



April - June 2018

Vol. 28 Number 2

www.isdajournal.com

April - June 2018

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Editor



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- (Pillai&Joshy,2010)
- Pillai and Joshy (2010) argue that ...
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- Pillai, Josukutty Joshy and Parija (2015) support.....

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Josukutty, C.A., (2013). Af-Pak Policy: Implications for India. In Mohanam B Pillai (Ed.) *India's National Security: Concerns and Strategies*. New Delhi: New Century Publication.

Zubin, J. (1975). Problem of attention in schizophrenia. In M.I. Kietzman, S. Sutton and J. Zubin (Eds.) *Experimental approaches to psychopathology*. New York: Academic Press.

Citing DOI

Farrell, P. (2010). School psychology: Learning lessons from history and moving forward. *School Psychology International*, 31, 581-598. doi: 10.1177/0143034310386533.

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POLITICAL OUTSOURCING OF THE 'IDEA OF INDIA'

Bijukumar V*

Abstract

The astounding victory of the BJP in the 16th general election redraw the political idea of the secular India and put an alternative idea of India which is based on exclusionary, monolithic, majoritarian and obscurantist religious orthodoxy. Politics which is ideally conceptualized as a rational activity with its potentiality for emancipation reduced to irrationality and deteriorated into the social and political servitude. The ascendancy of Hindu nationalist politics impoverished the cultural life of the vast majority of the people such as Dalits, Tribals and Minorities which has a castigating effect on larger agenda of social revolution and transformative politics. However, the re imaging of the liberal and secular idea of India depends on unity of social and political forces rather than sectarian struggles against Hindu nationalist Politics.

The verdict of the general election 2014 brought dramatic changes in the politics of India. The single party, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) secured simple majority of its own in the Lok Sabha, for the first time since the last three decades. Though fought under the national coalition front of many regional parties, the BJP secured 282 seats with a national vote share of 31.34%. The Congress which led the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) and controlled the political power for the two consecutive terms was reduced to a numerical strength of 44 seats in the lower house. The verdict witnessed the consolidation of Hindu nationalist politics and the debacle of caste and regional based political parties which were playing deceive role in national politics since the late 1980s. In the post election

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scenario, the astounding majority of the BJP turned to be a tyranny of majority and it witnessed centralized trends in Indian politics. Though, the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) voted to power, the BJP's agenda is gaining predominance in politics. Moreover, the election majority proved that the moderate Hindutva during the Vajpayee phase turned to extremist phase. In other words, the thumbing parliamentary majority of its own without relying on the alliance and the leadership of Narendra Modi, the Hindu nationalist politics entered into a phase of extremist posture. It is to be reminded that in the 1998 and 1999, the NDA government under Atal Bihari Vajpayee faced stiff opposition from alliance partners forcing not to implement the communal Hindutva agenda.

Throughout the election campaign, the BJP set aside the core Hindutva agenda such as construction of Ram temple at Ayodhya, the abrogation of Article 370 which gives special status to Jammu and Kashmir and the establishment of a uniform civil code. Rather, development and good governance acquired wider space and Modi's image as symbol of development was projected throughout the campaign. Indeed, Modi's development plank and the slogan of 'good days ahead' resembles the "India Shining" campaign launched by the BJP led NDA in 2004. However, the developments in the aftermath of the formation of government established that the development agenda is indeed a façade for the Hindutva forces to cover up their communal flare in the society. In the leadership overhaul the BJP disowned its old guards such as L.K. Advani and Murali Manohar Joshi and reposed faith in the Gujarat Chief Minister, Narendra Modi who emerged as the acceptable face of Hindutva forces and the mascot of the corporate business in India. Rather than the so called development image of the Modi and his projection as a mascot of corporate capitalism in India, the astounding victory of the BJP is contributed by its political mannurity of social and

economic situation in India. As the editorial of *Economic and Political Weekly* writes that, “the right wing has been victorious because it addressed, in both economic and cultural-political terms, the new class demands of the transforming and transformed social classes and located its politics in the possibilities hereby opened up”.¹ Others argued that “the rise of right-wing politics in India is built on the fragmented nature of the struggles waged by the oppressed who constitute the vast majority of the population: “lower” castes, adivasis, working classes and peasants, women, religious minorities, etc.” (Gudavarthy and Mannathukaren, 2014: 16). However, the outgrowth of Hindu nationalist politics can be seen in the context of spread of neoliberalism and the crisis of communism in the contemporary world. It is argued that “a culturally and politically aggressive Hinduvta can be seen as both a product of and a response to the new period of global capitalism characterized by the collapse of Communism” (Bhatt, 2001: p. 150).

