of ownership.
2. Friedman Test to analyse the differences between mean ranks of reasons behind not utilizing full capacity.

3. Kruskal Wallis Test to analyse the differences between mean ranks of the nature of ownership and the reasons behind not utilizing full capacity.

6. Results and Discussion

1. Capacity Utilization and Nature of ownership

Cross tabulation and Chi-Square Tests of Capacity Utilization and Nature of ownership can be explained with help of the table below.

Table.1
Capacity Utilization and Nature of ownership

Cross tabulation						
			Ownership			Total
			Sole Proprietor	Firm	Company	
Capacity Utilization	Always	Count	30	19	0	49
		% within Capacity Utilization	61.2%	38.8%	0.0%	100.0%
	sometimes	Count	69	27	27	123
		% within Capacity Utilization	56.1%	22.0%	22.0%	100.0%
	Rarely	Count	22	20	16	58
		% within Capacity Utilization	37.9%	34.5%	27.6%	100.0%
	4.0	Count	0	1	0	1
		% within Capacity Utilization	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	5.0	Count	0	0	2	2
		% within Capacity Utilization	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	121	67	45	233
		% within Capacity Utilization	51.9%	28.8%	19.3%	100.0%

Source: Computed from field Survey

Table 1.1

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	30.563[a]	8	.000
Likelihood Ratio	38.143	8	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	16.247	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	233		
a. 6 cells (40.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .19.			

Source: Computed from field Survey

From the above cross tab table it is clear that, of the total 233 Rubber industrial units, 30 rubber industrial units (61.2%) 'Always' and 69 units (56.1%) 'Sometimes' and 22 units (37.9%) 'Rarely,' run by the Sole proprietor utilizes the full capacity of the organization. At the same time, 19 rubber industrial units (38.8%) 'Always' and 27 units (22.0%) 'Sometimes' and 20 units (34.5%) 'Rarely,' run by the Firm utilizes the full capacity of the organization. Similarly 0 rubber industrial units (0.0%) 'Always' and 27 units (22.0%) 'Sometimes' and 16 units (27.6%) 'Rarely,' run by the Company utilizes the full capacity of the organization.

Now it is imperative to know the association between Capacity Utilization and Nature of ownership, Chi Square test was done. Since the CVTS (Chi-Square test)is 30.563 and P Value is .000, ($P<0.05$), the null hypothesis (Ho) formulated in this regard is rejected for the attribute of Capacity Utilization and Nature of ownership. That means there is an overall statistically significant association between Capacity Utilization and Nature of ownership. This shows that Capacity Utilization and Nature of ownership are dependent to each other.

2. Reasons for not utilizing full capacity

Let us rank the reasons for not utilizing the full capacity of the organization with the help of the table below.

Table-2
Reasons for not utilizing full capacity

Reasons	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Rank
Paucity of raw materials	233	4.648	2.2621	2
Stumpy level of demand	233	4.609	2.2624	3
Dearth of skilled labour	233	4.455	2.4156	6
Marketing Problem	233	4.657	2.2385	1
Difficulty in warehousing	233	4.498	2.3251	5
Scarcity of working capital	233	4.429	2.2620	7
Competition from Private parties	233	4.597	2.2819	4
Lack of Interest by Management	233	4.391	2.2624	8

Source: Computed from field Survey

From the above table it is clear that out of various reasons for not utilizing the full capacity of the organization, most predominant reason is the Marketing problem. The second important reason is the Paucity of raw materials. The third, fourth and fifth reasons are Stumpy level of demand, Competition from Private parties and Difficulty in warehousing. The seventh and eighth reasons are Scarcity of working capital and Lack of interest by management respectively.

3. Friedman Test

Table 2.1
Friedman Test

Ranks	
Reasons	**Mean Rank**
Paucity of raw materials	4.58
Stumpy level of demand	4.58
Dearth of skilled labour	4.34
Marketing Problem	4.61
Difficulty in warehousing	4.47
Scarcity of working capital	4.42
Competition of Private parties	4.60
Lack of Interest by Management	4.42

Source: Computed from field Survey

Table 2.2

Test Statistics[a]	
N	233
Chi-Square	3.111
df	7
Asymp. Sig.	.875
a. Friedman Test	

Source: Computed from field Survey

From the above table let us examine the results of the Friedman Test. If there exists an overall statistically significant difference between mean ranks of reasons behind not utilizing full capacity of the organization is the question to be answered here. Here in the table, since P Value is .875, (P>0.05), the null hypothesis (Ho) formulated in this regard is accepted for the attribute of reasons behind not utilizing full capacity of the organization. That is difference between mean ranks of reasons behind not utilizing full capacity of the organization is not statistically significant.

4. Kruskal Wallis Test

Table - 3
Kruskal Wallis Test

Ranks			
Reasons	**Ownership**	**N**	**Mean Rank**
Paucity of raw materials	Sole Proprietor	121	115.72
	Firm	67	117.16
	Company	45	120.20
	Total	233	
Stumpy level of demand	Sole Proprietor	121	118.15
	Firm	67	114.44
	Company	45	117.71
	Total	233	
Dearth of skilled labour	Sole Proprietor	121	120.65
	Firm	67	129.28
	Company	45	88.90
	Total	**233**	

Marketing Problem	Sole Proprietor	121	112.31
	Firm	67	126.72
	Company	45	115.14
	Total	233	
Difficulty in warehousing	Sole Proprietor	121	114.68
	Firm	67	116.66
	Company	45	123.73
	Total	233	
Scarcity of working capital	Sole Proprietor	121	117.60
	Firm	67	111.66
	Company	45	123.34
	Total	233	
Competition of Private parties	Sole Proprietor	121	116.45
	Firm	67	119.09
	Company	45	115.36
	Total	233	
Lack of Interest by Management	Sole Proprietor	121	114.93
	Firm	67	116.86
	Company	45	122.79
	Total	**233**	

Source: Computed from field Survey

Table 3.1

Test Statistics[a,b]								
	Paucity of raw materials	Stumpy level of demand	Dearth of skilled labour	Marketing Problem	Difficulty in warehousing	Scarcity of working capital	Competition of Private parties	Lack of Interest by Management
Chi-Square	.148	.139	10.577	2.047	.604	.842	.101	.455
df	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Asymp. Sig.	.929	.933	.005	.359	.739	.656	.951	.797
a. Kruskal Wallis Test								
b. Grouping Variable: Ownership								

Source: Computed from field Survey

From the above table let us examine the Kruskal Wallis's Test results. Now it is imperative to know whether the difference between mean ranks of the nature of ownership and the reasons behind not utilizing full capacity is statistically significant or not. Here in the table, in all cases since P Value is greater than 0.05, (P>0.05), the null hypothesis (Ho) formulated in this regard is rejected for the attribute of the nature of ownership and the reasons behind not utilizing full capacity. That means there does not exist statistically significant difference between mean ranks of the nature of ownership and the reasons behind not utilizing full capacity.

7. Conclusion

Three important conclusions can be drawn from the study. (1). Association between Capacity Utilization and Nature of ownership are statistically significant. In other words, capacity utilization and nature of ownership are dependent to each other. (2). Difference between mean ranks of reasons behind not utilizing full capacity of the organization is not statistically significant. (3). Likewise difference between mean ranks of the nature of ownership and the reasons behind not utilizing full capacity of the organization is not statistically significant. The findings of the study are highly relevant in the present context because it undertakes a multi-dimensional analysis of the utilization of capacity of Kerala's Rubber industry. Outcomes of the present study are of utmost importance for the government and the policy makers in formulating strategies to make the Rubber industry in Kerala more efficient and effective.

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ISDA Journal 27 (3) 2017, pp. 357-374.

PERFORMANCE OF THE DEVELOPMENT INDICATORS OF CASHEW INDUSTRY IN INDIA

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Abstract

Cashew Processing Industry is a traditional agro-based industry in India.The cashew processing industry is a major source of livelihood for a large number of people. Cashew processing is a labour intensive industry and more than three lakh people are directly employed , in which 95 percent are women from socially and economically backward communities in rural areas.India is the largest producer and processor of cashew in the world. Kerala is the main processing and exporting centre of cashew. The present paper analyses the performance of cashew industry with respect to the area, production and productivity, export and import in India and Kerala.

Key words: *Agro based industry, Land Reform, Radicalisation, KGS, KSSP*

Cashew plays a vibrant position among the traditional crops like coffee, pepper, cardamom etc. From these traditional crops, cashew stands as a royal crop and it is referred to as 'goldmine of waste land'. Even then the value, importance and popularity of cashew tree,cashew kernel and cashew nut shell liquid are now known throughout the world (Binil, 2004). Cashew, a native of Eastern Brazil is introduced to India by Portuguese. The main cashew growing states are Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Goa and Tamil Nadu.Small quantities are being produced in Tripura, Meghalaya and Madhya Pradesh. The processing and exporting activities are

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concentrated in Kerala followed by Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. Cashew is one of the most valuable and most nutritious, processed kernel in the global commodity markets and has the potential to generate employment and revenue at national and international level (Yadav, 2010).

India is the largest producer and exporter of cashew kernels in the world. Over 65% of the world export of cashew kernels is contributed from India. India's share in the world raw nut production is about 25% (Cashew Bulletin, 2015). In India, cashew cultivation now covers a total area of 700 million hectares of land, producing over 400 million M.T. of raw cashew nuts annually. Cashew cultivation is taken up in small and marginal holdings. As more than 70% of the cashew area is under this category, cashew plays an important role in the development of small and marginal farmers in India. Cashew export is considered as an engine of employment and it provides employment to about one million workers, 95% of whom are rural women from the under privileged sections of the society (Cashew Bulletin, 2015).

Kerala is the main processing and exporting centre of cashew. In Kerala most of the cashew processing factories are located in Kollam district. The industry provides livelihood for about 6-7 lakhs of employees and farmers. In Kollam district alone, there are more than 2.5 lakhs employees directly involved in the industry, which comprises about 10 per cent population of the district, out of which 95 per cent are women workers (Economic Review 2015). Even though the Government of Kerala has incorporated the Kerala State Cashew Development Corporation (KSCDC) and Kerala State Cashew Workers Apex Industrial Co-operative Society (CAPEX) to develop the Cashew industry, the cashew industry and ancillary industries did not grow as per the expectation. In this context, an attempt has been made to analyze the performance of the development

indicators with respect to the area, production, productivity, export and import of cashew industry in India and Kerala.

Objectives and Method of Study

The study is done with two-fold objectives:

(i) To analyse the performance of area, production and productivity of cashew industry in India and Kerala and,

(ii) To analyse the performance of export and import of cashew industry in India and Kerala.

Secondary data has been the main source for conducting the study. Secondary data were collected from Books, Journals, Statistical Reports, various Economic Reviews from the State Planning Board, and various publications of the Cashew Report of Cashew Export Promotion Council of India, Cashew Bulletin, , Directorate of the Cashew nut and Cocoa Development of India,Food and agricultural Organisation. The data collected for the present study spans from 1975-76 to 2014-15 respectively.

Analysis and Discussion

The performance of area, production and productivity of cashew globally and in India and Kerala, the performance of export and import are promptly analysed with the use of secondary data as discussed below:

Performance of Cashew industry: World Scenario

This section deals with the performance of cashew industry in the World with respect to the total area, production and productivity of cashew. The table 1 shows the status of the total area, production and productivity of cashew in the World.

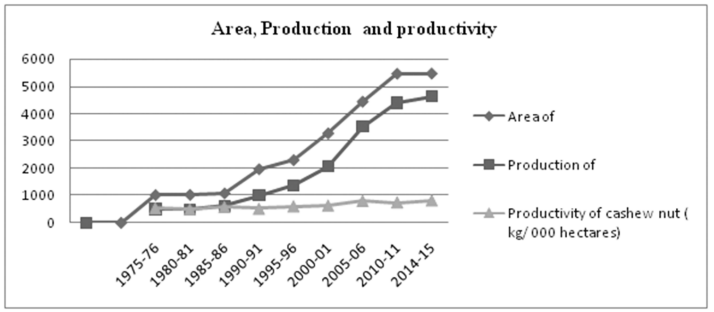
Table: 1 Total area, production and productivity of cashew nut in the world

Year	Area of cultivation of cashew nut (000 hectares)	Production of cashew nut (000 tonnes)	Productivity of cashew nut (kg/ 000 hectares)
1975-76	1018.34	507.53	532
1980-81	1023.97	494.16	483
1985-86	1079.92	617.27	572
1990-91	1964.84	1003.09	510
1995-96	2298.89	1374.45	598
2000-01	3278.67	2065.12	629
2005-06	4442.19	3530.78	795
2010-11	5465.69	4401.03	742
2014-15	5472.46	4632.14	813

Source: Food and Agricultural Organisation Statistics

From the table 1, it is clear that during 1975-76 the total area of cultivation of cashew nut was 1018.34 thousand hectares,the total production of cashew is about 507.53 thousand tonnes and the total productivity of cashew is about 532kg per thousand hectares. In the successive years, the area, production and productivity of cashew shows an increasing trend and it increased to 5472.46 thousand hectares, 4632 thousand tonnes and 813 kg per thousand hectares respectively in 2014-15. Thus it can be inferred that the area increased to 5.37 times compare with 1960-61, production increased to 9.12 times and productivity increased to 1.53 times of cashew nut in the world. Also see figure 1 below:

Figure: 1
Total area,production and productivity of cashew nut in the world



Performance of cashew industry in India

This section deals with the performance of cashew industry in India with respect to the total area, production and productivity of cashew. The table 2 shows the status of the total area, production and productivity of cashew.

Table: 2 Total area,production and productivity of cashew nut in the India

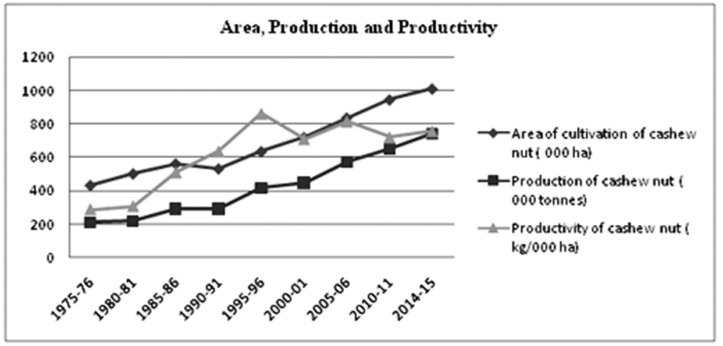
Year	Area of cultivation of cashew nut (000 ha)	Production of cashew nut (000 tonnes)	Productivity of cashew nut (kg/000 ha)
1975-76	432	215	289
1980-81	502	223	308
1985-86	562	295	510
1990-91	532	295	636
1995-96	635	418	862
2000-01	720	450	710
2005-06	837	573	815
2010-11	945	653	720
2014-15	1011	743	756

Source: Cashew Export Promotion Council of India

From the table 2, it is clear that during 1975-76 the total area of cultivation of cashew nut was 432 thousand hectares,the total production of cashew is about 215thousand tonnes and the total productivity of cashew is about 289kg per thousand hectares. In the successive years, the area, production and productivity of cashew shows an increasing trend and it increased to 1011 thousand hectares, 743 thousand tonnes and 756 kg per thousand hectares respectively in 2014-15. Thus it can be inferred that the area increased to 2.34 times compare with 1960-61, production increased to 3.46 times and productivity increased to 2.62 times of cashew nut inIndia. Also see figure 2 below:

Figure: 2

Total area,production and productivity of cashew nut in India



Performance of cashew industry in Kerala

Kerala is the main cashew processing state in India with almost hundred per cent concentrations in Kollam District. As the industry began to grow, the number of processing units increased and the importers began to take speculative position on the commodity. The pioneering efforts taken by some industrialists in Kollam had helped to bring up the Indian cashew industry into global monopoly. In the 1960s the Government of Kerala had brought the Land Reforms Act;

Cashew was taken away from the plantation status while Rubber, Tea, Coffee and Cardamom were given the plantation status. Before the act came into force, existing cashew plantations were converted into rubber plantations. Since Kerala had a monopoly of the cashew crop, the Land Reforms Act and similar acts in other states simultaneously affected the indigenous production of cashew nuts. The scarcity of raw nuts and unfavourable fluctuations in the market, created out aggressive competition among the processors in achieving more export.

According to the Directorate of Cashew and Cocoa, 10 lakh MT of raw nuts are required for the processing and the production is only 4 lakh MT giving rise to a deficit of 6 lakh tonnes, which is met through imports. Now Brazil, Vietnam etc have started processing in a big way leading to lot of problems for exporters in the market with respect to raw cashew procurement from abroad as well as finding the export market. This section deals with the performance of cashew industry in Kerala with respect to the total area, production and productivity of cashew. The table 3 shows the status of the total area, production and productivity of cashew.

Table: 3

Total area, production and productivity of cashew nut in Kerala

Year	Area of cultivation of cashew nut (000 ha)	Production of cashew nut (000 tonnes)	Productivity of cashew nut (kg/000 ha)
1975-76	112.9	107.2	971
1980-81	145.2	117	967
1985-86	154.1	128.9	956
1990-91	155.5	142.1	925
1995-96	118.6	140	1000
2000-01	122	76	765
2005-06	80	67	900
2010-11	78	71	947
2014-15	84.53	80	946

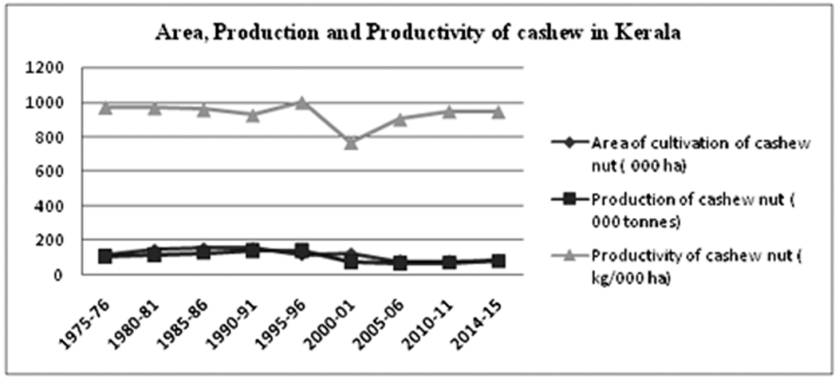
Source: Cashew Export Promotion Council of India

From the table 3, it is clear that during 1975-76 the total area of cultivation of cashew nut was 112.9 thousand hectares, the total production of cashew is about 107.2 thousand tonnes and the total productivity of cashew is about 971 kg per thousand hectares. In the successive years, the area, production and productivity of cashew shows a decreasing trend and it increased to 84.53 thousand hectares, 80 thousand tonnes and 946 kg per thousand hectares respectively in 2014-15. Thus it can be inferred that the area decreased to 0.75 times compare with 1960-61, production decreased to 0.75 times and productivity increased to 0.97 times of cashew nut in India. Also see figure 3 below:

Figure: 3

Total area, production and productivity of cashew nut in Kerala

Performance of Export and Import of cashew in India



The performance of the export and import of cashew nut is one of the important measures used to analyse the overall performance of cashew in India. The table 4 shows the performance of the total export and import of cashew in India.

Table: 4

Export and Import of cashew nut in India

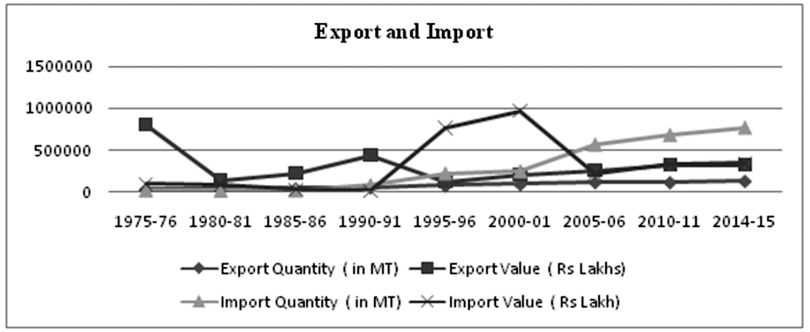
Year	Export		Import	
	Quantity (in MT)	Value (Rs Lakhs)	Quantity (in MT)	Value (Rs Lakh)
1975-76	27084	803672	20496	91633
1980-81	32265	140130	16280	87061
1985-86	37097	225112	21945	24367
1990-91	49874	442239	82639	13400
1995-96	70334	124050	222819	760080
2000-01	89155	204975	249318	960804
2005-06	114143	251486	565400	216295
2010-11	113423	318769	678945	325645
2014-15	128976	324512	765674	339867

Source: Cashew Export Council of India

The table 4 shows the export and import of cashew in India. The export in India was 27084 MTin 1975-76 and its value was Rs. 803672 lakhs and in 1990-91export increased to 49874 MT and its value also increased to Rs. 124050 lakhs. During 2000-01 the export increased to 89155 MT and the value also increased to Rs. 442239 lakhs, in 2005-06 the export was 114143 MT and its value to Rs 251486 lakhs and in2010-11 it decreased to 113423 MT and the value increased to Rs. 318769 lakh because of the increase in price of cashew in the international market. The export of processed cashew kernels in India shows an increasing trend and thereby the foreign exchange also increases. The import of cashew nuts shows more than half increase compared to export. During 1975-76 the import of raw nut was 20496 MT and the value was Rs. 91633 lakh and in 1990-91 it increased to 82639 MT and the value also increased to 13400 lakh, in 2005-06 the import also increased to 565400 and it also increased to 765674 MT in 2014-15 and the

value increased to Rs. 339867 lakh. It can be inferred that the import of raw cashew nut shows an increasing trend. Also see figure 4 below:

Figure 4 Export and Import of cashew nut in India



Performance of Export and Import of Cashew in Kerala

The performance of the export and import of cashew nut is one of the important measures used to analyse the overall performance of cashew in Kerala. Table 5 shows the performance of the total export and import of cashew in Kerala.