The electoral surge of the right wing forces shrank the liberal left space in India. The electoral verdict is a clear indication that the Congress, the largest secular political formation in India is losing its preeminence in Indian politics. In the Lok Sabha the Congress could not get the position of the leader of opposition as it failed to muster 10 per cent of the total seats in the Lok Sabha. Though the party faced its electoral debacles in 1977, 1989 and 1996, and it bounced back to Indian politics with much vitality and vigour, with the defeat in 2014 the revival of the Congress in the near future is a bleak. The Congress vote share was only 19.31% by winning only 44 seats. The steady decline is visible in many states across the region such as south, north, east, west and north-east India (Palshikar, 2015). In most states, where the Congress once played a decisive role, the BJP is spreading its wings attracting the disgruntled social groups. In spite of the implementation of Mahatma Gandhi National Rural

Employment Act (MGNREGA) – the world's largest employment guarantee scheme, the Congress could not expand its mass base among the rural poor. On the contrary, the Hindutva forces able to mobilize these sections on its developmental plank.

The Left faced its worst ever electoral performance. The electoral strength of major parliamentary communities parties such as the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and the Communist Party of India was reduced only to 3.28% and 0.79% of votes respectively which is worst ever in the Parliamentary history of India. The traditional left strongholds like West Bengal and Kerala, the parties could not show an impressive victory. The 2014 election witnessed the Dalits are moving towards the Hindutva forces and caste based identity politics is submerged and Hindu nationalism gained momentum in politics. For quite some time, the BJP, in order to maintain its overall Hindu platform, is trying to co-opt dalit and other identity groups in a Pan Hindu platform. A large section of dalits wooed by the BJP to its fold adding a shock to the Dalit parties. The dalit leaders such as Ramvilas Paswan and Udit Raj became the part of the coalition. Thus, the vibrant dalit politics, like other parties such as the Congress and Left is facing its crisis.

Since late 1980s, the regional parties are playing an important role in the national level giving a new direction to the politics in India. Many of the regional parties even dumped their secessionist and ethnoregional chauvinist attitude and joined the national coalition for better bargaining for development of their respective states. In many occasions, the regional parties were able to reorient even the economic reforms and foreign policy of the national governments which were critically depending on it for its survival. The verdict of 2014 election witnessed the diminishing role of regional parties in influencing the national policies of the NDA government which enjoys a single party majority. It is to be reminded that except Biju

Janata Dal and AIDMK, most of the regional parties tasted defeat in the course of Hindutva wave in the country.

Erosion of Developmental Nationalism

Another ideological strident in Idea of India is the strength of developmental Nationalism. The process of development initiated in the early decades of independence, the Nehruvian model of development, arrived at a social consensus in tune with the nationalist fervor bringing all social classes in the development process. In other words, the spirit of inclusive nationalism constituted the philosophy of development which in turn strengthened the secular democracy in India. The verdict of 16th Lok Sabha elections raised profound questions about the developmental nationalism. The ascendancy of the BJP marked the crisis of the developmental nationalism in India. Though the BJP came to power with the development plank and people oriented development, concessions were granted to corporate sector and reducing allocation in social sectors. The economic policies favoured the corporate business and social nouveau rich. The sizeable growth in the economy was not able translate into justice for the vast majority of the people. The growing inequality and poverty further make the poor from the politics. In such a situation, the idea of inclusive growth is a misnomer.

In contrary to the promise made by Modi in the election campaign for good days ahead, the first budget of the Modi Government (2014-15) was disappointed as it witnessed the decline in real terms in the budget allocations to crucial areas of the social sector. Reasserting the government's commitment to free market and neoliberal reforms, the allocation to MGNREGA, restrained to around Rs. 33,000 crore. In the second budget of NDA (2015-16) the allocations for MGNREGA and food subsidy have almost stagnated which was a grave concern for food security, employment generation and improvement of people's livelihood. The allocation

for health and family welfare has come down from Rs. 35,163 crore in 2014 to 25,653 crore. While there is an increasing income disparities, the government is giving bonanza for the big capitalists and the corporate. In the first Independence Day address in August 2014, Modi made a clarion call to 'Make in India' inviting both the foreign and Indian corporate to invest in India. He even assured the investors that in India they would receive red carpet not redtappism. The Make in India, once again reveal the direction of the government's policies for investment and boost the growth not for ensuring social justice. In fact, make in India manifests the eroding economic sovereignty, unfettered from to the big corporate business. The Make in India, is indeed, is the continuation of the economic policies of the previous NDA regime to appease the corporate business to woo investment in India, overturn the spirit of Nehruvian emphasis on growth with justice. Mod's mantras aimed at facilitating investment, foster innovation and enhance skill development gave undue importance to industrial and infrastructural development in contrast to the agrarian development. The onslaught of Hindu nationalism eroded the spirit of developmental nationalism and the idea of a developmental state. While the cultural nationalism of Hindutva is exclusionary and the developmental nationalism is more inclusionary. Rejecting the developmental nationalism, the BJP is striving for Hindutva based 'exclusivist' cultural nationalism as the striving force for development. The emerging cultural nationalism is based on majoritarian culture by denigrating inclusive nationalism, self recognition and the democratic civility. The VHP leader Praveen Togadia even asserted that the discourse on development should be related to Hinduvata. According to him, development would be of no use if Hindus were not 'safe' at home.²

Crisis of Secular Nationalism and Democracy

The secular nationalism is a modernist ideology based on anti-

colonial ethos developed during the nationalist movement. The anti-colonial values not only contribute to unseating European powers from the colonised country but also contributed to the assertion of the self identity of the colonised. The construction of self-identity does not based on the identity of a particular community or groups but based on constructing a national identity based on inclusion. It tried to bring all communities and social groups to nationalist imagination by recognizing the internal diversity of India. In the post independent period, it contributed to a nation building and democratic consolidation. On the contrary, Hindu nationalism does not have anti-colonial orientation and thus does not reflect an inclusive one. It often takes politics away from economy and non-political elements of hatred and emotions. Hindu nationalism is based on a dual phenomenon in which religion legitimizes politics and politics legitimizes religion. By invoking religiosity for political gains, imposing religious homogeneity which is denigrating cultural diversity and its essence of tolerance. The idea of India is an amalgam of various cultures, plurality of religions and multiplicity of values, norms and practices do not based on any particular religious identity.

The idea of India is premised on the manifestation of a secular liberal democracy. The institutionalization of Indian democracy is based on its commitment to secular democracy. Constructing Hindu nation based on one nation, one people and one culture which are exclusionary in nature putting a question mark on the sustainability of secular democracy. In other words, the sustainability of democracy in India is its inclinable faith in secular democracy. Moreover, India's diversity in congruence with secular democracy gave strength to its public policies. According to Hindu nationalist forces, however, Hindutva is a cultural and civilizational ideology and everybody living in India should consider himself a Hindu.³ Such a categorical assertion not only erodes public policy but also democracy as such.

The Hindutva's aversion to the basic structure and the philosophical foundation of the Constitution is often evident in government's actions in the public sphere. On 26th January, 2015 on the occasion of Republic day, the NDA government issued an advertisement in the newspapers where the preamble of the Constitution appeared without the words, such as socialist and secular. For quite some time the BJP is showing its aversion to the concepts such as socialist and secular in the Constitution. In fact, the previous NDA government led by Vajpayee constituted a Constitutional Review committee to look into the restructuring of the constitution. The Constitution is considered as a living document which reposed its faith in the multicultural society with a freedom for all communities and groups. The Constitution visualized an idea of India which is based on the plurality and diversity of its people. It is celebrating its commitment to such diversity, leads to the substantiality of Indian as a nation. Hindu nationalism is exclusive because it considered the Hindus are the only national community and other communities living India do not include it. On the other hand, secular nationalism believed in the composite culture of India emphasizing the unity and diversity of various communities. Ravi Shankar Prasad even called for a national debate on whether the words, "socialist" and "secular" should continue to be part of the Preamble to the Constitution. The Preamble embodies the basic philosophy and fundamental values on which the Constitution is based.

Valuing diversity of cultures and promoting equal treatment to all cultural communities would be a part of the Idea of India. Moreover, recognizing cultural identity aims at promoting equality of communities and the coercive homogenization and assimilation would endanger the existence of cultural communities. The BJP's cultural nationalism contradicts the India's liberal and secular

nationalism based on modernist ideology based on rationalism, scientific temper, etc. As Rajeev Bhargava asserts:

The real aim of Hindu nationalists is to alter the ethical identity and character of Indian politics and society. This real motive is camouflaged by putting on a mask, with as much sham sincerity as can be mustered, to claim publicly that actions condemned by ideological opponents can easily re-described so that any disapproving judgment must be withheld” (Bhargava, 2003: 85).

The RSS’ exponential growth in various states across the region after the BJP came to power is a grave concern for the secular democracy in India. It is reported that since July 2014, the number of RSS shakhas across the country has gone up from 39, 000 to beyond 42000 a nearly 10 per cent jump in four months (Gandhi, 2014). Further, the governmental agencies are used to spread the ideology of the Sangh Parivar. For instance, Dooradarshan telecasted the RSS chiefs vijayadeshmi speech on October 4, 2014. The idea of India is witnessing the phenomenon of “clash within” those who are protecting the liberal secular democracy and those who are striving for protecting the Hindu Nationalism. In other words, the clash is primarily between liberal secular nationalism and Hindu nationalism or the clash between demand for diversity and homogeneity. Martha Nussbaum describes this as the ‘clash within’ not the clash of civilization – between democratic western values and aggressive Muslim monolithic values. Clash within means “between people who are prepared to live with others who are different, on terms of equal respect, and those who seek the protection of homogeneity, and the domination of a single “pure” religious and ethnic tradition”(Nussbaum, 2009: 505).