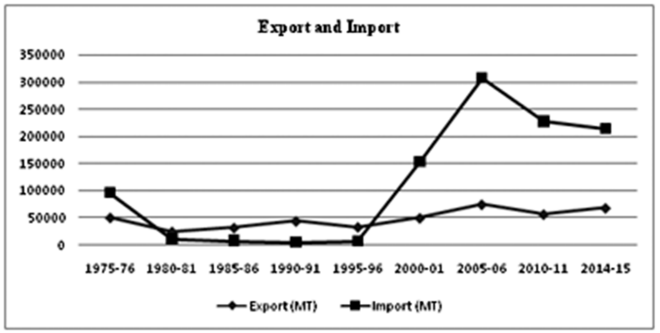
Table: 5
Exports and import of cashew in Kerala (Metric Tonnes)

Year	Export (MT)	Import (MT)
1975-76	50603	96001
1980-81	24754	10632
1985-86	31904	7635
1990-91	44060	4898
1995-96	33254	6292
2000-01	49874	152516
2005-06	74736	306765
2010-11	56578	226741
2014-15	68150	213106

Source: The Cashew Export Promotion Council

The table 5 reveals the total exports earnings of cashew kernels from Kerala during 1975-76 to 2014-15. The total export earnings in 1975-76 were 50603 metric tonnes and in 1995-96 it was only 33254 metric tonnes. It also shows that the total export earnings in 2000-01 were 49874 metric tonnes and in 2014-15 it increased to 68150 metric tonnes about 73 percent increase in export earnings. Thus it can be inferred that in Kerala's cashew kernel export after globalisation shows an increasing trend. The total import in 1975-76 was 96001 metric tonnes and in 1995-96 it was only 6292 metric tonnes. It also shows that the import in 2000-01 was 152516 metric tonnes and in 2014-15 it increased to 213106 metric tonnes about 71 percent increase in total import to Kerala. Thus it can be inferred that the import of raw cashew nut to Kerala is increasing in the successive years because of the insufficient domestic production of cashew. Also see figure 5 below:

Figure: 5 Exports and Import of Cashew in Kerala



Cashew industry as a channel for economic development in India

Cashew sector is providing sustainable employment to more than one million people, mostly rural women and the country is earning well through the export and import of huge volume of raw nuts (Kannan,K.P, 2002). This indicates that there is an ample

space for the development in cashew processing industry in India. In this regard, there is a need to increase the domestic production. Considering the importance of cashew as a major employment provider to rural poor, there is a need for collecting the vast stretches of waste lands into cashew plantations in the country, improvement of the quality of products, processing, marketing and exports for achieving the overall development. Some of the key indicators for upgrading cashew industry as a channel for economic development in India are as follows:

♦ Employment Generation

Cashew industry is an export oriented traditional industry providing employment to more than one lakh people. Any problem in cashew industry will therefore, have its direct impact on a large number of families. Employment is considered to be an important indicator of economic development. In the organised and industrial sectors, employment of women has increased rapidly. Employment is the felt need of the hour in our country. Employment is an effective shield for women to escape from social evils. Employment gives economic status to women and thus paves the way for social status. Employment extends both economic and social status to women..

♦ Local based industry

The cashew industry in India is a highly localised rural industry marked by seasonality in its operation and using highly labour intensive techniques. The benefits of small farmers and workers in the processing sector also vary greatly, depending on the type of cultivation (whether individual smallholders, plantations or encroached forest land) and processing (cooperative, cluster, private and government factories). Both women and men are active at the local level and cashew makes an important contribution to livelihoods in areas which are poorly endowed in natural resources (Sundaravaradarajan, K. R., Rajesh Kumar, K. R. and Vasanthakumar, S.2001).

♦ Agro based industry

Cashew industry uses the raw material 'cashew nut' which is known as primary commodity, directly drawn from nature for the processing of cashew into a finished product. Cashew industry is considered as an important agro based industry in the sense that it uses primary product like cashew for processing (BalaSubramoniam1996).

♦ Women dominated industry

In Indian cashew processing factories, over 95 per cent of the workers are women. The reason behind the dominance of women is the nature of work, low profile of industry and low wage rate compared to the traditional industries. Women employment becomes a basic requisite for upliftment of the women socially and economically. Cashew processing is a labour intensive industry more than three lakh persons are directly employed, of whom 95% are women from socially and economically backward communities in rural areas.

♦ Export oriented industry

The Indian Cashew industry is almost export oriented. Cashew is one of the most important Commercial Crops of India that helps to earn considerable amount of foreign exchange through export of its kernels (Dr. G. Chandrasekaran, M.R Jayakumar2014). During 1999 – 2000, India exported 96,805 metric tonnes of Cashew Kernels valuing Rs.2569 crores and Kerala exported 49874 metric tonnes of cashew kernels valuing Rs. 1152crores. During 2014-15,the export of cashew kernels in India increased to 1,18,952 metric tonnes and simultaneously its value also increased to Rs.5432.85crores and the export of cashew kernels in Kerala increased to 68,150 metric tonnes and simultaneously its value also increased to Rs. 3098.75crores(Economic Review 2015). Thus it reveals that the export of processed kernels both in India and Kerala shows an increasing trend and there by foreign exchange also increases. Presently, in the total world export, India's share in cashew export is 60 per cent.

♦ **Availability of skilled labour**

In the cashew industry most of the workers are skilled labourers. The smooth functioning of the cashew processing mainly depends upon the availability of skilled labour. The skilled labour plays a prominent position in the existence and growth of cashew industries. The extraction of cashew kernels and the formation of final quality oriented output lie in the quality and skill of the cashew workers. One, who enters into the job, will be posted in one of the stages of processing in cashew and he/she can continue the career in a particular stage of cashew processing. Through this process the labourer will be transformed into professionally skilled person in a particular stage of cashew processing. Various training programmes are provided to enhance the skill of labourers in their initial time of joining. The report of minimum wages committee states that the availability of skilled labourer is the major reason for the higher production of cashew in Kerala.

Processes for the revival of Cashew Industry

There is a need to protect the cashew industry in a sustained manner. So the diversified and value oriented policies are inevitable for the rapid development of cashew processing industries. India is the world's leading consumer of cashew. As previously mentioned, uses for cashews are wider in India because in addition to eating flavoured kernels, cashews are used in cooking, confectionary and bakery products. The major prospects of cashew industry chiefly to its revitalization are mentioned as follows:

♦ The major projections in cashew sector are; to break yield barrier of low productivity, ever increasing demand of cashew kernel both at National and International levels, increasing competition with South- East Asian countries, development of site specific technology for better input use efficiency, development

of eco-friendly management strategy for devastating pests, development of cashew by-product based industries, automation with high precision and efficiency in raw cashew nut processing in the scenario of labour shortage etc.

♦ India has opportunities of well developed processing industries with about 15-20 lakh tones of raw nut processing capacity, the quality of Indian cashew kernels have global repute, reasonably good scope of area expansion on degraded lands and in non-traditional areas, increasing domestic demand of cashew kernel etc.

♦ Higher productivity as well as production is the urgent need for all the major producers of cashew across the globe. The scrutiny of cashew productivity data in India over the last few years indicated the stagnation and there is a wide gap existing between the actual and potential yields.

♦ The cashew processing industry plays a significant role in Kerala's rural development in terms of foreign exchange earnings and as an employment provider. Rural development is process of stimulating the development of rural economy via improving the quality of life and economic well being of people.

♦ As one of the major rural and small scale industries like cashew industry in which most of them are women workers from rural marginalised areas in the society. This in turn helps for the overall development of the traditional industries especially for the empowerment of women.

♦ Serious attention is needed to identify the gaps and reorient research and development programmes in cashew industry .In the light of escalating demand for cashew, it is necessary to amalgamate the new opportunities available with the progress of science.

♦ Cashew research and development needs much more attention

for development of varieties with specific economic traits by exploiting the vast genetic resources available, precision farming, understanding of basic metabolic changes during flowering, integrated pest management strategies, expansion of cashew cultivation in non-traditional areas, enhancement of kernel recovery, reversing the declining profitability, cashew diversification, cashew apple based industries, farmer friendly public policies etc.

- The government will have to initiate the policies and programmes for the upliftment of the women workers especially in cashew industry. In the contemporary era of neo liberal mechanisms have to implement the holistic livelihood approach that helps to achieve the parameters of rural development.
- Keeping in view the growing demand for cashew and the probable change in the cashew scenario in years to come and to meet the challenges of attaining self sufficiency in raw cashew nut production, the Vision 2050 for cashew sector has been prepared. In this context, there is an urgent need to address the promising issues and to develop roadmap for achieving high productivity of cashew in accordance to its true potential.

Conclusion

Cashew is one of the most important Commercial Crops that helps to earn considerable amount of foreign exchange through export of its kernels. The problems faced by the cashew industry are distressing chiefly as the lack of innovations to congregate the emerging demands and ineptitude to update systematic and scientific development programmes in cashew sector. Thereby the protective policies and programmes adopted by the government, which reduces the problems in cashew industry and protect it as a dominant position for creating maximum employment opportunities

via attaining women empowerment and rural development in the present globalised scenario.

The important development indicators of cashew processing industry with respect to the area, production, productivity, export and import shows the variation in the position of cashew industry in the global scenario. Compared with the world and India, the area, production and productivity increases but as far as concerned to Kerala these development indicators shows a decreasing trend mainly because of the prior preference given to the remunerative crops like rubber and spices than cashew. Essential steps on the part of Government and other private organizations are needed for the improvement of cashew nut industry in Kerala. The government also decided to implement the five point plans to revitalize the share of cashew industry in the foreign exchange. Cashew provides an important source of income and food security for smallholder producers and for low-income groups, particularly women, who work in the processing sector. Thus there is a need to revive the cashew industry through labour friendly government policies and greater opportunities for to the empowerment of women and rural development.

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ISDA Journal 27 (3) 2017, pp. 375-389.

CLIMATE CHANGE AND WOMEN: SURVIVAL ISSUES IN THE INDIAN CONTEXT

Chandralekha. P* & Jomon Mathew**

Abstract

Globally, climate change affects those people who are dependent on natural resources for their subsistence and who are more vulnerable to the consequences of natural disasters. Since women form a significant portion of the world's deprived and are more dependent on natural resources to meet their ends, they are more exposed to the outcomes of climate change. This paper considers the issues dealt by Indian women in the face of climate change. Several aspects such as impacts on livelihoods, accessibility to water, health impacts and vulnerability to natural disasters have been examined. This paper also looks into innovative methods and suggestions to achieve climate justice and make women significant contributors towards climate change adaptation and mitigation.

Keywords: *Climate change, women, livelihood, water, health, natural disasters*

Climate change is a worldwide phenomenon which affects humanity in significant ways, through natural disasters in the short run and through environmental degradation in the long run. The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC, 1992) describes climate change as a "change of climate which is attributed directly or indirectly to human activity that alters the composition of the global atmosphere and which is in addition to natural climate variability observed over comparable time periods". It accelerates global warming, melting of glaciers,

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inundation of coastlines and erratic rain falls with seasons of deluge and drought. The impact of climate change will be more intensive in developing and least developed countries, and more so for women in such countries (Padhy, Sankar, Panigrahi & Paul, 2015). As Dr. Gro Harlem Brundtland in 2007 remarked, "Poor people are more vulnerable to climate change due to their limited adaptive capacities to a changing environment. Among them, the rural poor, rural women and girls are the most immediately affected. Climate change impacts are not gender neutral" (Narain, 2009).

Women's contribution to national income in developing countries is mainly restricted to the primary sector, which consists of agriculture, cottage industries, animal husbandry etc. Incidentally, the worst effect of climate change is felt in these sectors that are traditionally associated with women. Further, the feminization of agriculture, due to migration of men in search of better economic opportunities, has left them in a deplorable condition. Climate change has also aggravated the impact and incidence of natural hazards. Study shows "While disasters create hardships for everyone, women and children are disproportionately vulnerable. During natural disasters, women and children are 14 times more likely to die than are men"(Soroptimist International of the Americas, 2008). Being the homemaker, any ill effect that falls on a woman will not spare her family either. So when a woman is adversely affected, her family and sequentially the entire society digest the brunt. This paper attempts to shed some light on the issues that an average Indian woman faces while dealing with the changing climate scenario.

Climate Change and Indian Women

Indian women, especially those from the lower strata of society, face higher risks of climate change. Alongside, institutionalized barriers such as lack of property rights, limited access to information, unequal access to resources etc. further aggravate the subaltern status

of women in the traditional Indian society. An analytical inquiry into the impact of climate change on women, therefore, calls for recognition of the fact that it should not be a subtext of a general conformist pattern. The term 'Indian woman' has many conceptual limitations which emerges from difficulties in aggregation. Yet, the gender specific attributes outlined above, should serve as a reasonable backdrop from where we can interpret the findings of this paper.

Impact on Livelihood and Water Availability

Being the main contributors of the primary sector workforce, women get identified as the victims of adverse climate change effects (UNFCCC, 2009).Women constitute nearly 48 percent of self-employed farmers in India. Comparing to 15 million men engaged in dairying and 1.5 million engaged in animal husbandry, women occupy a major share in this area with a contribution of 75 million and 20 million respectively (Ghosh & Ghosh, 2014). Erratic monsoons, harsh weather, floods and droughts severely affect their livelihood opportunities especially in primary sector. Socially impeded land ownership rights, weaker financial stability and lesser access to information further aggravate their suffering. Table below illustrates the category wise distribution of women workers in the labour market. It shows that from 2001 to 2011, the share of women workers as a proportion of total workers has increased by 17.81%. This can also be seen from the fact that the number of female workers have increased in the categories of household industry and other workers by 4.13% and 58.06% respectively whereas, in the case of women cultivators, there has been a decline of 14.10%.The highest increase in women work participation is observed in the category of agricultural labourers. There has been a significant increase of 67.34% in this sector. With so many men migrating to urban centres in search of jobs, women are left behind in the villages to look after their agriculture land. This trend is widely termed as 'feminization

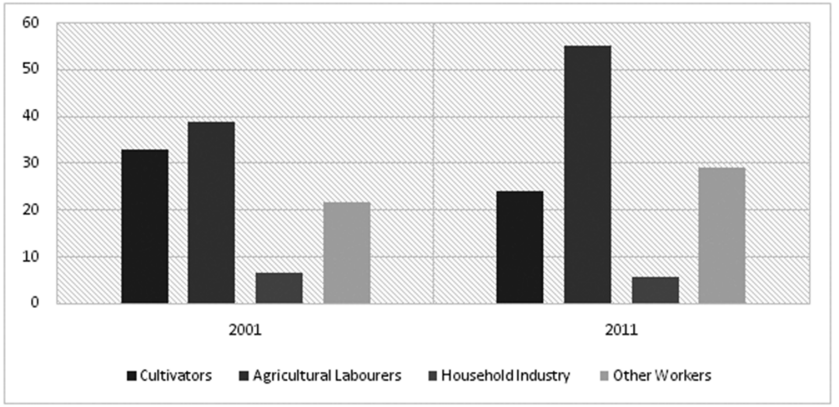
of agriculture' (Swaminathan & Kesavan, 2006). Even though this sounds positive, what is actually happening is that women are left behind in the poverty stricken agricultural land without any transfer of entitlements and thus they are bound to suffer from starvation. The irony is that, although women cater to 80% of agricultural workforce in India, they own only 13% of agricultural land (Nigam, 2013). Hence, it might be more appropriate to describe the phenomenon as 'feminization of poverty'.

Gender-wise Distribution of Workers under Broad Categories - 2001 and 2011 Census of India

Census Year	Male/ Female/ Total	Percentage to Total Workers				
		Cultivators	Agricultural Labourers	Household Industry	Other Workers	Total Workers (In Millions)
2001	Male	31.06	20.85	3.18	44.92	275.01
	Female	32.93	38.87	6.46	21.75	127.22
	Total	31.65	26.38	4.22	37.59	402.23
2011	Male	24.92	18.56	2.95	47.20	331.87
	Female	24.01	55.21	5.71	29.18	149.88
	Total	24.64	29.96	3.81	41.60	481.74

Note: Workers include both main and marginal workers.

Sources: Calculated by author based on Census Reports of 2001 and 2011



Distribution of women workers under broad categories

In the context of water scarcity, rural women bear a disproportionate burden in comparison to men. They often take up at least six trips a day to collect and transport water. Such long and burdensome task leaves them hopeless on their contribution as bread winners of the family**.** In the rural households of Chhattisgarh, women, on an average, walk meters a day to fetch drinking water. Their toll fetches an astounding figure of 82.2 percent of rural household (Choudhary, 2017).Some of the amplified household burdens like long walks for fetching water reduce the school enrolment rate and literacy rate of the girls which eventually lead to their early marriages.

In a curious case in Gujarat it is reported that many parents of to-be brides have called off their daughters' marriage because they did not want their daughters to walk five km a day to fetch drinking water (Parmani, 2013).Such physically tiring efforts makes them under nourished which in turn makes them physically unfit and disease prone. Study shows that climate change induced sea level rise increases the salinity of local freshwater sources due to ingression. This leads women not only in further search of freshwater, but also affects the livelihood of fishing communities (Narain, Ghosh,

Saxena, Parikh & Soni, 2009). This is particularly true for India because of the long coastline of 7517 km. Even though women are the minor contributors towards pollution, they often bear higher burden due to socially imposed backwardness.

Impacts on Health

As per World Health Organisation (WHO) estimates, "By 2050, impacts of climate change on mortality are projected to be greatest in South Asia. Under a base case socioeconomic scenario, we estimate approximately 250 000 additional deaths due to climate change per year between 2030 and 2050" (WHO, 2014). It is foreseen that in many developing countries, food shortage after frequent floods and droughts are likely to cause malnutrition and starvation. Moreover heat wave, drought, flood etc. resulting from climate change have direct health impacts on women.

Recently in West Bengal, it was reported that arsenic contamination of ground water due to climate change induced rain deficiency has resulted in many health problems such as hardening of skin, swollen limbs, lesions etc. as the level of arsenic concentration is above the safe limit of 0.05 milligrams per litre of drinking water, as prescribed by the World Health Organization (The Third Pole, 2016). Further, microbial contamination of this scarce water due to climate change spreads many infectious diseases such as cholera.

Global warming and increased humidity have many indirect effects on women. For example, in many regions in India, rising temperature and relative humidity aggravate transmission of malaria (Bhattacharya, Dhiman, Sharma & Mitra, 2006).Factors affecting climate change such as precipitation, relative humidity and high temperature connected with climate change will further aggravate the transmission and distribution of various vector-borne diseases such malaria, dengue, Japanese encephalitis, chikungunya and filariasis in India (Dhiman, Pahwa & Dash, 2008).

Many rural women in India still depend on firewood as a cooking fuel, exposing them to black carbon emissions, which also add to local and regional warming. Women and children face high exposure burden due to burning of solid fuels in poorly ventilated rural households(Smith, 2000).World Health Organization (WHO) reported that "Around 3 billion people still cook and heat their homes using solid fuels (i.e. wood, crop wastes, charcoal, coal and dung) in open fires and leaky stoves. Most are poor, and live in low- and middle-income countries. Such inefficient cooking fuels and technologies produce high levels of household air pollution with a range of health-damaging pollutants, including small soot particles that penetrate deep into the lungs. In poorly ventilated dwellings, indoor smoke can be 100 times higher than acceptable levels for fine particles. Exposure is particularly high among women and young children, who spend most time near the domestic hearth" (WHO, 2016). About 70% of houses in rural India lack proper air vents which further lead to various respiratory diseases (Sinha, 2012).Even though the direct correlation between climate change and increased health risks is yet to be established, usage of energy efficient fuel and prevention of deforestation will reduce green house gas emissions and it will have positive outcomes on the health of the society.