The onslaught of Hindutva has an implication for the liberal citizenship in India. The multicultural citizenship based on recognizing the equal rights of all individuals, groups and

communities facing an attack from the cultural homogeneity agenda of the Hindu nationalism. The religious freedom is under attack and there is a growing incident of attack on religious institutions of the minorities. Contrary to the spirit of the Constitution, the equality of citizenship is derecognized in the majoritarianism. The citizenship rights of minorities such as Christians, Muslims were questioned. As Aijaz Ahmad argues that “the RSS also preaches certain ideas of citizenship according to which members of what is conceived as the religious majority have certain manifest rights which the rest of us do not manifestly have but could possibly earn by joining what is euphemistically called the ‘mainstream’- in other words, by accepting the tenets of religious majoritarianism” (Ahmad, 2007: 43).

Communalizing Everyday Life

The everyday life is based on cultural values, norms and beliefs which are premised on certain customs and habits and it has changed in the modern world due to technology and entertainment. Today everyday life is secularized, rationalized, temporal and materialistic. In such a secularized atmosphere, the imposition of cultural nationalism would destroy the everyday life. Cultural majoritarianism is a threat to secular democracy and religious mobilization to achieve political power is a threat to the idea of India. Religious appeals in a traditional society like India may gain a short cut to politics but it create certain non political attributes such hatred and intolerance. Fascist ideology does not distinguish the private and public life of the individuals. It interferes even in the private life of the people such as food habits, reproductive rights, love, marriage, health, entertainment and sports, etc. The Sangh Parivar outfits are dictating on the private life of the people. For instance, the Hindutva forces are scuttling the space for love. The explicit manifestation of Hindutva in the personal life of individual

is found in the so called Love Jihad – Muslim youths are marrying Hindu women and is converting to Islam is considered as a threat to Hindutva. The Sangh Parivar sees the marriage of Hindu girls by Muslim boys as a ploy for conversion. It accuses the Muslims clerics and Madrasas of promoting ‘love jihad’. Praveen Togadia, the VHP’s international working president, claimed that love jihad is only meant to convert people to Islam.⁴ However, it is creating insecurity among the minority community. The Hindu nationalist forces are even interfering the reproductive rights of the women. The argument for having four children for Hindu women to increase Hindu population is an interference on the reproductive rights of women. For instance, the BJP Member of Parliament, Sakshi Maharaj said that Hindu women should have four children each. Such a statement is reinforcing the patriarchal ideology which reduces women as a reproductive machine and child-bearing structure. The cultural deviants threaten the moral ethos of the Indian culture, moral policing of sangh parivar outfits. The cultural custodians are assigning traditional gender roles to men and women reestablish the patriarchal values preached by the Hindutva outfits.

The traditional way of practicing health such as Yoga is communalising for political gain. The Modi government often claimed that the UN declaration of 21st June as the International Day of Yoga is a cultural recognition of India in the abroad. The Hindu nationalist forces raised hue and cry against the film PK for the allegation of hurting the sentiments of Hindu cultural values is a clear cut attack on the entertainment rights of the individuals. Sangh Parivar outfits such as Bajrang Dal and VHP, alleged that PK hurt the religious sentiments of Hindus as it keeps making fun of Hinduism and it promotes love jihad.

The Hindutva’s another level of cultural intrusion is found in food habits which is infringing the food and cultural rights of the

minorities and dalits. The proposed national law to ban beef is a blatant interference of Hindutva forces not only in the food habits of the dalits and minorities but also infringing the right to food of the poor Hindus. The BJP government in Haryana announced that it would institute a law that provides for a ten year imprisonment for those who slaughters cow. Though, Modi had attacked the “Pink Revolution” - the export of cattle meat – in 2014 general election – his government has not changed the meat policy since then allowing high quantity of meat to international market after Brazil. In fact, beef and buffalo meat are the source of cheap protein not just among sections of the minorities, but also for the poor Hindus in the rural areas. It was argued that meat eating is a western culture which goes against the Indian culture and non-vegetarian food would instigate men to sexual violence and inter caste marriages among the young boys. Ironically, though over 80% of Indian population is Hindus, only 20% of the Indian communities are vegetarians. Moreover, there is no clear cut understanding of what constitute vegetarian food. For instance, egg is considered as a vegetarian for some communities and onion and garlic are considered as non-vegetarianisms. In a recent order directing all higher educational institutions like IITs, IIMs and Medical Schools to have a separate vegetarian mess is a clear indication of government’s control over eating habits.