Lesser accessibility to food and poor menstrual hygiene at time of harsh weather will badly affect women's physical well being and reproductive health. Thus climate change is an indirect cause of increased maternal mortality rate since pregnant women are more vulnerable.

Many stress-related psychiatric disorders are reported to have a direct link with climate disasters. Exposure to life endangering circumstances during disasters could result in post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD).Many environmental disasters are succeeded by migration of people, regionally and internationally. Disasters force

individuals to face emotionally challenging situations such as loss of loved ones and home, often leading to depression particularly for women (Padhy, Sankar, Panigrahi & Paul, 2015).Post disaster, there is a high chance for women to be placed in unsafe shelters, crowded refugee camps etc., posing an increased risk in sexual violence.

Women and Natural Disasters

Weather related disasters are sporadic in nature. Therefore computing precise statistical data regarding incidence of disasters may be a difficult exercise. However, time series data tells us that the probability of natural disasters happening globally, is of an alarming nature. In developing and least developed countries, food scarcity and malnutrition are consequences of natural disasters, of which the former is quantitative and the latter is qualitative. Malnutrition ensuing disaster affects children and women the most, especially breast-feeding and/or pregnant women. Post-disaster scarcity of food, coupled with gender bias further result in additional death of women (Cutter, 2017).A study conducted by the London School of Economics based on 141 natural disasters showed that the mortality of women and men are equal when socio-economic rights are fulfilled for both sexes (Neumayer & Plümper, 2006).

India ranks high among the countries that are most susceptible to natural hazards. Studies show that women constitute more than 50 percentage of casualties due to disasters. Women have been found to be less equipped with technical information regarding occurrences of disaster. The involvement of women in the planning, developing, executing and tracking of emergency and rehabilitation initiatives is quite low (Gokhale, 2008). According to a report by Oxfarm International on the Indian Ocean Tsunami, "The tsunami killed more women than men in the worst affected districts. In Nagapattinam, the worst affected district of Tamil Nadu in South India, government statistics state that 2,406 women died, compared

with 1,883 men. In Cuddalore, the second most affected district, almost three times as many women were killed than men, with 391 female casualties, compared with 146 men. In Devanampattinam village in Cuddalore, for example, 42 women died compared with 21 men. In Pachaankuppam village, the only people to die were women"(Oxfam International, 2005).

There is gender bias in mortality from natural hazards. The handicap inflicted on our women by the society is the main reason behind this partial treatment. The inability to swim or the lower physical capacity of women reduce their chances of survival in the event of a flood or tsunami. Women have to walk longer distances to collect water for their family during a drought, which deteriorates their health, and thus saving their families at the cost of their lives. In the event of a catastrophe, women sacrifice their own lives in order to ensure the safety of their children and relatives.

Inadequate knowledge on emergency management has restricted women's mobility in India .It has also resulted in increased rate of their casualty. Variations in water availability, air quality and food securityhave reduced their ability to respond and recover from natural disasters (Cutter, 2017). Disasters have diminished women's capacity to negotiate. The loss of family, possessions and homes further aggravate gender inequality. Women and girls are always at the risk of being trafficked and forced into prostitution by socially disruptive elements in the aftermath of a disaster. This was found to be a serious facet of gender-specific vulnerability arising out of natural disasters (Swaminathan & Kesavan, 2006).

Findings

Following are the various findings drawn from the study on the adverse impacts of climate change on women in India:

- Climate change induced environmental degradation will adversely

affect agriculture and in turn women's livelihood because they are the major contributors to the sector.

- They face multiple vulnerabilities such as social vulnerability, economic vulnerability, physical vulnerability, cultural vulnerability and educational vulnerability due to climate change. The declined literacy rate among rural agricultural women make them totally ignorant about new cultivation techniques or government schemes which further increases the impact of their suffering.
- Water scarcity and contamination resulting from climate change have a detrimental effect on women's health and well being.
- Climate change events accelerate the spread of diseases such as malaria and cholera to which women and children are more susceptible. Lack of proper sanitation in Indian villages resulting from unavailability of water severely affects their menstrual hygiene and reproductive health.
- Climate change also affects mental health. Vagaries of nature resulting in mass exodus, generally caused women to undergo post-traumatic stress disorder and depression.
- The mortality resulting from natural disasters is more biased towards women. Moreover, they often fall victim to trafficking and sexual harassment post disasters.

Suggestions

Being the reservoir of traditional knowledge and better resource managers, women, through empowerment, can become leaders of climate change mitigation and adaptation (WHO, 2011). Based on the current study, following are a few suggestions to minimize the impact of climate change on women and to ensure their participation in climate change mitigation efforts:

- **Government Initiatives**: In addition to increasing political representation of women, governments at the centre and state

can entitle them with more responsibilities through social initiatives. To make our climate initiatives more women friendly, governments should incorporate women specific clauses in climate change and disaster management policies which will further enhance their capabilities.

- **Role of NGOs**: In semi-arid areas of Gujarat, the Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA) created its Women, Water and Work campaign in 1995 to improve the local water supply systems and reduce the time women spent gathering water by sustaining and protecting traditional water sources through water harvesting, watershed management and repair and maintenance of pipelines and equipment. This successful water campaign has made women more financially independent and provided them with a sustainable livelihood, in turn making them more resilient towards climate change. A similar approach can be adopted in other regions as well.
- **Role of Research Organisations**: Women of Bajeena village in Uttarakhand have played an active role in managing water resources with the support of The Energy and Resources Institute (TERI). It was so successful that the water availability has increased three times. Besides this, communities feel that the inhabitant's knowledge and skill levels in managing water resources have been enhanced due to the capacity building activities. This shows that research can go a long way in alleviating the distress of women.
- **Corporate Social Responsibility:** Hindustan Unilever Ltd. as a part of their Corporate Social Responsibility initiative, has identified that women are indispensable in achieving their three main sustainability efforts: (1) eliminating deforestation, (2) enhancing sustainable agriculture and smallholder farmers, and (3) Upkeeping water sanitation and hygiene. Their initiative,

named as "Shakti Project" has employed nearly 50,000 rural women to sell their products through Self Help Groups aimedat teaching the rural women about the importance of cleanliness, personal hygiene, etc. Such a noble initiative is a good model for other corporate to follow to protect our environment.

- **Role of society**: Society can play a proactive role in climate change adaptation and mitigation efforts. Adoption of water harvesting techniques, use of eco-friendly technologies, and above all, a change in the patriarchal mindset of society is the need of the hour.

In addition to the above suggestions, an international regime for the protection of environmentally displaced people due to climate change must be drafted with special reference to the women community affected. Also, reliable financial support for improved women's participation in climatic change adaptation and mitigation programmes must be ensured.

Conclusion

Literature on climate change has been proliferating in academic circles since the past few decades. However, adequate attention does not seem to have been given to the implications of climate change for dimensions of gender, apart from a few focused studies. Here too, even such studies take an overall view of gender, giving little space for the specificities of the developed, developing and least developed countries. Lack of technical knowledge of an imminent disaster and ignorance about the aftermath of natural calamities are socially determined inadequacies for women, especially in India. These factors compounded by their occupational distribution, make women more than men, vulnerable to natural disasters. Climate change can manifest itself in a variety of forms in the decades to come. It can present itself as transformation of fertile lands to barren ones

and cause pattern- changes in flora and fauna. In the earlier sections of this paper, the statistical reference on predominance of women in primary sector activities, shows the susceptibility of women workers in such an eventuality. Moreover, disasters induced by climate change, impact women primarily in the form of deprivation of basic amenities of life. While a quantitative estimate of this deprivation may be possible, the qualitative degradation may rest in the realm of imagination only. This paper has briefly discussed food scarcity as a probable fall out of a natural calamity. Alongside, malnutrition of women, consequent on food hierarchy, is also cited as a corollary of food shortage. It is pretty well established through empirical studies that women are unknowingly forced to arduous suffering due to many social and cultural handicaps that persist in India. Therefore, mitigation of adversities confronting women in India due to climate change, has to be evaluated against backdrop of the socio -economic milieu of particular feminine populations. It is high time women became entitled with all the resources that a society offers to men. When physical and intellectual entitlements increase, capabilities will also rise in tandem.

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ISDA Journal 27 (3) 2017, pp. 391-406.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR MIGRATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC TRANSITION OF FAMILIES LEFT BEHIND

Sanaz Sadeghibaghdadabadi * & Dr. Jayakumar M.S **

Abstract

This paper investigates the impact of Labour emigration on Socio Economic Transition of Families Left Behind through the migrants' families left behind in Kerala. The findings show that the economic situations and household expenditures of the families of migrants have undergone considerable change after migration but there is development in the household's socio-economic status, education, and family relations. Some of the adverse effects of migration on the migrants' families included increasing loneliness due to the absence of senior male family members, especially by the female respondents. The respondent also stated that the behaviour of the adolescents has become exceptionally rude because of the absence of their father.

Keywords: *Labour Migration, Socio-Economic Transition, Families Left Behind*

Migration i.e. the displacement of people from one place to another is an important component of any civilization in the world; from the time immemorial past to the most ones of the present time. Migration has been a repetitive phenomenon since the beginning of humankind's history. However, its arrangement has altered but remains as the very dominant phenomenon in the worldwide social system. In today's modern world also we see people move

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from developing areas to the developed ones in searching better employment and fortune. "Workers, who migrate consistently, searching and engaging in seasonal temporary employment without becoming citizens of the area in which they work, are called migrant labour" (UNDESA, 2013).

Labour migration from developing countries to the developed countries is a universal phenomenon. Labour migrants are driven by economic differences between countries as workers search to enhance their earnings and economic security by migrating to countries where economic conditions are better than their mother countries. Labour migrants involve undocumented and documented unskilled and semi-skilled workers, and may be temporary contract workers or blue-collar labourers (world migration, 2003). Migration can be for both short term and long term depending upon the kind of job. However, basically, it is the result of seasonal and piece rate work that has emerged because of the certain kind of production technology and the associated organization of production. As a labour-sending country, India is an attractive case study through which to find out emerging labour market characteristics, including skill development systems and the connections of both to the international labour flow. Nowadays, of the estimated 22 million migrants in Arab States of Persian Gulf, approximately 30 per cent are from India. Although the proportion of Indians to total migrants is sizeable in Oman (at around 59 per cent), it is also importantly massive in the Bahrain, United Arab Emirates, Kuwait and Qatar (at 37 per cent in each country). Even in Saudi Arabia, this has the great number of migrants from Indian account for about one sixth of all migrants (UNDESA, 2013).

International labour migration has become an essential part of the Indian economy because of many factors. First, India grabs the largest amount of remittances in the world; in 2015, entire workers'

remittances were estimated at US$71 billion, with about half of all remittances originating in Arab States of Persian Gulf (World Bank, 2014). Second, international labour migration is significant as a means of providing some respite, at least in the small to medium terms, to the condition of over plus labour supply, providing an outlet for the mounting level of youth unemployment in India. Third, international labour migration has many development connections at the macro (national and state) as well as micro (individual and household) levels. Although the economic impacts of labour migration, especially in terms of its contribution to foreign exchange stores, are well recorded, current evidence from particular states in India with a high migration rate, such as Kerala and Andhra Pradesh, represent positive effects of migration on educational achievements and health as well as gender relations, particularly in low to lower-middle-income households (Rajan, 2013; Thimothy & Sasikumar, 2012). Therefore, it certainly affects the individual migrants, his family and the society in general. It's outcomes differ from society to society.

Statement of the Problem

Overseas migration leads to a wide inflow of valuable remittances for the migrants' origin countries and offers an outlet for frustrated unemployed workers who might otherwise cause various difficulties to their families, community and country. As a result, policymakers in many developing areas motivate overseas migration to decrease unemployment at home and earn valuable foreign exchange to stimulate economic improvement. Over recent decades, the number of migrants is rapidly rising throughout the world. The main portion of these migrants belongs to less developed societies.

According to the International Organisation of Migrants (IOM), there were 175 million Overseas migrants in 2000; that is, one out of every 35 people in the world was an Overseas migrant.

While in 1960, the entire international migrants were 76 million. The world population during this period has doubled from 3 billion in 1960 to 6 billion in 2000 with an annual growth of 2.9 % indicating that the growth of the number of migrants is almost the same as the world population is increasing (UNO, 2005). The long-term effect of overseas employment on the households left behind in the source country is an issue, which has increasingly attracted the attention of policy makers and scientists over the last few years. Interest is especially concentrated on socio-economic impacts upon the families of the migrants, patterns of remittances being spent by the migrants' families, which maximise the benefits for the migrants' home countries (Ratha, 2006).

Significance of the Study

It is now completely understood that international migration can have significant results for origin countries as well as destination countries. The direction and volume of these effects, however, are increasingly studied and not yet entirely understood. Since migrant sending countries are usually part of the less developed world, these investigations have special significance because they coincide with the curiosity in economic development more widely (Antman, 2012). One relatively recent feature of research on the effect on origin areas is a concentration on the separation of families that migration so often implies. This may take many shapes, whether it is an entire nuclear family separating from extended family in the origin country or a parent or child migrating alone with dependents left behind.

In some parts of the world, this kind of movement is circular and recurrent, growing questions about the impact of migration on family members left behind and their reliance on the migrant for support. In many parts of India, three out of four families involve a migrant. However, despite the huge scale of migration in absolute

numbers of people involved and India's long history of population and labour migration, labour migration has rarely been reliably studied. Labour migration is complex. Streams vary in origin, destination, duration, and migrant characteristics. Economic and social effects on migrants and their families are different. Migration often includes poor living and working conditions, longer working hours, social isolation and poor access to fundamental amenities. At the receiving countries, migrant labour affects markets, lowering the cost of labour. Migration also affects the labour market in the source country. Migrant earnings influence income, investment patterns and expenditure and changes relations at family and society levels (Srivastava & Sasikumar, 2003).

Objectives of the Study

The main objectives of this paper are to investigate the socio-economic situation of the migrants' families behind left behind in Kerala before and after migration, to find out the socio-economic impacts of the remittances on the families left behind, to present the determinants which promoted the migrants to move, and to look at Overview of the labour flow from India to Arab states of Persian Gulf.

Methodology

This paper is based on a qualitative study of¶12 the migrants' families left behind in Kerala. In this study, Snowball sampling method was used. Primary data were collected through semi-structured interview with migrants' families whose head of the family is working in one of the Arab states of Persian Gulf (Saudi Arabia, Oman, Emirates, Bahrain, Qatar and Kuwait). Secondary data for the study has been compiled from the various journals, reports, publications, books published on or related to the topic.

Review of literature

International migration from developing area to developed area

for work has various dimensional effect on both the origin and the destination countries. Hadi and Kamal (1997) stated that last studies in International migration mainly concentrated on demographic and economic effects while the most important socio-cultural effects of International migration and their left behind families were ignored. They further completed that because of methodological difficulties, the net impact of overseas migration on socio-economic conditions of migrants and their families has not yet completely investigated.

Durand et al., (1996) also studied the socio-economic effects of overseas migration. They stated the same viewpoint as that of Hadi and Kamal (1997) and found a very complex economic impact in the families of International migrants. Comparative analysis of migrant and non-migrant families shows that economic development by the migrants' families is not very much higher than that of non-migrants' families. The members of non-migrant families have increased their formal and informal educational skills and engaged in earning activities, whilst on the other hand, International migrants could not develop their formal and informal skills in the foreign countries and are often engaged in non-technical professions. Evidence from different labour-exporting countries offers that a remarkable proportion of the remittances were used for household consumption, the purchase of land and residential housing. Abella (1992) and Burki (1991), expressed that workers' remittances received from the Middle East have positive economic and social effects on households. Gilani et al., (1981) indicated that most of the remittances in Pakistan were spent on consumption (62%), while 38% of remittances were either invested or saved by the migrant families.

Overview of the labour flow from India to Arab states of Persian Gulf

The importance of Arab states of Persian Gulf) Bahrain, United

Arab, Emirates, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait) as a destination for migrants is evident in the change of total migrant stock, which increased from 8.9 million in 1990 to 22.3 million in 2013 (Table 1), with the share of migrants in the Arab states of the Persian Gulf among the total world migrant stock also rising, from 5.7 per cent in 1990 to 9.7 per cent in 2014.

Table 1. Proportion of South Asian migrants in Gulf Cooperation Council countries, 1990-2014

GCC countries	1990	2000	2010	2014
Bahrain	62.5	63.7	63.4	63.4
Kuwait	62.5	63.6	63.4	63.4
Oman	83.0	80.7	83.1	83.1
Qatar	62.5	63.6	63.4	63.4
Saudi Arabia	41.9	46.3	50.5	50.5
United Arab Emirates	62.7	64.2	64.1	64.1
Total number of migrants in Arab states of Persian Gulf countries	8 856 887	10 549 781	20 758 167	22 357 811

Source: UNDESA, 2014

South Asia continues to be the main source of labour migrants to Arab states of Persian Gulf countries, with nearly two-thirds of the migrant stock in the region of South Asian nationality. Among the South Asian countries, India continues to send the largest number of migrants to Arab states of Persian Gulf (Table 2).

Table 2
Stock of South Asian migrants in the Arab states of Persian Gulf, by country of origin, 1990-2014

Country of origin	Arab states of Persian Gulf			
	1990	2000	2010	2014
Afghanistan	16 690	16 451	26 324	28 320
Bangladesh	832 299	1 147 461	2 922 335	3 147 251
Bhutan	-	-	-	-
India	2 395 693	3 152 719	6 334 374	6 828 957
Maldives	-	-	-	-
Nepal	17 712	17 459	27 939	30 057

Pakistan	1 087 910	1 388 615	2 707 694	2 915 556
Sri Lanka	244 090	196 127	302 826	326 088
Total number of South Asian migrants in GCC countries	459 4394	5 918 832	12 321 492	13 276 229
Total number of migrants in Arab states of Persian Gulf	8 856 887	10 549 781	20 758 167	22 357 811

Note: -denotes data not available. For the case of Nepal, there are wide discrepancies between UNDESA statistics and the national administrative sources; see, for example, Ministry of Labour and Employment: Labour migration for employment: A status report for Nepal 2013/14, www.ilo.org/kathmandu/whatwedo/publications/WCMS_312137/lang--en/index.htm.

Source: UNDESA, 2014.

The number of Indian migrants increased considerably from 1990 through 2014 in all Arab states of Persian Gulf, with the growth the greatest in the United Arab Emirates. Along with the increase in absolute numbers, the proportion of Indians among the migrant population stock also raised in all countries except Saudi Arabia, where a marginal reduce occurred (Table 3).

Women are becoming increasingly visible in the migration from South Asia to the Arab states of Persian Gulf. The total stock of female migrants in Arab states of Persian Gulf has more than doubled in the past two decades, from 2.9 million in 1990 to 5.9 million in 2014 (UNDESA, 2014). Significantly, about half of the female migrants in Arab states of Persian Gulf originated from South Asia. In addition, among the South Asian countries, Sri Lanka has had the most "feminized" labour flows, 2 although recent evidence indicates a growth in the share of migrant women workers from India and Nepal as well to work in low-skilled jobs, like housemaids and cleaners. Somewhat current reports also suggest that an overwhelming majority of these workers are from low-income families and decided to migrate for economic development (IOM, 2010).

In terms of absolute numbers, the Indian women migrant population in Arab states of Persian Gulf enhanced from 2.4 million in 1990 to 6.8 million in 2014, with growth becoming prominent among male and female migrants in all countries. However, the male–female proportion in the total Indian migrant stock remained more or less stable during the past two decades.