The religious freedom of the individual is under attack from the Hindu nationalist forces. Mohan Bhagwat, the Sangh Supremo, asked for a rebate on conversion. In the context of the ghar wapsi, the Visha Hindu Parishad destroys the social harmony of the secular India. Such actions would endanger the spirit and values of the Indian Constitution which guarantees all citizens to profess one’s religion. The people who are reconverting to Hinduism are the socially marginalized who are lured by the Hindutva forces to satisfy their material needs. Praveen Togadia, VHP’s International Working

President claimed that Hindus could become 'minorities' in the next 100 years if they did not stop religious conversions.⁵ The Ghar Wapsi programme organized by the Sangh Parivar denigrates the religious freedom guaranteed by the Constitution under Article 25. Even the Modi government is contemplating over brining an anti-conversion law in the country. Defending the ghar wapsi programme, the senior RSS leader Manmohan Vaidya said that connecting to one's root was a 'natural urge'.⁶

Education which contributes to national reconstruction is under attack from the communal forces. The liberal education intended to promote critical thinking and rational imagination is riddled with religious orthodoxy and primordial values. Through education, the values and norms transmitted to another generation from one generation and to develop scientific temper is lacking its social commitment. Such developments have castigating effects on the erosion of tolerance and pluralism in the everyday life of the Indians. The primary education which intended to ignite the child is witnessing the indoctrination of communal ideology. The higher education which intended to promote rationalism and critical inquiry became the ideological tool for the Hindutva forces.

Shrinking Deliberative Space

Amartya Sen often proud of the India's glorious tradition of public deliberation and rational debate. Public deliberation would bring rational policy outcome which is the essence of democracy. The Modi regime witnessed the shrinking deliberative space. The government is pushing ordinance in order to avoid deliberation in Parliament. In the administration of the Modi government deliberative democracy is failing and decisions and debates are not taking place in true sense of the term and promulgation of ordinances are the order of the time. It is considered that debates and

discussion would bring rationality which is essential for democracy. The government's decision to promulgate ordinances in insurance and coal sector reforms is a blatant violation of the deliberative ethos of the institutions of parliamentary democracy. In fact, Article 123 of the Constitution provides for promulgation of ordinances by the President during the recess of Parliament when "circumstances render it necessary". In another instance of violating the democratic spirit of the constitution, the Modi government is contemplating to summon a joint session of the Parliament fearing that the bills may not get majority in the Rajyasabha. In fact, Articles 108 and 118 of the Constitution provide for joint sitting of House in certain cases, including for the passage of bills in rare occasions.

The Hindutva forces are scuttling the liberal secular space which is essential for deliberative democracy based healthy deliberation and rationality. On the other hand, there is a growing tendency of fear of authority, intolerance to criticisms against authority and intellectual servitude to the Hindutva ideology. The essence of democracy such as rational integration, sharing intellectual space for articulation and expression of ideas are replaced by religious orthodoxy based on obscurantism. Nussbaum asserts that such a tradition of public deliberation is in jeopardy, given the ideological and anti-rational tactics of the Hindu right (Nussbaum, 2009: 515). A vibrant deliberative space creates arguments and counter arguments which ultimately leading to arriving at rational decisions. In the contemporary interpretation of democracy, Rawls perceived that public reason is the foundation stone for a just society. The way to attain social unity, according to him, was to create "an overlapping consensus" which focuses on a conception of justice with which the citizens agree for moral reason.

Invoking Past for Political Legitimacy

The Hindu nationalism cherishes on the glorious past of ancient

India and its cultural heritage. Instead of its composite culture and visible plural ethos, it believed in Hindu Rashtra and all Indians as Hindus and thereby denigrating minority sentiments. Denigrating the minority culture and rights, it contradicts the liberal ethos of India which recognizes the rights of the minorities and political recognition of constitutional rights. The majoritarianism endangers the democratic process adding a new direction to politics. Since nationalism as a product of collective imagination, national identity should not be construed as a single and monolithic identity. The political survival of Secular India is depending on its diverse cultural heritage. Rawls, for instance, argues that the political culture of contemporary democratic society is characterized by what he called “the fact of (reasonable) ‘pluralism’ and the ‘fact of oppression’”. These expressions refer to the fact that “the diversity of religious, philosophical and moral doctrines found in modern democratic societies is not a mere historical condition that may soon pass away” (Rawls, 1996: 36). The BJP’s cultural nationalism, based on Hindutva, is inherently opposed to the ideas of socialism and secularism, which they often seen as western ideology. Aijaz Ahmad, however, does not subscribe the view of cultural nationalism propagated by Hindu nationalism. According to him, “a majoritarianism, which is directed against minorities within the already constituted, citizenship – based nation, can hardly be called ‘nationalism’ in any proper sense, whatever that ideology may call itself” (Ahmad, 2007: 43).