Table 3
Stock of Indian migrants in Arab states of Persian Gulf, by sex, 1990 and 2014

Arab states of Persian Gulf	1990				2014			
	Male	Female	Total	Total migrant stock	Male	Female	Total	Total migrant stock
Bahrain	46 828 (77.4)	13 665 (22.6)	60 493 (34.9)	173 200	199 767 (76.0)	63 088 (24.0)	262 855 (36.0)	729 357
Kuwait	380 458 (68.7)	173 123 (31.3)	553 581 (34.9)	1 585 280	541 143 (74.1)	189 415 (25.9)	730 558 (36.0)	2 028 053
Oman	180 878 (85.1)	31 678 (14.9)	212 556 (50.2)	423 572	551 885 (85.6)	92 819 (14.4)	644 704 (58.0)	1 112 032
Qatar	101 233 (78.4)	27 914 (21.6)	129 147 (34.9)	369 816	473 069 (82.0)	103 707 (18.0)	576 776 (36.1)	1 600 955
Saudi Arabia	652 957 (66.5)	328 665 (33.5)	981 622 (19.6)	4 998 445	1 223 522 (69.5)	538 335 (30.6)	1 761 857 (19.5)	9 060 433
United Arab Emirates	353 659 (77.2)	104 635 (22.8)	458 294 (35.1)	1 306 574	2 224 781 (78.0)	627 426 (22.0)	2 852 207 (36.4)	7 826 981

Note: (i) Figures in brackets in relation to the male and female columns indicate the proportion in total flow. (ii) Figures in brackets in the total column indicate the proportion of Indians in total migrant stock in the respective countries.

Source: UNDESA, 2014.

Although there has been a major growth in the stock of Indian female migrants in Arab states of Persian Gulf, the labour flows from India are still male dominated. In some states in India, however, the number of women engaged in overseas migration raised over the past decade. Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra

are the major states of origin for low-skilled women migrating for work in Arab states of Persian Gulf.

For instance, the proportion of women migrants from Kerala increased from 9.3 per cent in 1998 to 14.6 per cent in 2008 (Zachariah & Rajan, 2010). A large percentage of women migrants are domestic workers (Thimothy & Sasikumar, 2012). Another prominent stream of female migration to Arab states of Persian Gulf is that of health care workers, particularly from Kerala (Percot, 2006; Bindulakshmi, 2010). Studies on female labour migration from South Asia to the Gulf region show that their decision (particularly for nurses) is often guided by a desire to eventually migrate to a more preferred destination, such as a Western country (Percot, 2006), and use a GCC country as a stepping stone. Although it is critical to investigate the changes in skill composition of the Indian labour outflows to draft consequential policy responses, lack of published data inhibits required detailed analysis. Based on primary surveys conducted in many of the main labour-sending states in India, certain inferences can be drawn regarding emerging characteristics relating to the skill composition of the Indian labour flows. For example, evidence from the 2011 Kerala Migration Survey indicates that approximately 69 per cent of International migrants had an educational qualification of class 10 or above, while the corresponding rate for the general population was 40.5 per cent (Zachariah & Rajan, 2012).

The survey report also indicated that higher-educated workers have migrated in current years, compared with the earlier situation when International migrants were mostly low educated and low skilled manual workers. A similar trend indicated in Goa, a union territory of India with a high level of overseas migration to Arab states of Persian Gulf. Migrants from Goa have higher levels of education than the general population; for example, 58 per cent

of migrants in 2010 had, at the least, a minimum of a secondary level of education, compared with 28 per cent among the general population (Rajan & Zachariah, 2011).

Because of the restricted information available on labour migration from India, the clearances granted by the Protector General of Emigrants for the Emigration Check Required (ECR) category provide some useful insights. Such clearances are needed for those who have an educational attainment below matriculation and want to go for employment to any of 17 countries designated as destinations for which clearance must be granted by a Protectorate of Emigrants. Even though this special accounting does not fully estimate the labour outflow (because it only captures the number of low educated and low-skilled migrant workers), the data provide a helpful base to understand the wide trends in labour outflows from India and some of its changing characteristics.

Table 4 depicts the labour outflows from India based on major originating states. It is evident from the available data that total outflow raised over the last decade. An overwhelming proportion (nearly 90 per cent) of migrants moves to Arab states of Persian Gulf.

Although the labour outflow originating from fairly poorer states, like Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, increased considerably, the proportion of migrants from fairly prosperous states, like Kerala and Karnataka, declined importantly. Such a transformation could be described either in terms of the characteristics of labour outflow or the prevailing wage rate across the various states.

Although outflows of labour from poorer states are dominated by fairly poor educated workers (and hence need migration clearance and are reflected in the outflow data), an increasing proportion of people migrating from states like Kerala are fairly more educated and thus remain outside the migration clearance requirement and although wage rates, especially for low-skilled workers in states like

Kerala are fairly high, the rates in poorer states, like Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, are much lower. Such a situation may encourage low-skilled and less educated workers in poorer states to consider the option of migrating overseas in hopes of earning greater income.

Table 4
Trends in international labour migration from selected Indian states, 2005–12

State	2005	2010	2012
Andhra Pradesh	48 498 (8.8)	72 220 (11.3)	92 803 (12.4)
Bihar	9 336 (1.7)	60 531 (9.4)	84 078 (11.3)
Karnataka	75 384 (13.7)	17 295 (2.7)	17 960 (2.4)
Kerala	125 075 (22.8)	104 101 (16.2)	98 178 (13.1)
Maharashtra	29 289 (5.3)	18 123 (2.8)	19 259 (2.6)
Punjab	24 088 (4.4)	30 974 (4.8)	37 472 (5.0)
Rajasthan	21 899 (4.0)	47 803 (7.5)	50 295 (6.7)
Tamil Nadu	117 050 (21.3)	84 510 (13.2)	78 185 (10.5)
Uttar Pradesh	22 558 (4.1)	140 826 (22.0)	191 341 (25.6)
West Bengal	5 102 (0.9)	28 900 (4.5)	36 988 (5.0)
All India	548 853	641 356	747 041

Note: Figures in brackets reflect the percentage to total. Figures will not add up to 100 because the table presents migration from selected states. Source: MOIA, 2010 and 2013.

The annual level of recorded low-skilled labour migration to Arab states of Persian Gulf (estimated at 600,000–800,000 workers) is a small proportion of India's labour force (estimated at around 485 million); yet, in comparison with the annual addition to the labour force in the last two decades (at an average of 7 million to 8 million workers per year), the figure for the labour outflow is quite significant and has had a vital role as a safety valve for the labour market. In view of the long-term changes in demographic composition and aging of populations in most of the developed

world and the persisting demand for migrant labour in Arab states of Persian Gulf, overseas migration from India will maintain to be an important instrument for leveraging India's demographic dividend. Having examined the wide features of the overseas labour flows from India to Arab states of Persian Gulf.

Findings and Conclusion

Migration of Indian labour to West Asia, particularly to the oil-exporting Arab states of Persian Gulf began on a wide scale in the mid-1970s. The magnitude of migrants rose quite quickly from 154,418 in 1975 to 1,505,000 in 1991. There were eight countries which accounted for more than 95 per cent of the Indian migrants to West Asia. At first, these countries were Iraq, Bahrain, Oman, Qatar, Kuwait, Libya, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates.

It was found that the size of migrants continued to rise in case of Saudi Arabia, Oman, Qatar, Bahrain and the United Arab Emirates But, in the case of Libya, Iraq, Kuwait, this increase continued only till 1983 and thereafter it started decreasing. In the late 1980s Saudi Arabia, Oman, and the UAE were the major countries, which attracted more than four fifths of the total migrants. This migration to Arab states of Persian Gulf, which is circulatory and temporary in nature, is still continuing from various parts of the country.

The purpose of this research was to study the socio-economic impacts of emigration to Arab states of the Persian Gulf and foreign remittances sent by international migrants on the families left behind in Kerala. According to findings source of their families' incomes was so restricted that they had to migrate to enhance them. The main reasons are clearly economic. Most of the cases stated that earning higher income was the most important motivation for migration of head of the family.

Before and after migration situation concerning economic conditions and household expenditures of the migrants' families indicate remarkable development in the household's economic status (migrants' age, nature of their occupation and education level, before migration economic condition and amount of remittance) on the socio-economic status, education and family relations) were extremely important.

Most of the cases expressed that their house was improved after the migration of their family members. Likewise, children's quality of education had improved to a great extent. Also, most of the cases (migrants' families) got a more central position in the society after migration of their family. The spending patterns out of remittances illustrated that the migrants' families utilized remittances mainly for household consumption and purchase of durable consumer goods. Most of the cases stated that their quality of life had improved considerably after the migration of their family member.

Some of the adverse effects of migration on the migrants' families involved increasing the feeling of loneliness because of the absence of senior male family members, particularly by the female respondents. The respondent also stated that the behaviour of the adolescents has become exceptionally rude because of the absence of their father, who had been the controlling guardian of the family.

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ISDA Journal 27 (3) 2017, pp. 407-418.

DYNAMICS OF 'SHADOW EDUCATION': A STUDY AMONG SCHOOL STUDENTS IN THIRUVANANTHAPURAM

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Abstract

Higher standard of education in Kerala largely depends upon the quality of education provided at the school level. Year after year large numbers of students are enrolled into government, aided and private schools. Along with that the number of private tuition centers providing assistance for the students is on the rise. This article tries to understand the distribution of private tuition system; which is theoretically dubbed as 'shadow education, across different categories of schools in Thiruvananthapuram district', Kerala. The findings support the argument that, tuition system is a perfect replica of the school education. Just like the formal school education system,students from various socio-economic backgrounds are experiencing tuition system differently.

Keywords*: School Education, Private Tutoring, Shadow Education*

Education is a prominent way for human development. To quote Aristotle "the educated differ from the uneducated as much as the living differs from the dead". All developmental changes in the modern World are the result of educated rational mind. Nelson Mandela believes that education is the most powerful weapon that one can use to change the world. Within the formal education system, comprising of school education, vocational education,college education and professional education, school education is the base. School Education has its own importance because it opens the world of knowledge to children. Such an emphasis has however brought

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into being some additional dimensions in education this include the supplementary private tuition system.

The one-to-one tutoring has always been popular. To the ancient Greeks it was a way of provoking philosophical thought while in Elizabethan England wealthy families employed tutors to educate their children in Renaissance refinements. Today private tuition is still in fashion, but the aims are no longer so noble (Hastings, 2005). But, what is this modern private tuition system? The students who are part of the formal education system are having private tutoring by making a payment. The private tuition may be for all academic subjects from regular tuition centers or for specific subjects from special tuition centers or even from home tuitions which focus on both tuition for all subjects and special tuition. It is estimated that around one third of pupils are getting private tutoring throughout the world (Bray, 2009). The 'private supplementary tuition' which covers tutoring for academic subjects is provided by tutors for financial gain and it is additional to the provision of mainstream schooling. Throughout the world the private tuition system has evolved parallel to the mainstream education system. "The private tutoring industry has grown as a third education sector where the public and private schools are the first and second sectors" (Dang, 2008).

Shadow Education

Under the initiative of UNESCO Mark Bray (2003 &2009) has studied extensively about the private tuition system prevailing across the Globe. He defines the private tutoring as "shadow education" (2009). 'It is termed as "shadow" because; private tutoring is a supplementary of mainstream education. It exists only because of the formal education system. The Shape and size of the mainstream education system will change so, do the size and shape of supplementary tutoring. Thus the private tuition system is highly dependent on the mainstream education system. Same syllabus oriented study

is taking place at both. Even though this subject is not a much researched area (especially in India) the existing studies and views shows that it helps the under performers and poor students to get focused on their mainstream lessons. But on the contrary it affects the physical and mental health of pupil. Unlike the other shadows, private tutoring is not a passive entity but may negatively affect the body it imitates. Because, if the tuition system can provide better education to students then the priority will be given to tuition over school education' (Bray, 2003 &2009). In some countries parents, educators and politicians are highly critical of the ways in which private tutoring affects mainstream schooling. This parallel world is widely criticized saying that it gives only a 'half-baked knowledge' (Bharadwaj, 2012).

India and Private Tuition System

As like the global context the condition of private tuition system in India is not so different. Amartya Sen (2009) has criticized the tuition system and proposed for a ban on the private tuition system. He says that, "tutoring makes teachers less responsible and diminishes their central role in education". A survey done by Pratichi Trust in 2009 shows that private tutoring among primary kids in West Bengal has increased from 57% in 2001-2002 to 64%. Amartya Sen(2009) says that India is one of the very few countries in the world in which private tuition is considered to be necessary even at the earlier stages of primary education. He makes it clear that heavy load of curriculum is a major factor for the dependence on shadow education system. He finds a "class related handicap", which means that the education system is running and leading on the basis of a class related hierarchy; which is simply class reproduction. He fears that private tutoring, "makes teachers less responsible and diminishes their central role in education. It makes improvements in schooling arrangements more difficult since the more influential

and better placed families have less at stake in the quality of what is done in the schools."

Kerala, the highly literate state in India has variety of private tuition systems ranging from tuition for all the subjects, special tuition and competitive exam oriented tuition. The parents are highly concerned about the education of their children. They are enthusiastic to provide better tuition for their children. The tuition in Kerala starts from the nursery level. There are specialized tuition centers and home tuitions. This is also a major source of income for the educated unemployed but at the same time the parents and government is paying for the mainstream education.

The Annual Survey of Education Report (ASER), 2007 states that one by fourth of all pupils in elementary school in rural India seek the help of private tuitions to compensate for substandard education provided by Government schools. The Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry of India (ASSOCHAM, 2013) reported that the urban middle class spends one third of its income on private tuition. An elaborate cross regional study done by Sujatha (2014) at – Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Maharashtra and Utter Pradesh shows that more than half (58%) of high school students are receiving tuition. Also the study shows that Kerala has a strong tuition system. The student's receiving tuition at ninth, tenth and higher secondary classes are 43.0%, 71.58% and 55% respectively.

Figure I

Students Receiving Tuition at Rural and Urban areas of India

State	Rural	Urban
Andhra Pradesh	20.7%	38.7%
Kerala	66.5%	70.6%
Maharashtra	29.3%	72.7%
UttarPradesh	32.0%	52.7%
Total	**29.0%**	**64.0%**

N= Rural 1,492; Urban 2,539. (*Source: Sujatha, 2014*)

The tuition system is prevalent more in urban areas than in rural areas. All other states except Kerala have considerable rural-urban difference among students receiving tuition. This shows the presence of tuition system all over Kerala.

Objectives and Methods followed

In this background, this article attempts to look deeper into the dynamics of tuition system in Kerala. As a primary level study the focus is to understand, (i) the socio-economic background of students seeking tuition (ii) the distribution of tuition system among students belonging to different school category (iii) the influence of tuition on parental support, academic and non-academic activities. A high school student who is having private tuition is considered as the unit of study. The students were conveniently selected from three prominent education institutions in Thiruvananthapuram Corporation area. Due to the lack of sampling frame the students having tuition were selected with the help of school authorities. Structured questionnaire is used to collect data from respondents. The study was conducted as part of Post Graduate level Dissertation work. The data was collected during the first month of 2013. The ethical issues constrain the author from revealing the name of the schools.

Analysis and Findings

The selected sample comprise of school going tenth standard students who are getting tuition along with their schooling. The collected data is analyzed and interpreted using SPSS software. Statistical tools were used to statistically prove the relation between variables. The occupation, educational and income status of the student's parents were collected to get an understanding about the socio-economic condition of the respondents. The analysis shows that, 21.3% of respondent's fathers are skilled laborers where as

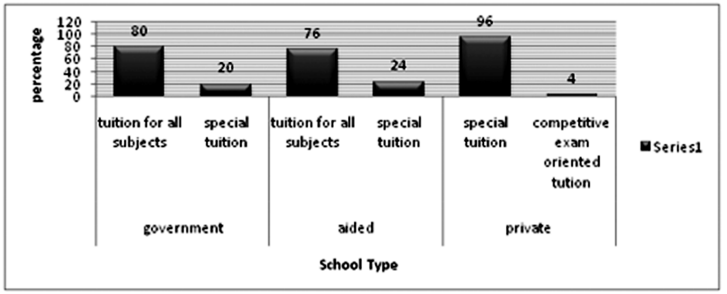
18.7% of student's are unskilled laborers and government servants respectively. Apart from this more than 10% of respondent's fathers are professional employees, private employees and business persons. The sample comprises a small number of school teachers, lecturers and scientists. The employment status of the respondent's mother shows that 56% of mothers are housewives. Only 10.7% of mothers are government employees. The mothers with private jobs come under 10% and all other categories of employed mother comes under 5%.The income level of respondent's father ranges from Rs.500/month to Rs.200000/month with an average amount of Rs.24840/month. More than 15% of the respondent's father has family income of Rs.1000/month. The socio-economic situation of the respondents is highly diverse. Because of this they may have different level of opportunities in life. It is significant to analyze how this diversity is reflected in preferring tuition as a means of supplementary education.

The majority of the students (65%) are opting private tuition for the better understanding of lessons. At the same time 20% of students attend tuition because of parental pressure and 7% due to poor school teaching. It means that more than five students out of twenty five under each school category are forced by their parents in attending tuition classes. This show the importance parents give to tuition system even if they are not financially well off.

Tuition for all subjects and special tuition are the two predominant modes of tuition. Majority of the respondents – 52% have tuition for all subjects, 46.7% has special tuition and only a few have competitive exam oriented tuition. The type of tuition is not equally distributed across different school categories. An analysis across three categories of school show that, private school going students only opt for attending special tuition. Under special tuition more focus is on subjects like mathematics and science.

47.9% of respondents are going for mathematics tuition and much close to it 42.5% of students are having tuition for science. While a small amount of students are having tuition for language and social sciences this shows the importance that students give for subjects like mathematics and science right from their school days.

Figure II
Distribution of Tuition System among School Children



Students are spending around 20-25hours a week for school education. Attending tuition means that more time is consumed. Time spend on tuition ranges from 4:00 hrs to 52:00 hrs in a week, with a mean time of 16:06 hrs. The analysis shows that,the highest frequency of students (8%) spends9.00 hrs, 18:30 hrs and 20:30 hrs for tuition in a week. Just like the tuition system which is diverse in itself, the time it consumes is also different. There is no set pattern of time spend for tuition.

Students having tuition for all subjects are spending more time, with a mean time of 21:27hrs. The time period ranges from a minimum value of 7:00 hrs and maximum 52:30 hrs. For special tuition, the mean time spend is 10:18 hrs along with a minimum and maximum time of 4 hrs and 21 hrs respectively. Thus, as compared to the time spend for tuition for all subjects the time spend for special tuition is low.

Amidst the school schedule and tuition schedule students have to find time for personal studies. The government and aided sector students spend an average time of 13:30hrs in a week for their personnel studies but at the same time it is 20:22 hrs for a private school student. In government and aided sector maximum times spend for personal studies is 14 hrs and minimum is 6 to 7 hrs. But at the same time21 hrs is the minimum time and 12 hrs is the minimum among private sector school students. Thus a clear difference in the time spends for personal studies are there among the student of various types of schools.

The major factor behind the difference in time used for personal studies is that the government and aided school students are spending a lot of time for tuition than the private school students. It may be argued that through tuition the government and aided school students are studying at tuition centers. But, the time spends for the personal studies are less to a great extent as compared to that of the private school students. Pearson's correlation test is conducted to statistically prove the relation between time spend for tuition and time spend for personal studies. The Pearson's correlation value is -.248 and the p value is 0.032, since the $p < 0.05$ the relationship is statistically significant at a scale of 0.05. The correlation is negative which means that as the time spend for tuition increases the time spend for personnel studies decreases.

There is an economic factor involved in tuition system. Analysis shows that 25.3% students spend Rs.601-800/month as tuition fee. While 22.7% spend Rs.801-1000/month as tuition fee with 10.7% of students spend around 401-600 and 1401-1600. There is a minimum range of Rs.200-400/month and to a maximum of 2401-2600/month. The money spends for tuition is diverse. Analysis on money spends for different type of tuition will clarify which type of tuition is more expensive. The mean amount spend as tuition fee

under the 'tuition for all subjects' category is between Rs.601-800/month. On the other hand the average fee spent for special tuition is Rs.1401-2000/month. The analysis shows that the money spends for special tuition is much higher than the money spend for tuition for all the subjects. This reveals the contrasting fact that, even if the time spends for special tuition is less the money spends is higher.

It is presented earlier that the economic status of the private school students is higher as compared to others. The private school students are going for special tuition and the money spend for special tuition is high as compared to that of the money spend for tuition for all subjects. With all the favorable conditions students from better socio-economic backgrounds are acquiring better education.

In this background it is worth to look into the student's attitude towards the tuition system. The 46% of government school students and aided school students states that they are getting more care and consideration in academics from tuition system. At the same time there is a closer 41 % who feel both school and tuition are supporting them. Things are different for the private school students. 57% of the private school students feel that they are getting more care and consideration from school. This attitude towards school may be of the fact that they spend a short period of time for tuition as compared to students belonging to other two school categories. This provides opportunity for private school students to find more time at school which makes them more attached to the school.