The BJP’s emphases on Vedic science and mathematics are intended to glorify its past for political dividends. It is established fact that those who have no present always invoke the glorious past and those who do not have a ‘glorious past’ engage in struggle for a better present and future. Sushma Swaraj urged the Centre to declare Bhagawad Gita as a *Rashtriya Granth* (national scripture) is yet another ploy of the BJP to use the cultural heritage for political

purpose. Speaking at the Gita Prerna Mahotsav organised to celebrate 5, 5151 years of religious book Gita in New Delhi on 7th December, 2014, she asserted that Gita as a sacred text of Hindus and it should be a national holy book.⁷ Further, while on the one hand, the nationalist leaders such as Nehru and Gandhi face the ire of the Hindu nationalist forces, the leaders of Hindu nationalist ideology found place in public sphere. For instance, the Hindu Mahasabha installs Gandhi's murder Godse's statues in public places describing Godse as a 'nationalist political leader'.

Erosion of Scientific Temper and Rationality

During the initial years of independence, political and economic issues dominated over cultural issues in development. Nehru even thought that political and economic modernization would ultimately lead to the erosion of primordial cultural values leading towards modernization. Today cultural identity is resurfacing due to the crisis of political and economic modernization. The Hindutva forces are using two extremes such as modernity and primordiality to score political gain. Selective values of modernity often used to suit their political interests. The obscurantist idea of BJP poses a challenge to scientific temper and rationality. It is based on chauvinism and contrary to the ethos of Indian modernity. Politics is, in fact, considered as a rational activity where reason prevails over emotion, values, and even superstition. Such rationalism is based on interrogation of past which legitimizes the present. The politics, however, practiced by Hindu nationalism is based on religious orthodoxy values and cosmologies. The government's emphasis on Vedic science, astrology and palmistry are considered to be the larger part of the communal agenda. In fact Nehruvian contribution to promoting scientific temper and establishing scientific institutions intended to uplift the tradition-bound India to a modern India. It is an established fact that knowledge production is related to the

emancipation of humanity from the clutches of religious orthodoxy and obscurantism. Towards this direction the demystification of knowledge began in the world. In fact developing scientific temper is not detrimental to religious beliefs and on the other hand, the superstitious ridden religious are detrimental to modernity. The Constitution in the Article 51 A (h) emphasises that all citizens have the duty to develop a scientific temper which facing a challenge in the context of emerging religious orthodoxy.

The Hindu nationalist forces have a larger agenda of fusion of science and spirituality and mixing science with mythology. The Indian Science Congress in its 102nd session held in Mumbai on 4th January, 2015, for the first time organized a special symposium on “Ancient Sciences through Sanskrit” claimed the existence of interplanetary aircraft in India around 9000 years ago. Prakash Javadekar, the Union Environment Minister said that ‘the scientific community should pay attention to Sanskrit knowledge and use it for human development’⁸. The Prime Minister Modi even claimed that cosmetic surgery was practiced thousands of years ago and in-vitro fertilization –like procedure was resorted to long back. Some paper presenters claimed that India’s knowledge of making aeroplanes that could undertake interplanetary travel between 7000 and 6000 B.C.⁹ In fact, such an assertion would undermine the rational and objectivity of modern science. The facts based on mythology have no objective standing and it cannot be a libratory force for human beings.

Sanskrit as a national Script

The Constitution recognizes Hindi in Devanagari script as the official language and at the same time equally recognizes the regional languages. In the modern discourse, language is not only identified with a cultural identity but as an epitome of power itself. The Hindutva is projecting the Sanskrit as the mother of all

languages and considering it as the symbol of modernity. Such as language assertion is in the context of English is emerging as a global language and symbol of upward mobility and aspirational medium for the socially marginalized groups. The undue importance to one language and the step motherly attitude to other language generate further strains in the politics of India as it was evident from the anti-Hindi agitation in Tamil Nadu.

The decision to introduce Sanskrit in Kendriya Vidyalaya is insensitive to the cultural diversity of India. A recent controversy erupted over teaching German as third language in Kendriya Vidyalayas for classes VI to VIII . In fact, several school systems in the country include foreign language such as French and German as the second language. On 11th November, 2014, an office memorandum issued by the MHRD replacing German with Sanskrit as the third language. Ashok Singhal, the VHP leader argued that one foreign language is enough for learning. He even asserted that “Sanskrit is the language of our country. Everything was written in Sanskrit thousands of years ago. If you want to eliminate it, you want to eliminate the country. Many more things will be made compulsory.”¹⁰ The HRD Minister even claimed that continuation of German would have been a violation of the Constitution as the Eight Schedule list only 22 Indian languages, not German.