Student life is not constrained to academics alone. Tight school-tuition schedule is found as a major obstacle for students getting engaged in leisure activities. Around 30% of the students feel affected by the school-tuition time for taking part in extra-curricular activities. Also a few students face pressure from parents to engage in extra-curricular activities. More than 45% of students are getting

parental help in their studies. But around 65% of the total students feel it is not an alternative to the tuition system.

Finally, the majority 69%) of students in all the three categories has no doubt in saying that tuition is necessary for their studies. The quality of assistance provided by tuition system may also be a factor in deciding student's attitude. But, it is not considered under the set objectives.

Conclusion

"Shadow education" is a complex phenomenon. Students of different categories experience this practice at different levels. Majority of the students of government and aided schools are having tuition for all subjects while the private school students have only special tuition. The students of private schools are getting both schooling and private tuition of better quality than the other categories. Students receiving tuition for all subjects have to spend more time at tuition centers. These students spend similar time both at school and tuition centers. Ultimately, the tuition centers are becoming a "second school" for them. It will affect to a great extent the time reserved for personal studies of these students. For scoring high marks the students are getting tips and shortcut methods from both school and tuition. A major part of the respondents are making use of the lessons taught at tuition for school works. Majority of the students are giving equal priority to main stream schooling and tuition in their academics.

The study clearly shows that the private supplementary tuition system is a shadow of the mainstream education sector. But it reflects the mainstream education only in the academic aspects. For the students from low socio-economic backgrounds, private tuition system acts as a helping hand. The private tuition is giving guidance to these students. Since this special tuition demands additional fee

it is a burden for the poor households. For the students of higher class category, spending a lot of money for special tuition is not at all a burden. With all favorable conditions the economically well off families are not only providing better schooling but also providing tuition of a different quality. This makes the private school going students more competent. Like the formal education, which is categorized differently as Private, Aided and Government, the tuition system experienced by students is different across the school categories.

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ISDA Journal 27 (3) 2017, pp. 419-438.

EFFECTIVENESS OF ARTICLE 262 IN RESOLVING INTER-STATE WATER DISPUTES IN INDIA: AN APPRAISAL

Vincent Joy N.S *

Abstract

The co-operative mechanism for settlement of inter-state water disputes enshrined in Article 262 is the theme of the paper. There is need for a comprehensive relook at the working of the present mechanism keeping in view of the intention of Constitution Framers behind Article 262. It is a reality that the operational part of the mechanism has failed to imbibe the modern requirements and the democratic spaces in federal structural relations. To find a political settlement of the dispute in the federal relations, the Inter-State Council (ISC) constitutionally ordained body should be activated. A comprehensive national law on water is essential in the place of present ISWD Act and the River Boards Act. The paper keenly analyses the situation and suggests viable solutions.

Key Words: *ISWD, ISC, Inter -State disputes, River Boards etc.*

The life, prosperity, civilizations, and the sustainability of all forms of life revolve around water (Black & Talbot, 2005:1). This makes water supremely precious in India. The major Indian rivers are Inter-State in character (out of 18, 16 rivers cross the boundaries of more than one State). India being a federation of 29 units, conflicts and competition for sharing river water is quite natural. The States were reorganized in 1956 on linguistic criteria disregarding economic and developmental aspects which gradually increased the number of water disputes. Increase in developmental needs, agricultural purposes, demands for drinking and generation of electricity and imbalance in accessibility lead the States into

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disputes. The dependence on false principles for settling water disputes, misinformation on scientific aspects of evaporation rate, flow rate, environmental protection, the imbalance in water sharing etc made resolution of water disputes impossible. Recently disputes surrounding water have been a hot subject for vote bank politics in the hands of leaders with parochial interest and the disputes turned increasingly contentious, creating serious law and order problems. To find a solution in the framework of a federation is a major challenge for administrators and the policy makers. The need for review emerged along with the rise of unsettled disputes pending before the tribunals despite Supreme Court directions, elaborative judicial proceedings and sufficient legal and administrative apparatus.

An inter-state river passes through a number of states and no single riparian state can claim exclusive ownership on it. Parliament wields legislative power over such rivers as no state can claim legislative power beyond its territory (Jain.M.P. 2004:825). The words of H. M. Seervai is worth quoting "In respect of the waters of an inter-state river no state can effectively legislate for the beneficial use of such waters, first because its legislative power does not extend beyond the territories of the State; secondly, because the quantum of water available to each of the States is dependent upon the equitable share of other states and thirdly, a dispute about the waters of an inter-state river can arise from any actual or proposed legislation of a State" (Seervai.H.M. 1983:1009) Therefore, inter-state river water disputes were included in the specific provision of Article 262 of the Constitution. The rivers confined to a State are its exclusive property and excluded from the purview of Article 262 (Sadasivan S.N. 2003).

The problems relating to inter-state river disputes are; the issues relating to the sharing of an inter-state stream by different units; problems in apportioning costs and benefits of a joint project of

States; compensation span to a State prejudicially affected by another State's project; disputes relating to interpretation of agreements and complaints regarding excess withdrawals by States (Ramana. 1992,p12) Moreover, the disputant states are also placing the issues like the demand of the creation of new tribunals, the implementation of interim orders, the sanction of new projects, the implementation of awards; restrain a state from engaging in doing something against their interest, clarifications on the final awards of the tribunal etc before the Supreme Court of India. Each state in India follows its own preferential laws for settling the disputes. No uniform approach in laws has evolved, and hence the settlement of disputes becomes difficult.

Constitutional Provisions

The constitutional provisions related to water are (a) Entry 56 in the Union list (b) Entry 17 in the State list (c) Entry 20 in the Concurrent list and (d) Article 262. In the Concurrent List, direct mention of water is absent, but Entry 20 "Economic and Social Planning" covers 'water as an important ingredient in social planning and development'. Large scale development projects require central clearance and financial assistance. This gives the Central Government the opportunity to operate indirectly on entry 20 lists III. (Iyer, EPW, 1994)

The present arrangement for resolving inter-state water disputes has its root in Government of India Act of 1935. In the adjudication of complaints on sharing of water (use, control and distribution), the jurisdiction of federal court was barred as per section 131 of the Act(ARC Study Team Report 1968, Vol.1) Article 242 A in the draft constitution came up for discussion on Constituent Assembly on 9th September 1949. Though the discussion on the above provisions was very limited in nature, an analysis of the discussions reveals that the framers had anticipated conflicts in the sharing and controlling

of inter-state waters and the need for a separate mechanism to deal with such disputes. Accordingly, the present Article 262 of the Constitution was adopted by the Constituent Assembly.

This Article empowers the parliament to exempt the adjudication of any disputes or complaints with respect to the use, distribution or control of the water of any inter-state river or river valley, from the jurisdiction of Supreme Court or any other Court and provide for the adjudication of such disputes by any other authority and in any manner provided by the parliament. In exercising the power conferred under clause (2) of the Article, the jurisdiction of all courts including the Supreme Court has been barred.

Statutory Provisions

In 1956, the Parliament enacted two laws viz., (1) The River Boards Act of 1956 and Inter-State Water Disputes Act of 1956. The River Boards Act of 1956 provides for the establishment of river boards for the purpose of regulation and development of inter-state River and river valley by the Central Government. A Board is appointed after consulting interested state governments regarding the Board, its members and its function. The functions of such a board may be

(a) to advice governments on matters concerning the regulation or development of a specified river or river valley

(b) To advise them to resolve conflicts by co-ordination.

(c) to prepare schemes for regulating or developing inter-state river or river valley;

(d) to allocate among the governments the costs to execute any such scheme

(e) to watch the progress of the measures undertaken by the governments

(f) Any other matter supplementary to the above (Jain, 2004,p836).

The most important features of the second legislation ISDW Act are: a request from the State Government to the Central Government, for the reference of a dispute to a tribunal for arbitration; reference by the Central Government to such a Tribunal, if in its opinion the dispute cannot be settled by negotiation; the constitution of a tribunal consisting of a judge of Supreme Court or a High Court nominated in this behalf by the Chief Justice of India; the competence of the tribunal to appoint assessors to advice it; the finality of the award by the Tribunal and the exclusion of the jurisdiction of the Court – once a dispute is referred to the tribunal (ARC Study Team Report, 1968:353).

The river boards created so far were only with advisory powers. The ISWD Act emphasized negotiated settlement for river water disputes with the Central Government as initiator. In case negotiation fails, a Tribunal can be constituted under this Act to adjudicate the dispute. In the working of ISWD Act, it has not been credited much with success. In the cases, like sharing of the Cauvery water and of the Vansadhara River, the Supreme Court was forced to intervene many times for the implementation of Tribunal's awards and disputes still continue.

India's experience in the settlement of disputes

The ISWD Act of 1956 provided for the machinery for settlement of disputes where negotiations fail; but it permits considerable amount of discretion by following different paths for the settlement of disputes. The Government of India has to take initiative to settle the dispute by negotiation. It has the consent of contending parties and leaves no bitterness (ARC Report 1969:43). However, when negotiations fail to produce any result, the issue has to be settled by an impartial adjudication. Negotiation to adjudication is not a straight jump. The Act requires that the Central Government has to satisfy that a negotiated settlement is

not possible before setting up a tribunal. However, the routes of negotiation, mediation and conciliation are open and can be tried either before or even alongside, recourse to adjudication.

The success of the constitutional mechanism for resolving inter-state river disputes has to be assessed on the basis of it's working since independence. The government of India has set up eight inter -state water disputes tribunals so far. The Godavari water dispute tribunal headed by Justice Bachawat to adjudicate disputes between Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Karnataka and the Narmada Tribunal between Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Rajasthan were constituted in1969. In both the cases the disputants showed the spirit of accommodation to bilateral or multilateral agreements on several points of disputes.

For apportioning the Krishna River water between Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka separate Krishna Water Tribunal was constituted with Justice Bachawat as chairman and other members of the Godavari Tribunal as members in 1969. The Tribunal gave its final award in 1976. (Justice Bachawat and his team worked as Krishna Water Dispute Tribunal and Godavari Tribunal which were two separate Tribunals) However in 1997 Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka filed separate suits before the Supreme Court with regard to the use of Krishna water. In 2003 the Union Government constituted the II Krishna Tribunal with Justice Brijesh Kumar as chairman. The 2010 Tribunal award permitted for the increase in the height of the Almatti Dam and creation of Krishna Water Decision Implementation Board. Meanwhile, Karnataka and newly formed states Telungana and Andhra Pradesh, have filed petitions in the Supreme Court, to review the award.

To adjudicate the dispute of Cauvery River water between Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Pondicherry, the Cauvery water dispute tribunal was constituted in 1990 on the direction

of the Supreme Court and proclaimed the award after 17 years of proceedings. The Tamil Nadu Government has welcomed the decision but the States Karnataka and Kerala expressed their dissatisfaction on the final award. The States Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu filed appeals against the final order and the Supreme Court held that the appeals are maintainable. The case is pending before the SC. (Firstpost, e book, 2017). The main contenders in the Ravi-Beas water dispute were two agricultural states Punjab and Haryana. The dispute predates a half century, still continues unresolved. The Punjab's opposition to the construction of Sutlej-Yamuna Link (SYL) canal led Punjab legislative Assembly to pass a unanimous resolution terminating all past water sharing agreements and accords with other States in 2004. This Bill came before the Supreme Court with the presidential reference. The SC invalidated the Bill and ruled that Punjab should share Ravi-Beas waters with Haryana and other states and abide by its two judgments for completion of Sutlej- Yamuna Link (SYL) canal. (The Hindu, 10 November 2016).Two new tribunals were constituted to adjudicate disputes on Vansadhara and Mandovi rivers. In the Vansadhara river dispute between Odisha and Andhra Pradesh, the Tribunal allowed Andhra Pradesh to construct Side Channel. The Odisha government filed a special leave petition in 2014 which is pending before the Supreme Court.(wrmin.nic.in/forms/list.aspx?lid =369) The adjudication of dispute relating to Mandovi River between three basin States Goa, Karnataka and Maharashtra is still pending before the Tribunal which was constituted in 2010. (wrmin.nic.in/forms/ list.aspx?lid =370)

An Evaluation

The working experiences of the tribunals in settling water disputes, raises some serious issues warranting consideration. There is a dire need for a comprehensive relook at the working of the present mechanism keeping in view the intention of Constitution

Framers behind Article 262, the present constitutional arrangement on water, failure of tribunals in giving the desired results, non-operationalisation of River Boards Act, 1956, deficiencies noticed in the ISWD 1956 Act, the use of Article 131 and 136 of the Constitution by the States to place dispute before the Supreme Court, the essentiality of a comprehensive national law on Water and on the inevitability of institutions in articulating federal polity.

The Constitutional Position of Water.

The provisions related to water in the Constitution deals only with the legislative competence of the Central and State Governments. A change in the position of water to Concurrent list or Union list would help the management of the water policy at the national level and may politically feasible to legislation on water. However a holistic view on water viz., water preservation, water harvesting, watershed development etc would not warrant such a shift in the power of the Central Government. Also, the introduction of 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments brought a third tire of governance with authority on drinking water, sanitation, usage of water as a natural resource, as part of a larger environment and ecological system etc. will not receive any boost with the alteration of the relationship between the Central and State Governments. The new perception and concerns were of relatively recent origin and the constitution makers were not to be found fault for not foreseeing these developments. The Constitution, a fundamental legal document, will not spell out all sectoral policies and the provisions in Article 262 had empowered the Parliament to make sufficient laws for control, regulations and use of water in accordance with the changing needs of the time.

The Sarkaria Commission had made an attempt to analyze, the question of change in the subject of water from the present position. The commission views that the existing arrangements is the best possible method of distributing power between the Union and the

States with respect to this highly sensitive subject (SCR,1988). The Report of NCRWC is silent in this question. The important point to be noticed is that the issue of listing of water in the state list or giving an upper hand for the Centre by virtue of entry 56 of Union list was never been a reason for emergence of river water disputes in India.

ISWD Act

The state reorganization on linguistic line in1956 has created new issues in interstate water dispute on which a consensus has become difficult. In this context, the parliament passed two new Acts along with State Reorganization Act in 1956. To regulate and develop inter- state rivers as entered in the Union List, the River Boards Act was passed and the second statute (ISWD Act)for adjudicating inter- state river dispute under article 262 aimed at a co-operative approach on settlement. Thus the parliament has given the Statutes as an option to choose either of the ways which are voluntary.

The two important issues raised in the context of inter-state water disputes are related to the efficiency of the present mechanism for adjudication and inordinate delay in the creation of tribunals. The Krishna, Godavari and Narmada tribunals are successful examples of this conflict resolution machinery. But the working of the Cauvery, Ravi-Beas, Vansadhara and Mandovi tribunals formed dissatisfaction on the present Constitutional and Statutory provisions, their adjudication process and inordinate delay in giving awards.

A mutual agreement among the disputants is the best method for a peaceful settlement of the issue. If it fails and conflicts continue, Article 262 and ISWD Act should provide machinery for settlement of the problem. Before the adjudication process

begins, the existing rules do not rule out recourse to negotiations, mediation or conciliation among the disputants to find a solution and requires that the Central Government satisfy that a negotiated settlement is not possible before setting up a Tribunal. Some other arguments raised against adjudication are that it is divisive and leads to exaggerated claims by both sides. It is true that contenders will strongly present their arguments, but if the goodwill and a desire to find a solution exist, adjudication need not be adversarial in spirit. The argument that the technical content in the inter-state water disputes is not best dealt by judges is incorrect. It is also incorrect to say that absence of guidelines would lead to the tribunal awards. The Tribunal can take into account the available principles of national or international conventions, earlier decisions of the tribunal. It is not finding a national consensus on 'Guidelines' at the national level. The fear that the Tribunal may impose unfair and unworkable award is groundless, because within the three months period after the pronouncement of award, any State or Central government can approach Tribunal for clarification,'

The enormous delay in the settlement process occurs due to delay in the procedural matters that occurs at every stage. The enormous delay is one of the most important criticisms raised against the setting up of Tribunals (SCR, 1988). The process of referring the dispute to the Tribunal, further references and supplementary clarification, notification of the award etc would take a long time. First of all, the Central Government has to satisfy itself that negotiated settlement is not possible which take years. Sarkaria Commission recommends "It is necessary to prescribe a time limit for setting up of a Tribunal. Once an application under section three of the inter-state river Dispute Act is received from a state, it should be mandatory on the Union government to constitute a Tribunal within a period not exceeding one year from the date of the receipt of the application

from any of the disputant states. The act may be suitably amended for this purpose (S CR, 1988).

One of the most important problems in the application of the ISWD Act is that no effective sanctions are available against the contingency of non-implementation of Tribunal's award. The 1956 ISWD Act says that the award given by the Tribunal is final and no appeal can be placed before any court including the Supreme Court of India. But on non-compliance of Tribunal awards by any of the States, the Tribunal is not clothed with any power to 'punish' the 'contempt' and no separate machinery for implementation. The Central government invoking Article 356 on the basis of the duty entrusted on it for non-compliance of direction to the erring state is a drastic step which will not solve the problem. Therefore Sarkaria Commission recommended ISWD Act 1956 should be amended so that a Tribunal's award has the same force and sanction behind it as an order or decree of the Supreme Court to make a Tribunals award really binding (SCR, 1988)

Many of the recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission are kept in abeyance, and a sub-committee of the Inter-State Council thoroughly discussed the issue and recommended certain important amendments to be brought in the ISWD Act in 2002 which include:

(a) One year for the establishment of a Tribunal by the Central Government on request from a State Government

(b) Three years for the Tribunal to give its award (extendable, if found necessary by a further period not exceeding two years by the Central government).

(c) One year for the tribunal to give a further report if a reference is made to it as provided in the ISWD Act (one year being extendable if necessary, with no limit specified for such extension).

(d) The decision of the Tribunal shall have the same force as an order or the decree of the Supreme Court.

Now the aggrieved states are approaching the Supreme Court to give direction to the Central Government to constitute a water dispute tribunal to settle the dispute. Therefore the Punchhi Commission (2010) recommended that the ISWD Act 1956 should prescribe a time frame for clarificatory or supplementary orders and appeals to the Supreme Court.

The River Boards

The River Boards Act of 1956 provides for the establishment of River Boards for the purpose of regulation and development of inter-state rivers and river valleys by the Central Government. The Central Government appoints a Board after consulting concerned governments regarding its members and its function. The Boards facilitate river basin planning, long term collaboration of different states and to advice and to prepare multi- purpose project for regulating and developing the water ways. The disputes arising out of schemes and projects developed, regulated and implemented by the Boards cannot be referred to tribunals and they are not subject to judicial review. The dispute between the governments needs to be resolved within the provisions of the Act. The River Boards enunciated in the Act are permanent in nature but they have not been constituted yet due to the fear and suspicion of the states that the creation of such boards will give too much space for influence and power over the states' infrastructure for the Central Government. The efforts to establish River Boards in the past were not materialized due to lack of interest and cooperation of party States. The River Boards established to implement certain present projects have no significant powers. For example the Upper Yamuna River boards and the Betwa River Boards are established to implement certain agreements between states sharing of water. The Punchhi Commission (2010) suggests for a fresh look on the

establishment of River Boards is necessary to enhance the chances of cooperation in the settlement of interstate water disputes.

Standing Water Dispute Tribunal

The States demand to constitute tribunals to settle even relatively minor disputes. The claim to constitute tribunals to solve the issues in the Mandovi and the Vansadhara are relevant to mention in this scenario. As a result, the Central Government has to constitute fresh tribunal for every Basin State with a fresh set of Chairman, Members, Assessors and Staff but that process will take a long time. The functioning of a new Tribunal and the submission of their reports will not take place within the time limit set in the ISWD Act 1956. Again, the disputant states are frequently using Article 131(Original jurisdiction) and Article 136(Appeal by Special Leave) of the Constitution to place the issues like creation of new tribunals, implementation of interim orders, sanction of new projects, implementation of awards, and clarifications on the final awards of the tribunal etc before the Supreme Court of India. In the recent past a lot of suits have been filed before the Honorable Supreme Court on issues such as Palar River water issue, Mullaperiar water issue, Neyyar river water issue, construction of Babhali Barrage project, final clearance to Polavaram project etc. In most of the cases before the SC the Government of India is a respondent. The presence of a Standing Water Disputes Tribunal would avoid the creation of new tribunals on every issues and the Central Government can take a stand on suites filed before the SC. Therefore the ISWD Act 1956 may be amended so as to include a provision for the creation of Standing Water Disputes Tribunal.

The Federal Polity

The federal polity underwent radical changes due to the emergence of coalition at the Centre, new economic policy and grassroots level

institutions. The federal polity behind the water dispute is to be properly addressed for resolving inter-state water disputes because water is a sensitive subject and has federal implications. From the time of inception of Indian federalism, the States are keen to keep the subject of water with them because they are basically agrarian economy and rivers have a major role in their day today life. This is the reason why the States are giving utmost care to this precious natural resource and caution in the problem of water sharing. The states often react aggressively if anything goes against its interest. The dispute over Cauvery river water caused large scale civic unrest, clashes, political violence like bandh and harthal continuously for many days affecting the life of both states. In the Ravi-Beas water dispute the legal institutions and the proceedings became ineffective. Such situations are tactfully utilized by the political actors to mobilize the state electorates for vote bank strategy.

The emergence of coalition politics at the Centre brought radical changes in the federal polity. The hegemony of national parties had diminished and regional parties gained strength. The coalition central governments are comparatively weak and settlement of water dispute gets difficult when the regional ruling parties of disputant states are part of it. A strong government at the Centre can mediate between the disputant states as a method for resolving the disputes. Politically, states articulate their demands effectively in a coalition power sharing and a high degree of cooperation and reconciliation is required for this process. The present NDA and early UPA governments seem to succumb to the dictates and pressure of the regional leaders. The opportunities for political actors operating at multiple scales are abound and contribute to emergence, recurrence mitigation and resolution of interstate water dispute (Srinivas Chokkokula, 2012)

The Indian constitution has incorporated many devices in

our federal relation to ensure smooth political and administrative relations between the States and between States and the Centre. The Inter-State Council (ISC) under Article 263 is useful in facilitating dialogue and discussion towards resolving conflicts. It is a constitutionally ordained body for discussion on complex issues having a bearing on centre-state relations or with an inter-state dimensions. Activate the working of ISC is a better option for finding a political settlement of the dispute. Both NDA and UPA led Central governments are reluctant to activate this constitutional body.

Position of the Supreme Court

The Article 262 empowers the Parliament to exempt the adjudication of any dispute or complaints with respect to its use, distribution or control of the water in any inter-state river or river valley, from the jurisdiction of Supreme Court or any other Court and provide for the adjudication of such disputes by any other manner provided by the Parliament. In exercising the power conferred under clause (2) of the Article, the jurisdiction of all courts including the Supreme Court has been barred. Framers of the Constitution would have thought that the Supreme Court is over burdened with its work and it seems wrong to entrust the Supreme Court with the question of river water disputes because it involves not only the questions of law, but matters of enormous technical complexities which are likely to drag on for years for settlement. Setting up of a judicial Tribunal with sufficient technical support, is the best way to deal with inter-state water disputes. Article 262 together with ISWD Act and River Boards Act provides useful mechanism for the peaceful settlement of the disputes where negotiations fail. The tribunals depend on arbitration and awards are supposed to be final and are not challengeable before any court. However cropping of fresh suits before the SC with varied demands have enhanced the role of SC in this design.

The adjudication can be effective only if there are agreed principles to define riparian rights, the willingness to let the disputes be mediated by an independent judicial authority and the commitment to abide the decisions However as mentioned earlier, the disputant states frequently invoke Original jurisdiction under Article 131 and Appeal By Special Leave under Article 136 of the Constitution to place the issues like the demand for the creation of new tribunals, the implementation of interim orders, the sanctioning of new projects, the implementation of awards, and clarifications on the final awards of the tribunal etc before the Supreme Court of India. The Supreme Court is not ousted from jurisdiction to restrain a state from violating the terms of an award issued by the competent water disputes tribunal. The authority of the SC to restrain a state from engaging in any conduct detrimental to the interest of other states in disputed waters extends to, among others, directing the Central Government to constitute a tribunal to adjudicate upon a water dispute raised before it and to determine if a tribunal is competent and authorized to offer relief sought by a party state.

Some prominent legal luminaries expressed their disillusionment over the working of the present mechanism. Sri. Fali S. Nariman, a Senior Advocate of Supreme court has opined that the present mechanism has not worked efficiently and the power to settle the water dispute be entrusted directly on the Supreme Court (Punchi Commission, 2010). The 2002 Venkatachelliah Commission had taken a different note on the exclusion of jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. They recommended passing a new law by the Parliament after repealing the ISWD Act of 1956. They felt that Article 262 was only an enabling Article and the Parliament is not obliged to enact a law for the establishment of Tribunal to adjudicate inter-state river water disputes, therefore they recommended to bring

back river disputes from the tribunal to the original and exclusive jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, but they did not recommend the repeal of Article 262 (NCRWC Report 2002). Prof. Sandeep Shrinivas Desai (2016) opined that the SC has jurisdiction over water dispute matters. The shifting such disputes to the exclusive original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court will leave no room for an appeal. There should be provision for an appeal to the highest court against a tribunal's award. But this should be after the reference back to the tribunal and the receipt of its supplementary or clarificatory order. (Ramaswamy R. Iyer, 2016) The NCRWC is right in wanting to restore the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court but it should be appellate jurisdiction, if the present mechanism failed to provide required results.

Conclusion

There is need for a comprehensive relook at the working of the present mechanism. The delicacy of the Central government in appointing River Boards and Tribunals, the inordinate delay in awarding a decision, absence of separate machinery for implementation of awards and the inability to punish for non-compliance of verdicts etc. made it a toothless mechanism. In the light of recommendations of Sarkaria Commission the ISWD Act was amended in 2002 and a National Water Policy was enunciated to meet the political agreements or decisions of Tribunals. The frequent recurrence of the disputes shows that the operational part of the mechanism has failed to imbibe the modern requirements and the perceptions on water and the democratic spaces in federal structural relations. Therefore, some improvement is still required at the institutional and operational level.

Activation of River Boards would provide avenues for better river basin management for party states by mutual understanding and co-operation. The creation of a Standing Water Disputes Tribunal will

avoid the creation of new tribunals on every basin States' demands with a fresh set of Chairman and Members. Centre can take a stand on suites filed before the SC regarding inter- state water disputes. The federal polity behind the water disputes Should be properly addressed for resolving inter-state water disputes. Activating the working of ISC is a better option for finding a political settlement of the disputes. An enhanced role is given to the Supreme Court of India in the dispute settlement mechanism to settle water dispute.

It is felt that a comprehensive national law on water is essential in the place of the present ISWD Act and the River Boards Act. It should take a holistic view on water like water policy, water preservation, water management for domestic purpose, water use for developmental purpose, dispute settlement mechanism for sharing of river waters etc. This will help the central government and the states to take an effective position on water dispute, follow uniform perception and national policy and guidelines for water resources development and management. Within this law, the present mechanism of creating a Tribunal for river water dispute may be altered with the formation of a Standing Tribunal. A standing water dispute tribunal would address many of the legal issues which the central government has to answer. The Supreme Court which is the highest judicial body in the country is given the appellate power over the Tribunal's verdict. India being a federal country the federal polity has to be activated to settle issues through the discussion in the Inter-State Council. The ISC under Article 263 can play a useful role in facilitating dialogue, discussion and finding a political settlement of the disputes.

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ISDA Journal 27 (3) 2017, pp. 439-448.

SOCIO-POLITICAL POWER RELATIONS: A CRITIQUE ON FRIEDRICH WILHELM NIETZSCHE

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Abstract

Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche is a German philosopher. Nietzsche developed his philosophy during the late 19th century and his work has great intellectual, social and political influence around the world from the beginning of 20th century. Nietzsche was interestedin and worked on various areas such as epistemology, ethics, religion, ontology, social criticism and psychology. Power is a key factor in society which plays an important role in the human life. Human being is trying to attain power from the origin of social life and the practice of it continues to till the time. Power means the influence or controlling force. It is the controlling factor of the human behaviour. Knowledge is one of the sources of power. But the knowledge is created or formed by the exercise of power. So the power attaining process could be seen everywhere in our society. In his philosophical exploration, Nietzsche put forward many philosophical concepts such as The superman, will to power, master and slave morality, the death of God etc. and we one could see that the concept of power plays an important role in his works. This paper tries to analyse the power concept and power relations in the works of Nietzsche.

Key words: *Will to Power, Superman, Knowledge, Morality, Death of God*

Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche is a German philosopher. Born on 1844 at Rocken, a tinny village near Saxony in Germany,he was the son of a Lutheran minister, Ludwing, who died in 1849. Nietzsche developed his philosophy during the late 19th century. His work has had great intellectual, social and political influence around the

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world from the beginning of 20th century. Nietzsche was interestedin and worked on various areas such as epistemology, ethics, religion, ontology, social criticism and psychology .His philosophy has profound influence in current thoughts and is represented in the work of Foucault.

Power is a key factor in a society. It plays an important role in the human life. Human being is trying to attain power from the origin of social life and the practice of it continues to till the time. Powerless people are trying to become powerful and powerful tries to get more power in our socio-political life. Power means the influence or controlling force. Power is the controlling factor of human behaviour. The life style of the people are determined or influenced by the power. The social life or social system is designed by the various interests in which power plays the main role. Knowledge is one of the sources of power. But the knowledge is created or formed by the exercise of power. So the power attaining process could be seen everywhere in our society .New knowledge enhance domain of power or helps one to become more powerful. So one could see that man seeking power everywhere.

The Concept of Morality

Morality is the branch of philosophy. It studies what is good or right and what is bad or wrong. It is divided into two sub-disciplines: Meta-ethics and normative ethics. Meta-ethics states that moral concepts and claims. Normative ethics states that explaining moral values. Nietzsche is primarily concerned with meta-ethical issues, although some of his most amazing claims against morality are related to normative claims of morality. Moral or ethical thoughts provide one guidelines to how to deal life. Nietzsche agrees that this is the proper function of morality. However, he is convinced that what we have inherited from our moral thinkers is a catastrophically wrong-headed guide. In fact, moral values are inverted so that what

is called morally good is not really good and what is called morally evil is not really bad. Nietzsche lays the blame for this inversion of values squarely on the shoulders of a particular social class, the week and the religious. Thus begins his lifelong war with morality and Christianity. Nietzsche is known as the strong critic of morality in the tradition of philosophy.

Master Morality and Slave Morality

Master and slave morality is a central theme of Nietzsche's moral works. It is particularly mentioned by the Nietzsche, as the first essay of 'On the Genealogy of Morality'. Nietzsche argued that there were two types of morality, master morality and slave morality. They are two different value systems. Master morality values pride, strength and nobility. Slave morality values things like kindness, humility and sympathy. Master morality is related to the 'noble man'. It is the activity that into a scale of 'good' or 'bad'. Slave morality develops reactively within the weak man. It is the actions based on the scale of 'good' or 'evil'. Slave morality comes from the society as the lowest elements. Slave is judged by others and passes judgement on him by outside. In the master morality, good always mean noble in the sense of soul of high calibre. At the same time, evil ever means vulgar. The noble man regards himself as the maker and critic of values. He does not search outside of himself for doing something morally. He is a judge of himself and passes judgements upon himself. Morality of noble man or master is the self-glorification, self-satisfaction and it originate from himself. This moral noble man is always related to the will to power. Power acquired through exercise of knowledge. A man who is the master means the powerful human. The weak human being or slave is also related to comparatively powerless human. So he/she is not the master or scholar in any manner. Therefore, morality is a tool which is used in order to exercise the socio-political power relations.

The Concept of Superman

Superman is a concept in the philosophy of Nietzsche. This is one of the most significant ideas in his thought. The term superman means to Superhuman, Overhuman, Ultraman, Ultrahuman, Above human, Overman, Beyond man. Nietzsche mentioned this idea briefly in the prologue of 'Thus Spoke Zarathustra'. It is the great or higher types possible human beings that is mentioned everywhere in the works of Nietzsche. According to Nietzsche, these great human beings are the philosopher of the future, the free spirit, the tragic artist or superman. It is highly creative, courageous, powerful and extremely rare personalities. Nietzsche mentioned the rare individuals who are historical figures such as Napoleon, Beethovan etc...

According to Nietzsche, superman is the true master of life. Supermen are the leaders of the society. They become the model of social life. They should live beyond the created values of the mere social life. Anybody can't control them in the name of religions, customs, rituals, culture etc. Supermen are beyond these all type of blunders. They are free thinkers, true tellers, and as a real individual. They were 'yea-Sayers, proud, free, joyful, and creative, hard on themselves and not self-indulgent'. (Kanning, 1972, p.188) Superman should be created a new standard of life that should entirely different from the so called social life. Their standard of life should be created by themselves, not by outsiders. Their life and decisions are responsible to themselves. They are not slaves of anybody and any ideology. So the existing socio-political power relations are not affected the superman. Moreover they should be overcome the objective social systems and setup their individual subjective powerful free life.

The death of God

Nietzsche is not the first philosopher to speak of the death of God. We can see the same in the Hegelian philosophy. Moreover,

it is the fundamental feature of Christianity. Christian religion built on the death of God. Christ is died on the cross or they killed him on the cross. So the Christian beliefs are built on the death of God. In the philosophy of religion, Hegel states the death of God which is the title as 'The Death of Christ and the Transition to Spiritual Presence'. He cites from a Lutheran hymn of 1641 which contains the phrase "God himself is dead". For Hegel this express "an awareness that the human, the finite, the fragile, the weak, the negative are themselves a moment of the divine, that they are within God himself, this involves the highest idea of spirit". (Keith and Duncan, 2006, p.314)

The statement 'The death of God' is the clear cut opinion on the metaphysical view of Nietzsche. This statement is mainly presented in the work of Nietzsche's The Gay Science and The Madman. Perhaps, the most famous statement in 'The Gay Science' is "God is dead**"**.Nietzsche explains in The Gay Science (Section 125, Madman), "God is dead. God remains dead. And we have killed him. How shall we comfort ourselves, the murderers of all murderers? What was holiest and mightiest of all that the world has yet owned has bled to death under our knives: who will wipe this blood off us? What water is there for us to clean ourselves? What festivals of atonement, what sacred games shall we have to invent? Is not the greatness of this deed too great for us? Must we ourselves not become gods simply to appear worthy of it? (Keith and Duncan, 2006, p. 224) In 'The Madman', the madman announcements in a marketplace that the God is dead. The madman tells them, "We have killed him- you and I. All of us are his murderers". (Bernd and Kathleen, 1996, p. 36). The death of God can be interpreted in two senses. Firstly, it can mean that the death of the symbolic God. It is the death of the very specific and particular God of Christianity. Secondly, it means the death of God of theologians, philosophers

and some scientists that God as the creator, sustainer and destructor. In other words, the death of the guarantor of order, structure and purpose in the universe. It is also means the end of the centrality of power.

Eternal Recurrence

Eternal recurrence is also called eternal return. It is a concept that all events should be recurring. This philosophy is found in the Indian and the ancient Greek philosophy. Arthur Schopenhauer also states that the concept of eternal recurrence as it a purely physical concept and not in a manner of any supernatural possibility. Eternal recurrence is closely associated with the concept of superman. According to this theory, all events return. All things will comeback an infinite number of times. We can say even Nietzsche will return. All our experience, factual things, surrounds and everything will eternally recur in the cycle of time. The concept of eternal recurrence seems to suggest that time is cyclical, with the entire sequence of all events recurring over and over again. In Nietzsche's published works, this concept is first suggested in the penultimate section of Book Four of The Gay Science, entitled 'The Greztest Stress". (Bernd and Kathleen, 1996, p. 37). The section presents a thought experiment, akin to Descartes's thought experiment of the evil genius:

What, if some day or night a demon were to steal after you into your loneliest loneliness and say to you: "This life as you now live it and have lived it, you will have to live once more and innumerable times more; and there will be nothing new in it, but every pain and every joy and every thought and sigh and everything unutterably small or great in your life will have to return to you, all in the same succession and sequence...." (Bernad and Kathleen, 1996: 37).

Will to Power

The will to power is a significant concept in the philosophy of Nietzsche. It is intended as the centrepiece of the current philosophical discussions. Nietzsche presents it as a distinct principle in all nature. The will to power describes what Nietzsche may have believed to be the main driving force in humans: achievement, ambition, the striving to reach the highest possible position in life; these are all manifestations of the will to power. He suggests that not just life but the entire world would be precisely the will to power and nothing besides. One might at first think that the 'death of God', Nietzsche's popular declaration is an all-too-familiar issue, conservative Christians arguing that if God does not exist then objective moral values don't exist either, and secular humanists replying indignantly that God's existence is entirely irrelevant to the validity of the moral judgments we make. Nietzsche agrees with those theists that the death of God signalled the end of objectivity as a feature of moral value, but differs from them by not taking this as a reason to believe in God. Yet he did not think that values were subjective in the crude popular sense, that anyone's convictions are as valid as anyone else. Moreover,to Nietzsche, values have power and it spring from power like the works of art, their greatness is in their power to move us. But the media manipulation of popular sentiment is no indicator of the power that creates value, since almost everybody is merely a member of the herd to Nietzsche. Any relating of value to popular preferences (even the preferences of an aristocracy) is an attempt to hold on to the objectivity of values. But if moral objectivity is at an end, an entirely new and radically individualistic source of value must be sought. Nietzsche's conception of the power of values is deeply elitist, only the great can create values.

In the philosophy of Nietzsche, the concept of the will to power is central. Nietzsche argues that human behaviour is reducible to a

single basic drive, the will to power. The basic principle is the will to power and not will to live, because that life is ever risked willingly for a chance of the greater power. Man needs an enhancement of his state of being, that is the greater power. Thus the ultimate end is the gaining of power.

The will to power is the agency whereby man becomes the master of the earth. It for Schopenhauer the 'will to life' was the fundamental principle of all being, Nietzsche challenges this view by arguing that where there is no 'life' there can be no 'will' either. Accordingly, life appears as a shapeless and unclear thing which must have a direction and purpose imposed upon it, the will to power becomes the impulse behind distinct activities. Its realization in nature as well as in history, in the rise and fall of worldly and spiritual institutions, provides man with the horizon necessary to sustain life itself, but it is equally to be seen as the motive behind all individual cultural, artistic and religious activity. It is the force at work behind all our valuations, behind the perspectivism of our interpretations of the world. It is also the great philosophical fictions. To stamp the character of Being on the process of Becoming that is the highest will to power. It is the impulse behind the acquisition, ordering, and creation of knowledge and behind creativity itself. Logic including the law of contradiction and our forms of cognition are manifestations of whatever happens to be the victorious form of willing at any one time not by a 'will to truth', but by the 'will to render the world thinkable'. In a reflection that that is usually printed at the very end of The Will to Power, Nietzsche writes;

"This world....my Dionysian world of eternal self-creation and eternal self-destruction, this mystery world of two fold voluptuous delight, my 'beyond good and evil', without goal unless the joy of the circle is a goal, without will unless it is the circle's good will toward itself-do you want a name for this world? A solution of all

its riddles? A light for you too, you who are the best concealed, the strongest, the most intrepid, the most midnightly of men? This world is the will to power and nothing else besides. And you too are that will to power, and nothing else besides. (Stern, 1978, p. 81)

Conclusion

In the philosophy of Nietzsche, perhaps, the will to power is the central concept. We can see power attaining process everywhere in the society. We find that the will to power is involved in every socio-political activity. It also seem to be involved in all societal activities like our feelings, emotions, thinking etc. Teacher, preacher, the boss and the adviser are impossible without involving the exercise of power. The will to power is strongly related to all parts of social and political life of human. A living beings wants above all else to release its strength. We can see that life itself is the will to power. According to Nietzsche, there are three possible interpretations of will to power in the socio-political conditions; ontological, organic and psychological.

In the metaphysical view, everything that exists is the will to power. Perhaps we can see, Nietzsche reduced all ontological kinds to one that the will to power. Of course, we can come to two radical features of this reduction. First, Nietzsche claims that even the subatomic and atomic levels of existence are nothing but instance of will; secondly, he thinks that even the conscious and intentional levels of existence are nothing but instances of power (Welshon, 2004, p. 159). In the organic view, the will to power is specifically related to all movements of social and political life. Power or force that distinguishes what is animate from what is inanimate. The societies being alive and going every movements with the exercise of power. In the psychological view, power is related to living creatures with a will. The modern knowledge and information is a way to

attain power. Really, the power is producing new knowledge and information in our socio-political situation of life.

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ISDA Journal 27 (3) 2016, pp. 449-475.

IMPACT OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES ON EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN IN PUNJAB

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Abstract

Various programmes are formulated by government for the upliftment of women. The implementation of these programmes are monitored explicitly with reference to coverage of women. The present study examines the impact of MGNREGA and SGSV on empowerment of women in Punjab. The study is based on primary data collected from 360 respondents of Punjab state. To examine the impact of selected progammes on women empowerment, respondents are categories as beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries. Women empowerment is measured by composite empowerment index using economic empowerment, social empowerment and psychological empowerment indices as sub-components. The results of the study reveals sufficient evidences that rural development programmes have contributed to women empowerment in Punjab.