Politics of “Otherness and Exclusion”

The BJP’s communal political mobilization assumed a new dimension in India’s North-East. The poor tribals were instigated against the poor Muslims who are often branded as Bangladeshi infiltrators. The BJP often raise the issue of illegal migration in order to get the support of the tribals. In the February 2015 Delhi Assembly election, the BJP’s election manifesto described people from NEI to Delhi as immigrant” though it was rectified due to amidst protest by saying that was a printing mistake.¹¹ While

there is a growing segregation of tribal communities in the cultural realm, the Hindutva forces are showing keen interest in this region. During the election campaign, the BJP raised the issue of illegal Bangladeshi migrants in the region as it threatens the cultural fabric of indigenous communities. On the one hand, the BJP emerging as the self found custodians of the cultural life of the North-east India, there is growing incidents of racial attacks against people from the North-East ever since the government came to power. Moreover, the failure of the NDA government to implement the provisions of the Bezbaruah committee report¹² show the insanity of the BJP government towards the cause of the people from North East. Even attempt to denigrate their cultural diversity and forcing them to assimilate into the Hindutava cultural fold. This would further lead to alienation of these people from the idea of India as it falls outside their imagination.

Institutional Restructuring

Unlike other postcolonial countries of the world, the success of democracy is based on the strength of its institutions. In other words, the democratic nature and its durability of institutions strengthen the democracy. Nehru wanted to strengthen democratic institutions which according to him are essential for the stability of democracy. India cherished on its cultural diversity and the accommodation of such diversity both at the institutional and policy levels. The denigration of cultural diversity and reaffirmation in uncultural values denigrate the politics of India. The onslaught of Hindutva forces leads to the communalisation of life and cultural impoverishment of everyday life such as love, marriage, food habits, etc. The vitality of India as a nation relied on the liberal secular foundations of its polity.

In India, institutions are emerged in the context of anti-colonial struggle. In fact, institution building and state building was

the larger project of nation-building. The Modi regime witnessed a blatant attack on institutions and institutional governance. The Prime Minister Modi indicated that the reconstitution of Planning Commission in his Independence Day address 2014 to restructure the planning commission. In a Cabinet resolution on 7th January, 2015 the government set up the National Institution for Transforming India (NITI). The Planning Commission acted as an institutional framework for economic development. The idea of planning evolved during the nationalist movements where the state acts as an effective mechanism to economic development. Taking into the consideration of the underdevelopment, planning was suggested as an essential tool for rectifying the regional imbalances. The ethos of the planning evolved in the nationalist movement for independence and the objective was for rectify the colonial infirmities on regional and social imbalances. Though the centralized planning has many shortcomings, and many of the objectives could not be realized completely, it stands as a symbol of equity and balanced growth. In fact, Nehru's thoughts on economic planning were the most fully evolved in terms of : (i) conceptualizing the problems at stake; (ii) foreseeing the challenges ahead; (iii) envisioning possible solutions and methods of implementing policy" (Schottli, 2012: 94). Planning as a mechanism evolved for rectifying the developmental infirmities created by the two centuries of colonial rule. Planning with the active involvement of the state intended to take poverty, illiteracy and unemployment confronted by the economy in the aftermath of independence. Planning was considered as a means to utilize available resources more effectively to initiate the process of development. It sought state intervention for promotion of distributive justice and balanced development across the region. Though the growth rate attained under the planning was undoubtedly not so impressive, it could create certain positive signals in the direction of economy.

Ever since the economic reforms initiated in the 1990s, a debate is going on the relevance of planning commission. Some argue that planning commission lost its relevance in the era of market oriented development. However, rather than economic, politics determined the dismantling of Planning Commission which is considered to be a legacy of nationalist movement, socialist ethos and more often the imprint of Nehru on the economic development of India.