Keywords: *Rural Development, Women Empowerment, MGNREGA, SGSY, SHGs*

The development of a nation is measured not only through technological and materialistic advances, but through the quality of its citizen's lives. Women, who constitute about 50 percent of total population of a nation, have generally considered as weaker section. Discrimination against women has existed in all parts of the globe in some form or another. For all the countries the Gender

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Development Index (GDI) is lower than Human development Index (HDI) indicating gender inequality everywhere. Devoid of equal opportunities, from birth, women despite having equal potentialities as man, very often are not able to have an "active" life and remain confined to household activities. An important development in the last few decades in many developing countries has been the rapid increase in female education and in female labour force participation. In India, literacy rate among female has gone up from a level of 22 percent in 1971 to 54 percent in 2001 and 65.46 percent in 2011, and the work force participation rate among female has risen from 12 percent to 26 percent from 1971 to 2001. But despite these developments a substantial gender gap in education as well as work participation rate continues in the country (Tarafdar, 2008). There is less number of women than man, the sex ratio being 940 women to 1000 man (Census of India, 2011).

This problem of gender inequality is more serious in rural areas than urban area. The rural female literacy rate in India is 58.75 percent as against urban female literacy rate of 79.92 percent indicating the discrimination against women. The development of women is one of the most important factors of rural development. The illiteracy, poverty, unemployment and nutritional deficiency are main problems of rural areas. All these problems directly or indirectly revolve around women .When a woman is educated, the whole family is educated. Families where the women are educated social evils such as illiteracy of girl-children, child labor, female infanticide and other superstitious practices are reduced. Empowerment of women leads to development of entire family, particularly the children. With increased income in hands of mother they get better nutrition care and education. Working women contribute to their family income which helps to reduce the problem of poverty. Hence, by considering

all these, women development is the only best strategy to achieve our goal of rural development.

The government has introduced various rural development programmes for upliftment of women. Foremost programmes, having women module include the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) and Swarnjayanti Gram SwarozgarYojana (SGSY) now restructured as National Rural Livelihood Mission (Aajeevika). The implementation of these programmes are monitored explicitly with reference to coverage of women.

Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) and Swaranjayanti Gram SwarozgarYojana (SGSY):

The Central Government formulated the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA), which was launched on 2nd February, 2006. During 2009-10, through an amendment, the NREGA was rechristened as the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (Mahatma Gandhi NREGA).Being the first ever law internationally, that guarantee wage employment in an unprecedented scale, Mahatma Gandhi NREGA aims at enhancing livelihood security of households in rural area of country.

SGSY has been launched on 1st April 1999. The assisted families (Swarozgaris) may be individuals or Group (Self Help Group). However, the emphasis is on Group approach and also with particular emphasis on group formulation by women and the weaker section. SGSY is being implemented by the District Rural Development Agencies (DRDAs) with active participation of Panchayati Raj Institutions, the line Departments, and Non-Government Organizations. Swaranjayanti Gram SwarozgarYojana (SGSY) has been restructured as National Rural livelihoods Mission

(NRLM) to implement it in a mission mode in a phased manner for targeted and time bound delivery of results.

Thus present study examines the impact of these programmes on women empowerment.

1.1 Need and Objectives of the Study:

Number of studies on emerging issue of women empowerment has been conducted from time to time in existing literature. But still there is no proper measurement of women empowerment. Some studies examined the importance of education or employment on empowerment of women; other examined the impact of micro-credit or SHGs on women empowerment. Not much has been found which examined the impact of women targeted rural development programmes on empowerment of women. This study will make a contribution to literature by evaluating the impact of rural development programmes in terms of women empowerment. The present study is based on following objectives.

1. To examine these programmes in respect of Women's economic empowerment, Social empowerment, Psychological empowerment
2. To examine whether there is any difference between beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries in terms of empowerment.
3. To suggest policy measures in order to enhance the status of rural women with help of rural development programmes.

2. Database and Methodology:

1.1 DATA

For purpose of the study primary data has been collected from beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries of two rural development programmes. Punjab state is divided into 3 regions: Majha, Malwa and Doaba. To cover whole punjab, one district was selected from

each region. The selected districts were Amritsar, Muktsar and Jalandhar from Majha, Malwa and Doaba regions respectively. The households who constitute 'rural poor' have been identified as sample households for present study. These households mostly live 'below', 'at', and 'marginally' above poverty line. Multi-stage convenient sampling technique was used to select the ultimate respondents. At first stage, from each district, two blocks were selected. From each selected block, two villages were selected. Further from each village, a sample of 30 respondents were selected. In this way from Punjab as a whole 360 respondents were interviewed through a structured questionnaire. Within these 360 respondents, 180 were beneficiaries and 180 were non-beneficiaries. Within beneficiaries 50 percent was the beneficiaries of MGNREGA and rest were SGSY beneficiaries.

1.2 METHODOLOGY:

From the various definitions of women empowerment as defined in the literature, we may visualize an empowered woman. An empowered woman is fully aware and has control over resources; she is socially as well as economically independent; she is confident and participated in all decisions; she has freedom of movement and also free from all types of discrimination and finally she is capable of standing for her own rights. The study has used some proxies to measure different attributes of women empowerment because subjective attributes are difficult to measure. In above definition key elements of women empowerment is women's economic independence, her ability to participate in decision making process, her control over assets, her mobility and finally her confidence level. The study has used proxies for each type of attribute to formulate an empowerment index. The constructed indices are: Economic empowerment index (EEI), Social empowerment index (SEI), Psychological empowerment index (PEI).

The sub-attributes for each of these indices are:

Indicators of Economic Empowerment

An economically empowered woman is free to spend income and she actively participates and effectively influences the financial decisions of the family. Rural development programmes have to provide employment opportunities to rural women. It is prominent to study whether these women after getting employment opportunities from rural development programmes like MGNREGA and SGSY have become economically empowered or not. The economic empowerment has been assessed based on the following indicators.

- Freedom to spend personal income.
- Ownership of assets.
- Participation in family decisions like Purchase/sale of land, Family day-to-day expenditure, Child health care and Child education.

The economic empowerment index sought to assess whether women have autonomy to spend income, have ownership of assets or who make decisions for: purchase/sale of land, family day-to-day expenditure, child health care and education. The economic empowerment index was constructed by the use of three point scale as 1 (women have autonomy to make above mentioned decisions), 0.5 (if it is a joint decision) and 0 (if women have no participation). By summing up the scores obtained for each indicator listed above, Economic Empowerment Index has been calculated using the following formula as used by Uma, 2003.

$$EI = \frac{\text{Score Obtained}}{\text{Maximum Possible Score}} \quad (1)$$

Indicators of Social Empowerment

A socially empowered woman is free to move in the society, also free from any kind of discrimination and have equal status in the society. It is expected that when women become economically independent and contribute to household income; she can establish her control over the family decision making process and other family affairs and thus ultimately improve her position in the family and society (Hoque and Itohara, 2009). The indicators of index are:

Freedom to visit market, parents home, Family co-operation to do work, Access to health facilities, Participation in Family planning, Have time for economic activities over and above subsistence activities.

The social empowerment index sought to know whether a woman is able to visit market, parent's home, work without seeking permission of her husband or whether she has access to health, education facilities and has extra time for economic activity. For social empowerment index, the scores were 1, 0.5 and 0 (for full, partial and no-participation respectively). By summing up the scores obtained for each indicator listed above, Social Empowerment Index has been calculated using the formula given in equation (1).

Indicators of Psychological Empowerment

Women are said to be psychologically empowered if they have self-confidence, determined about their decisions relating to their work and have feeling of security in the family. The indicators are: Self-confidence, Self- determination and Feeling of security in the family

Psychological empowerment index sought to understand whether women have self-confidence, determined about their decisions connecting to their work and have feeling of security in the family.

For psychological empowerment index scores were yes (1), or no (0). By summing up the scores obtained for each indicator listed above, psychological empowerment index has been calculated using the formula given in equation (1).

Composite Empowerment Index

The latent variable empowerment (E) is measured through an index called Composite Empowerment Index (CEI). Based on above three indices, composite empowerment index has been constructed as:

$$CEI = \left[\frac{(EEI) + (SEI) + (PEI)}{3}\right] \quad (2)$$

Closer the value of Index to 1 higher will be empowerment and vice-versa. Like human development index measured as an index ranging between values of 0 which indicates, one is deprived of development and value one (1) which shows the full development (UNDP, HDI, 2005; varghese, 2011; cited by Nombo, Mdoe, 2012). International Food Policy and Research Institute (IFPRI) have also developed Women Empowerment in Agriculture Index (WEAI) where women empowerment is also measured as an index ranging from 0 to 1. Further like human development index, composite empowerment index was classified into four categories with little modification according to maximum and minimum value. The composite empowerment score 0 was categorized as 'no empowerment', 0.1-0.50 as 'low empowerment', 0.51-0.70 as 'medium empowerment' and a score higher than 0.71 was classified as 'high empowerment'. Other scholars (Tayde and chale, 2010; Varghese, 2011; Nombo and Mdoe, 2012) also used similar method to estimate women empowerment.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1 Socio-Economic Profile of Respondents:

Understanding of socio-economic profile of sample is critical as many of socio-economic variables help to measure women development. The respondents were categories as beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries. The results of table 1 shows that majority of respondents were in the age group of 25-40 year. As regards education of respondents, it was found that majority of respondents were illiterate or barely literate. Women of Muktsar district were found to be more illiterate than Amritsar and Jalandhar district. The study also depicted that some of women can sign due to participation in government scheme.Most of the respondents were married and belong to Scheduled Caste category. The husband of majority of respondents was illiterate but this illiteracy was found to be more in Muktsar district and less in Jalandhar district. As regard the family income, it was observed that beneficiaries have higher family income than non-beneficiaries in all three districts. The basicobjective of the study is to assess whether women have achieved empowerment or not through participation in rural development programmes.

3.2 Economic Empowerment

An economically empowered woman is free to spend income and she actively participates and effectively influences the financial decisions of the family. Rural development programmes provide employment opportunities to rural women. It is prominent to study whether these women after getting employment opportunities from rural development programmes like MGNREGA and SGSY have become economically empowered or not.

Table 2 shows the status of women economic empowerment by selected indicators. One of the most important indicators of

economic empowerment of women is freedom to spend income. The results reveal that 17.78 percent of women beneficiaries were free to spend income and 73.89 percent had joint participation with their husband/head of family to decide how to spend money to meet household necessities. On the other hand 7.78 percent of non-beneficiaries were free to spend income and 63.33 percent of non-beneficiaries had joint participation. Thus 91.67 percent of beneficiaries and 71.11 percent of non-beneficiaries had either sole or joint participation in spending household income which indicate that women beneficiaries were more free to spend income as compared to non-beneficiaries. As regards the ownership of assets was concerned, participation of women was found to be negligible in both the cases which reveal that although women contribute to the household income yet there has been male dominance in ownership of assets in rural society. Out of the total number of respondents 10.56 percent of women beneficiaries and 5.56 percent of non-beneficiaries had independently took major family decisions like purchase/sale of land which depict that beneficiaries had more say in major family decisions as compared to non-beneficiaries. The reason may be that women beneficiaries contributed to household income. But 30 percent of beneficiaries and 14.44 of non-beneficiaries were there who had joint (with their husband or other elder members of family) participation in major family decisions. As far as women participation in family day to day expenditure was concerned, most of the beneficiaries (99.45) and non-beneficiaries (98.89) had either sole or joint participation. Out of the total respondents 98.33 percent of beneficiaries and 85.00 percent of non-beneficiaries have either sole or joint participation in child health related decisions. Out of the total respondents 91.67 per cent of women beneficiaries and 85.00 per cent of non-beneficiaries were consulted in the

Table.1 Socio-economic Characteristics of Respondents:

Characteristic	Category	Amritsar		Muktsar		Jalandhar		Punjab	
		Benf.	Non-benf.	Benf.	Non-benf.	Benf.	Non-benf.	Benf.	Non-benf.
Age	Less than25 25	6 (10)	2 (3.33)	--	8(13.33)	7(11.67)	5(8.33)	13(7.22)	15(8.33)
	25-40	41 (68.33)	45 (75)	50 (83.3)	42(70.00)	45 (75.00)	41(68.33)	136(75.5)	128(71.11)
	40-60	12 (20.00)	12 (20)	9 (15.00)	9 (15.00)	8 (13.33)	13(21.67)	29(16.11)	34(18.89)
	Above 60	1 (1.67)	1 (1.67)	1 (1.67)	1 (1.67)	-	1(1.67)	2(1.1)	3(1.67)
	Total	60 (100)	60 (100)	60 (100)	60 (100)	60 (100)	60(100)	180(100)	180(100)
Education	Illiterate	46 (76.67)	52 (86.67	53 (88.3)	58 (96.67)	40 (66.67)	43(71.67)	139(77.2)	153(85.00)
	Illiterate but can sign	3 (5)	-	6 (10)	-	-	-	9(5)	-
	Primary	8 (13.33)	6 (10)	1 (1.67)	2 (3.33)	12 (20)	10(16.67)	21(11.67)	18(10.00)
	Secondary	2 (3.33)	2 (3.33)	-	-	6 (10)	6(10)	8(4.44)	8(4.44)
	Higher secondary	1 (1.67)	-	-	-	2 (3.33)	2(3.33)	3(1.67)	1(0.56)
	Total	60(100)	60 (100)	60 (100)	60 (100)	60 (100)	60(100)	180(100)	180(100)
Caste	S.C	54 (90.00)	50 (83.33)	57 (95.00)	52 (86.67)	50 (83.33)	49(81.67)	161(89.44)	151(83.89)
	B.C	5 (8.33)	10 (16.67)	3 (5)	6 (10.00)	10 (16.67)	11(18.33)	18(10.00)	27(15.00)
	General	1 (1.67)	-	-	2 (3.33)	-	-	1(0.56)	2(1.11)
	Total	60 (100)	60 (100)	60 (100)	60 (100)	60(100)	60(100)	180(100)	180(100)
Annual Family Income (in Rs.)	lessthan 2000	1(1.67)	1(1.67)	2(3.33)	3(5.00)	-	-	3(1.67)	4(2.22)
	20000-30000	17(28.33)	30(50)	21(35)	35(58.33)	15(25)	22(36.67)	69(38.33)	84(46.67)
	30000-40000	34(56.67)	22(36.67)	29(48.33)	20(33.34)	33(65.00)	28(46.67)	83(46.11)	73(40.56)
	40000 and above	8(13.33)	7(11.66)	8(13.34)	2(3.33)	12(20.00)	10(16.66)	25(13.89)	19(10.55)
	Total	60(100)	60(100)	60(100)	60(100)	60(100)	60(100)	180(100)	180(100)
	Average	33,878	27,146	30,383	25,636	36,123	33,456	32,262	27,146

Source: Survey Data.

Note: Figures in the parentheses are respective percentages

Table 2
Status of Economic Empowerment of Women by Selected Indicators

SL. No.	Particulars		Districts						Punjab	
			Amritsar		Muktsar		Jalandhar			
			Benf.	Non-benf.	Benf.	Non-benf.	Benf.	Non-benf.	Benf.	Non-benf.
1.	Freedom to spend income	Autonomy	10 (16.67)	3 (5.00)	8 (13.33)	1 (1.67)	14 (23.33)	10 (16.67)	32 (17.78)	14 (7.78)
		Joint Decision	45 (75.00)	37 61.67)	42 (70.00)	29 (48.33)	46 (76.67)	48 (80.00)	133 (73.89)	114 (63.33)
		No Participation	15 (8.33)	20 (33.33)	10 (16.67)	30 (50.00)	-	2 (3.33)	15 (8.33)	52 (28.89)
		Total	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	180 (100.00)	180 (100.00)
2.	Ownership of assets	Autonomy	5 (8.33)	1 (1.67)	5 (8.33)	1 (1.67)	4 (6.66)	1 (1.67)	14 (7.78)	3 (1.67)
		Joint Decision	2 (3.33)	-	-	-	1 (1.67)	-	3 (1.67)	-
		No Participation	53 (88.34)	59 (98.33)	55 (91.67)	59 (98.33)	55 (91.67)	59 (98.33)	163 (90.55)	177 (98.33)
		Total	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	180 (100.000)	180 (100.00)
3.	Participation in purchase/ sale of land	Autonomy	6 (10.00)	3 (5.00)	5 (8.33)	2 (3.33)	8 (13.34)	5 (8.34)	19 (10.56)	10 (5.56)
		Joint Decision	20 (33.33)	8 (13.33)	8 (13.33)	7 (11.67)	26 (43.33)	11 (18.33)	54 (30.00)	26 (14.44)
		No Participation	34 (56.67) 1	49 (81.67) 1	47 (78.34) 1	51 (85.00) 1	26 (43.33) 1	44 (73.33) 1	107 (59.44)	144 (80.00)
		Total	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	180 (100.00)	180 (100.00)
4.	Family day-to-day expenditure	Autonomy	50 (83.33)	42 (70.00)	44 (73.33)	37 (61.67)	51 (85.00)	52 (86.67)	145 (80.56)	131 (72.78)
		Joint Decision	10 (16.67)	18 (30.00)	15 (25.00)	21 (35.00)	9 (15.00)	8 (13.33)	34 (18.89)	47 (26.11)
		No Participation	-	-	1 (1.67)	2 (3.33)	-	-	1 (0.55)	2 (1.11)
		Total	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.000)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	180 (100.00)	180 (100.00)
5.	Child health care	Autonomy	37 (61.66)	30 (50.00)	30 (50.00)	18 (30.00)	44 (73.33)	38 (63.33)	111 (61.67)	86 (47.78)
		Joint Decision	22 (36.67)	22 (36.67)	28 (46.67)	25 (41.67)	16 (26.67)	20 (33.34)	66 (36.66)	67 (37.22)
		No Participation	1 (1.67)	8 (13.33)	2 (3.33)	17 (28.33)	-	2 (3.33)	3 (1.67)	27 (15.00)
		Total	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	180 (100.00)	180 (100.00)
6.	Child education	Autonomy	35 (58.34)	24 (40.00)	30 (50.00)	20 (33.33)	43 (71.67)	35 (58.33)	108 (60.00)	79 (43.89)
		Joint Decision	20 (33.33)	26 (43.33)	20 (33.33)	25 (41.67)	17 (28.33)	23 (38.34)	57 (31.67)	74 (41.11)
		No Participation	5 (8.33)	10 (16.67)	10 (16.67)	15 (25.00)	-	2 (3.33)	15 (8.33)	27 (15.00)
		Total	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	180 (100.00)	180 (100.00)

Source: Survey Data.

Note: Figures in the parentheses are respective percentages.

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decision regarding child education indicating higher participation of beneficiaries as compared to non-beneficiaries. Thus women who were beneficiaries of rural development programmes were comparatively more empowered. One of the beneficiary said that "my husband is working as rickshaw puller but when he is drunk he did not go to work and we have no money and food to eat, but now I am also working and not dependent on my husband for the food of my children".

As far as district-wise analysis was concerned, it was evident from table 2 that percentage of women who had sole or joint participation in economic activities of family was higher in case of Jalandhar district as compared to Amritsar and Muktsar districts. The reason may be that jalandhar is a developed district than Amritsar and Muktsar districts (according to value of HDI and GDI). Most of the people of Jalandhar district live in foreign countries and villages of Jalandhar district were more developed than Muktsar and Amritsar districts. From Jalandhar district we had taken two blocks closer to Jalandhar city. It was noticed that women of these villages were more aware and more empowered than women of other two districts.

Table 3
Economic Empowerment Index of Women Respondents

Districts	Particulars	Value of Index
Amritsar	Beneficiaries	0.5625
	Non-beneficiaries	0.4901
Muktsar	Beneficiaries	0.5441
	Non-beneficiaries	0.4321
Jalandhar	Beneficiaries	0.5874
	Non-beneficiaries.	0.5241
Punjab	Beneficiaries	0.5658
	Non-beneficiaries	0.4842

Source: Computed from Survey Data.

The results of table 3 show the value of economic empowerment index. The value of economic empowerment index was found to be 0.5625 for beneficiaries and 0.4901 for the non-beneficiaries of Amritsar district where as for the Muktsar district value of index was 0.5441 and 0.4321 in case of beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries respectively. As far as Jalandhar district was concerned, value of index was 0.5874 and 0.5241 for the beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries respectively. The whole analysis reveals that value of economic empowerment index was slightly higher for the beneficiaries of rural development programmes as compared to non-beneficiaries. Thus rural development programmes have positive impact on economic empowerment of rural women.

3.3 Social Empowerment

Table 4 shows the status of social empowerment of women based on selected indicators. A look at table 4 shows that 82.78 percent of women beneficiaries and 67.78 percent of non-beneficiaries have either full or partial freedom of movement. This reveals that women beneficiaries have more freedom of movement as compared to non-beneficiaries. Most of the women said that they are free to go anywhere but after informing their husband. The women beneficiaries not only earn income through government schemes but the beneficiaries of SHGs got training of handicraft work and they participated in various trade fairs.

Therefore women, who were confined to domestic chores, came out of their homes through participation in government programmes. One women beneficiary who was leader of SHG, said that before joining the group she used to visit the bank, the bank officials didn't listen to her but now when she visit the bank, bank officials offer tea, she want to convey that her respect in society has increased. Another beneficiary of Muktsar district said that before joining the

government programme she use to hesitate to even go to hospital alone. But now she was running a boutique after getting free of cost training through government scheme and daily visit the market to get some raw material and there was no hesitation. Out of the total respondents, 84.45 percent of women beneficiaries and 65.00 percent of non-beneficiaries have either full or partial cooperation from their family to do work. Most of the women beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries have access to health facilities. Women's say (both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries) in family planning was found to be negligible. Out of the total respondents 38.33 percent of the women beneficiaries had time for economic activities whereas rest of the women had to manage their time.

It was noticed through field survey that women of Muktsar district were less free to move as compared to other two districts. No doubt times have changed but still some women of Muktsar district cover their faces in front of male. It depicts that the women of Muktsar district still have less exposure.

Table 4
Status of Social Empowerment of Women by Selected Indicators

Sl. No.	Particulars		Districts						Punjab	
			Amritsar		Muktsar		Jalandhar			
			Benf.	Non-benf.	Benf.	Non-benf.	Benf.	Non-benf.	Benf.	Non-benf.
1.	Freedom to visit market, parents home	Full	20 (33.33)	15 (25.00)	13 (21.67)	8 (13.33)	26 (43.33)	24 (40.00)	59 (32.78)	47 (26.11)
		Partial	33 (55.00)	27 (45.00)	27 (45.00)	17 (28.33)	30 (50.00)	31 (51.67)	90 (50.00)	75 (41.67)
		Not at all	7 (11.67)	18 (30.00)	20 (33.33)	35 (58.34)	4 (6.67)	5 (8.33)	31 (17.22)	58 (32.22)
		Total	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	180 (100.00)	180 (100.00)
2.	Family co-operation to do work	Full	22 (36.66)	2 (3.33)	18 (30.00)	-	24 (40.00)	8 (13.33)	64 (35.56)	10 (5.55)
		Partial	28 (46.67)	38 (63.34)	30 (50.00)	22 (36.67)	30 (50.00)	47 (78.34)	88 (48.89)	107 (59.45)
		Not at all	10 (16.67)	20 (33.33)	12 (20.00)	38 (63.33)	6 (10.00)	5 (8.33)	28 (15.55)	63 (35.00)
		Total	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	180 (100.00)	180 (100.00)

3.	Access to health facilities	Full	32 (53.33)	18 (30.00)	20 (33.33)	10 (16.67)	37 (61.67)	22 (36.67)	89 (49.44)	50 (27.78)
		Partial	28 (46.67)	42 (70.00)	37 (61.67)	45 (75.00)	23 (38.33)	38 (63.33)	88 (48.89)	125 (69.44)
		Not at all	-	-	3 (5)	5 (8.33)	-	-	3 (1.67)	5 (2.78)
		Total	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	180 (100.00)	180 (100.00)
4.	Participation in family planning	Full	-	-	-	-	5 (8.33)	2 (3.33)	5 (2.78)	2 (1.11)
		Partial	13 (21.67)	4 (6.67)	7 (11.67)	-	15 (25.00)	5 (8.33)	35 (19.44)	9 (5.00)
		Not at all	47 (78.33)	56 (93.33)	53 (88.33)	60 (100.00)	40 (66.67)	53 (88.34)	140 (77.78)	169 (93.89)
		Total	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	180 (100.00)	180 (100.00)
5.	Have time for economic activities over and above subsistence activities	Full	23 (38.33)	20 (33.33)	20 (33.33)	21 (35.00)	26 (43.33)	24 (40.00)	69 (38.33)	65 (36.11)
		Partial	30 (50.00)	30 (50.00)	32 (53.34)	28 (46.67)	31 (51.67)	31 (51.67)	93 (51.67)	89 (49.44)
		Not at all	7 (11.67)	10 (16.67)	8 (13.33)	11 (18.33)	3 (5.00)	5 (8.33)	18 (10.00)	26 (14.45)
		Total	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	180 (100.00)	180 (100.00)

Source: Survey Data.

Note: Figures in the parentheses are percentages to the total.

Table 5
Social Empowerment Index of Women Respondents

Districts	Particulars	Value of Index
Amritsar	Beneficiaries	0.5431
	Non-beneficiaries	0.4541
Muktsar	Beneficiaries	0.5332
	Non-beneficiaries	0.3319
Jalandhar	Beneficiaries	0.5531
	Non-beneficiaries	0.5225
Punjab	Beneficiaries	0.5461
	Non-beneficiaries	0.4352

Source: Computed from Survey Data.

Table 5 shows the social empowerment of women by selected indicators. The value of social empowerment index was found to be 0.5461 and 0.4352 both for the beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries respectively. This depicts that women beneficiaries were socially more empowered as compared to non-beneficiaries. As far as district-level analysis was concerned, value of social empowerment index was found to be 0.5431 for the beneficiaries and 0.4541 for non-beneficiaries of Amritsar district. The value of social empowerment index was found to be 0.5332 and 0.3319 for the beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries respectively of Muktsar district which depicts that beneficiaries of Muktsar district were socially more empowered compared to non-beneficiaries. In Jalandhar district value of social empowerment index was 0.5531 for the beneficiaries and 0.5225 for the non-beneficiaries.

3.4 Psychological Empowerment

Women are said to be psychologically empowered if they have self-confidence, determined about their decisions relating to their work and have feeling of security in the family.

It was observed from table 6 that the women respondents were feeling secured in their family. Out of the total respondents 74.44 percent of women beneficiaries and 57.22 percent non-beneficiaries had self-confidence. This reveals that women beneficiaries were more confident as compared to non-beneficiaries. It was observed though field survey t hat confidence level of women has increased after participating in rural development programmes. Some women beneficiaries of SHGs visited Delhi to participate in trade fairs. This has positive impact on their confidence level. Out of the total respondents 35 percent of beneficiaries and 3.89 percent of non-beneficiaries were determined about their decisions relating to their work.

Table 6

Status of Psychological Empowerment of Women by Selected Indicators

Sl. No.	Particulars		Districts						Punjab	
			Amritsar		Muktsar		Jalandhar			
			Benf.	Non-benf.	Benf.	Non-benf.	Benf.	Non-benf.	Benf.	Non-benf.
1.	Self-confidence	Yes	43 (71.67)	30 (50.00)	41 (68.33)	28 (46.67)	50 (83.33)	45 (75.00)	134 (74.44)	103 (57.22)
		No	17 (28.33)	30 (50)	19 (31.67)	32 (53.33)	10 (16.67)	15 (25.00)	46 (25.56)	77 (42.78)
		Total	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	180 (100.00)	180 (100.00)
2.	Self- determination	Yes	20 (33.33)	2 (3.33)	18 (30.00)	-	25 (41.67)	5 (8.33)	63 (35.00)	7 (3.89)
		No	40 (66.67)	58 (96.67)	42 (70.00)	60 (100.00)	35 (58.33)	55 (91.67)	117 (65.00)	173 (96.11)
		Total	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	180 (100.00)	180 (100.00)
3	Feeling of security in family	Yes	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	180 (100.00)	180 (100.00)
		No	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
		Total	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	180 (100.00)	180 (100.00)

Source: Survey Data.

Note: Figures in the parentheses are percentages to the total.

Table 7
Psychological Empowerment Index of Women Respondents

Districts	Particulars	Value of Index
Amritsar	Beneficiaries	0.6451
	Non-beneficiaries	0.3889
Muktsar	Beneficiaries	0.6321
	Non-beneficiaries	0.3189
Jalandhar	Beneficiaries	0.6531
	Non-beneficiaries	0.4531
Punjab	Beneficiaries	0.6452
	Non-beneficiaries	0.3872

Source: Computed from Survey Data.

The results of table 7 show the value of psychological empowerment index. The overall value of psychological empowerment index was found to be 0.6452 and 0.3872 both in case of beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries respectively. This depicts that women beneficiaries were psychologically more empowered than that of non-beneficiaries.

3.5 Composite Empowerment Index

Overall empowerment of women was judged from composite empowerment index using economic empowerment, social empowerment and psychological empowerment indices as sub-components. Table 8 shows the value of composite empowerment index both for beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries.

Table 8
Composite Empowerment Index of Women Respondents

Districts	Particulars	Value of Index
Amritsar	Beneficiaries	0.5733
	Non-beneficiaries	0.4556
Muktsar	Beneficiaries	0.5690
	Non-beneficiaries	0.3721
Jalandhar	Beneficiaries	0.5892
	Non-beneficiaries	0.5083
Punjab	Beneficiaries	0.5758
	Non- beneficiaries	0.4459

Source: Computed from Survey Data.

A look at composite empowerment index shows that overall empowerment status of women was not found to be very satisfactory. But still the empowerment level of beneficiaries was higher than non-beneficiaries. The results of table 8 show that value of CEI for Amritsar district was 0.5733 in case of beneficiaries and 0.4556 in case of non-beneficiaries whereas in Muktsar district, value of CEI was 0.5690, 0.3721 in case of beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries respectively. In Jalandhar district the value of CEI was found to be 0.5892 in case of beneficiaries and 0.5083 in case of non-beneficiaries. The results reveal that value of CEI was higher in Jalandhar district both in case of beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries. The reason may be that Jalandhar is a developed district than Amritsar and Muktsar districts. The BPL women of Jalandhar district were more aware and confident than women of other two distrcits. The difference between value of CEI in case of beneficiaries and non- beneficiaries was higher in Muktsar district. Therefore impact on empowerment is more visible in Muktsar district. The reason may be that women of Muktsar district were less aware and confined to domestic chores,

Table 9

Empowerment Level of Women Based on Composite Empowerment Index

Empowerment Level of Women	Districts						Punjab	
	Amritsar		Muktsar		Jalandhar			
	Benf.	Non-benf.	Benf.	Non-benf.	Benf.	Non-benf.	Benf.	Non-benf.
Low (0.1-0.50)	22 (36.67)	45 (75.00)	24 (40.00)	42 (70.00)	18 (30.00)	30 (50.00)	64 (35.56)	117 (65.00)
Medium (0.51-0.70)	30 (50.00)	13 (21.67)	29 (48.33)	17 (28.33)	28 (46.67)	20 (33.33)	87 (48.33)	50 (27.78)
High (0.71& above	8 (13.33)	2 (3.33)	7 (11.67)	1 (1.67)	14 (23.33)	10 (16.67)	29 (16.11)	13 (7.22)
Total	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	60 (100.00)	180 (100.00)	180 (100.00)

Source: Computed from Survey Data.

Note: Figures in the parentheses are percentages to the total.

whereas those who came out of their houses through participation in rural development programmes and participate in various trade fairs, their confidence level has increased.

The results of table 9 show the empowerment level of women. The results reveal that 35.56 percent of beneficiaries, 65.00 percent of non-beneficiaries had low level of empowerment while 48.33 percent of beneficiaries and 27.78 percent of non-beneficiaries had medium level of empowerment. The results also depict that 16.11 percent of beneficiaries and 7.22 percent of non-beneficiaries had high level of empowerment for the state of Punjab as a whole. Thus majority of the beneficiaries had medium level of empowerment whereas most of the non-beneficiaries had low level of empowerment. Thus the participation of women in rural development programmes has increased their empowerment from low to medium level. Hence rural development programmes have positive impact on empowerment level of women. But to increase this empowerment level from medium to high level some strong efforts are required.

4. Conclusions and Policy Implications

The results of the study provide sufficient evidences that rural development programmes have contributed to women empowerment. Empowerment level of beneficiaries was found to be comparatively better than non-beneficiaries. The rural women, who were confined to domestic chores, came out of their houses through participating in rural development programmes. They got employment and became economically independent. Their participation in family decisions has increased. They became more confident and feel respected in the family and society. Thus study concluded that rural development programmes has positive impact on women empowerment but there are some shortcomings of these progammes which need to be cured to make them more effective.

Based on the findings of the present study, following specific policy recommendations are made:

1. There is absence of proper marketing facilities for the products made by trained women under SGSY programme. Government should take responsibility to provide facilities for sale of their products.
2. The loan repayment process is unsatisfactory. There is also no proper official intervention in the field to rectify the issue.
3. The rural development programmes can be made more effective by involving women participation in implementation process.
4. Though the government has provided various encouraging facilities to improve the education level of children like free books, free uniform, mid-day meal etc, still the education level of rural women stands very poor. Hence awareness about education of women should further be strengthened.
5. The government officials involved in SGSY schemes complained unsatisfactory behaviour of bank officials regarding sanction of loan. Some time they did not follow the government guidelines while charging interest from SGSY beneficiaries. Need for formation of district level committees involving all stakeholders to overcome this problem.
6. The MGNREGA implementing authorities in the study area complained shortage of staff (between 45 to 97 per cent) as an impediment to the smooth functioning of the programme which needs to be considered seriously.
7. There is the need to encourage more women participation in MGNREGA work in Amritsar district. MGNREGA implementing staff should also have women coordinators to encourage the women to work under this programme.
8. Lack of crèche, shade and water facilities has been noticed during the survey. Most of the women were not aware about basic facilities and unemployment allowance under MGNREGA. More awareness need to be generated through workshops, TV, radio etc.

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ISDA Journal 27 (3) 2016, pp. 371-376.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE MENTAL TOUGHNESS OF MALE AND FEMALE SPORTSPERSONS ON OPEN SKILL

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Abstract

The purpose of the study was to analyse the mental toughness of male and female athletes on open skill under Kerala University. For this study 100 male and 100 female athletes from various colleges under Kerala University were selected as subjects . The age of the athletes ranged from 18 to 24 years. The data were collected by using questionnaire method. The scores were collected using mental toughness questionnaire model by Alan Goldberg. This survey was taken by the investigator visiting personally at St. Johns CollegeAnchal, NSS College Nilamel, Mar Ivanios College, Womens College Thiruvananthapuram, LNCPEKaryavattom. The subjects were clearly described about the purpose of the study and made them to answer once the instruction was understood carefully. To compare the scores between male and female athletes, descriptive statistics and ANOVA were computed.

Key Words: *Mental toughness, Open Skill*

Mental toughness is a skill that can be developed by every individual. This skill can improve your performance in every walk of life. Mental toughness is frequently used in sport psychology. Mental toughness is a measure of individual resilience and confidence that may predict success in sports, education and so on. With help of mental toughness you can become a better athlete and can face difficult competitive situations and able to win highly competitive matches.

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Most top athletes and coaches believe that psychological aspects and factors play a crucial role in the make – up of champion. If the athletes physical skills are matched, then the competitor with greater control over his/her mind will usually emerge as the winner. Mental strength is not going to compensate for lack of skills, but in close contests it can make differences between winning and losing (Lee Crust, 2003).

Two basic approaches to coaching mental toughness are toughen the body to toughen the mind and toughen the mind to toughen the body. The first one is commonly used by the coaches to develop the mental toughness among their athletes. The summary of this approach is hard work. The more you work, the more you become tough. But here the coaches make a big mistake that those who fail to respond to it is treated as soft and not capable to complete successfully. Actually here endurance plays the major role.

Second approach is to toughen the mind to toughen the body. Coaches mainly use this approach to focus on developing the athletes mental skills. This can enhance an athlete's ability to perform up to their full potential. In this the coaches train their students to forget about the failures and setbacks that came from the past matches and also to cope with the pressure of the situation and the need of scoring more points.

Coaches can select the one from the two approaches for the better performance of their athletes that one which suits their own way of coaching philosophy and the one which will work better with the athlete they are coaching. Even within athletes some of them suit the first method while some of them suits the second approach. So the way of adapting to the better one lies on both the coaches as well as the athletes. All is actually understanding mutually between the coach and the athletes.

Objectives,Hypothesis and Method

The objective of the study is to analyse mental toughness of male and female sports persons on open skill under Kerala University. The hypothesis of the study is that 'there will be significant difference in mental toughness between male and female sports persons under open skill.

Samples

For the purpose of this study, 100 male and 100 female athletes were selected from the colleges under Kerala University. The average age of the subject ranged from 18 to 24 years.

Tool

To assess the mental toughness, mental toughness questionnaire by Alan Goldberg was used. The first section consist of demographic information sheet consist of several questions used to describe the sample (ie, Name, Gender, Age, Event, Achievement etc). The next section contain 30 questions.

Administration of Questionnaires

The questionnaire was personally administered to the subjects. The investigator has briefed about the purpose of study. Enough time were provided to the subjects for answering the questions.

Scoring and Analysis

To determine the mean difference between mental toughness of the male and female athletes , descriptive statistics and ANOVA (level of significance was set at 0.05) were employed.

Results

The mental toughness scores of selected sports persons were collected on their gender calculated mean and SD. The significance of mean difference was tested using ANOVA. The details are given in table 1 and 2

Table1

Comparison of Overall Mental Toughness Scores Based on Gender

SV	SS	DF	MS	F	p
Model	208908.456	4	52227.11	11110.00	0.000*
Gender	3104.644	1	3104.644	660.23	0.000*

**significant at 5% level ($p < 0.05$). $R^2 = 0.978$*

Table 1, indicates that the constructed ANOVA model seems to best fit in explaining the variations in overall mental toughness scores of selected sportspersons by taking the effects of gender, type and the interaction of gender and type as the explanatory variables ($F = 11110.00$, $p < 0.05$, $R^2 = 0.978$). ANOVA results shows that there exists significant variation in mental toughness scores of selected sportspersons based on the main effects due to gender ($F = 660.23$, $p < 0.05$).

Table 2

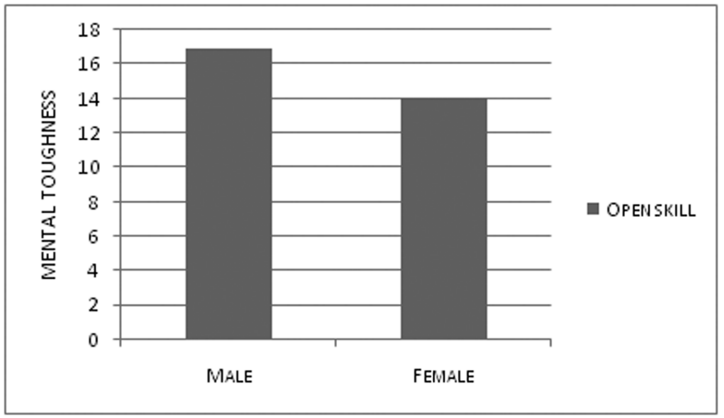
Descriptive Statistics of Mental Toughness for the Comparison of Gender

Gender	Male (N= 100)			Female (N=100)		Total (Type)	
Type	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Open skill	16.91	2.30	250	14.03	2.40	15.47	2.76

Table 2 shows that selected male sports persons reports higher level of average overall mental toughness scores (16.91±2.30) as compared to selected female sports persons (14.03±2.40) The diagrammatic representation of average mental toughness scores of sports persons based on gender in figure 1.

Figure 1

Diagrammatic Representation of overall Mental Toughness Scores Based on Gender



Discussion

The statistical analysis by using ANOVA to estimate the mental toughness between male and female athlete revealed that there was difference in mental toughness. The analysed data revealed that the male athletes are more mentally tough than females. This is due to the reason that males have more reboundability, ability to handle pressure, concentration ability, confidence and motivation than by the females.

Sandeep Kumar (2016) studied the mental toughness between male and female Kho- Kho players of Haryana. For this purpose, total 30 Kho-Kho players (15) male and (15) female players with the age group of 19 to 24 years were selected as subjects. For the study only Rewari district from Haryana was selected for the study. The data obtained after scoring revealed that male athletes are mentally tough than the females. The similar study was also conducted by Amit Kumar (2016) among basketball players of Haryana and these study are in line with the present study.

However the research conducted by Sunil Kumar, N Suhindar Singh and Dr. Santu Mitra (2016) revealed that there was no significant difference in case of mental toughness. This do not support the present study.

Conclusion

The results revealed that the male sports persons is more mentally tougher than the female sports persons. This is mainly due to more opportunities and experiences for male sports persons than the female sports persons.

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