Two Steps Forward and One Step Backward

While the Sangh Parivar forces are castigating communal venom on minorities, the Modi wase either silent or apologetic in the parliament. The Prime Minister in his replay to discussion on the motion of thanks to the president's address in the Lok Sabha denounced communalism and said that nobody has right to discriminate on basis of religion. "No one can take the law in their hands and discriminate on the grounds of community," He further asserted that the only religious book is Indian Constitution, only prayer is welfare of all," (The Economic Times, 27th February, 2015). He even added that "Anybody who loves the country knows that that this is a nation of diversity and unity in diversity is our recognition . . . The nation cannot run outside the Constitution. There can be no discrimination on basis of religion. It's my duty to ensure that." (The Tribune, 27th February, 2015) Rajeev Bhargava, however, highlights the hypocrisy of Hindu nationalist forces in their commitment to the values of the constitution. Though explicitly they often swear by the values of the constitution, but their real motives are quite different. According to him, ". . . because agents are interested in the public legitimation of their actions, they are forced to adopt a rhetorical device, compelled to use the language of the Constitution, to talk and sometimes even behave as if the professed norm, value or principle was in fact part of their motivational set. They must pretend that their acts are in

conformity with the principles and values in the normative tradition made available by the Constitution” (Bhargava, 2003: 85).

Emerging “New” Idea of India

While the liberal secular India is fastly undermined by the Hindu nationalist forces to suit its political objectives, a new idea of India is gaining momentum in its place. Mohan Bhagwat, the RSS chief visualised that the new India can be a beacon to the world. According to him, “due to the decline of religions, the world is facing a crisis. Everything from theism to atheism and science has been tried. But the problems remain. Thinkers worldwide are saying that a new path is needed. They are turning to India”.¹³ According to him the fate of the nation was linked to the fate of the Hindu society and religion. It is our responsibility to mobilize the Hindu society, to strengthen one tradition and inspire people to serve the country.¹⁴ The political outsourcing of the secular idea of India has its ramification in the unity and integrity of India. The celebration of cultural diversity and the inculcation of secular values perhaps one of the reasons for India’s space in the International community. The US President, Barrack Obama who was the chief guest of the Republic Day 2015, reminded of the country to uphold religious freedom. According to him India will succeed as long as it is not splintered along religious lines. In his “Address to the People of India” in New Delhi before winding up his three day historic trip to the country on January 27, Obama reminded of India to respect diversity of beliefs and of faiths and uphold the constitutionally guaranteed Right to Freedom of Religion, without fear of persecution or discrimination.¹⁵

Conclusion

The onslaught of Hindu nationalism on secular democracy can be tackled by reshaping and reasserting the idea of India with a broader coalition of all secular democratic and progressive

forces and alternative set of policies based on distributive justice. However, the Congress, the main opposition party is in dock house as it was not showing any resilience after the humiliating defeat in the general election. It is facing an existential crisis both in ideology and leadership. The Party does not have any clear cut stand on many issues when BJP is destroying the secular fabric of the country. Interestingly, the Party possesses similar views of BJP in the areas of economic and foreign policies. In this situation, the reassertion of the idea of India is possible through concerted struggles and agitations of the secular and progressive forces both in the parliamentary and non-parliamentary space.

End Notes

- 1 “Outclassed”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLIX, No. 45, 8th November, 2014, p.7.
- 2 “Development without Hindu Rashtra is of no use: Togadia”, *The Hindu*, 27th January, 2015.
- 3 “Only Hindutva can unify India, says Bhagwat”, *The Hindu*, 9th February, 2015.
- 4 “Love Jihad” is a Conversion Ploy: VHP”, *The Hindu*, 12th December, 2014.
- 5 “Love Jihad is Conversion Ploy”, *The Hindu*, 12th December, 2014.
- 6 “Connecting to One’s roots a natural urge, says RSS”, *The Hindu*, 4th January, 2015.
- 7 “Make the Gita National Scripture, Says Sushama”, *The Hindu*, 8th December, 2014.
- 8 “Science Congress lauds ‘feats’ of Ancient India”, *The Hindu*, 5th January, 2015.
- 9 see “Mythology and Science”, *The Hindu*, (editorial), 6th January, 2015.
- 10 “Make Sanskrit Compulsory: Singhal”, *The Hindu*, 22nd November, 2014.
- 11 “Modi admits mistake on North-East “immigrants” in Vision Document”, *The Hindu*, 5th February, 2015.
- 12 The Bezbaruah committee was set up the UPA government in the wake of the brutal killing of nineteen year old boy from Arunachal Pradesh in Delhi in January 2014. The Committee submitted its report to the BJP government in July 2014 and has not been implemented its recommendations so far.

- 13 "India can be a beacon to the World: Bhagwat", *The Hindu*, 5th January, 2015.
- 14 India can be a beacon to the World: Bhagwat", *The Hindu*, 5th January, 2015.
- 15 "Uphold Religious Freedom, Obama Urges India", *The Hindu*, 28th January, 2015.

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SCOPE FOR ASSOCIATIONAL DEMOCRACY IN THE NEO LIBERAL ERA: AN ANALYSIS OF TRAJECTORY OF STATE- CIVIL SOCIETY DISCOURSE

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Abstract

The paper provides a comprehensive review of both theoretic and empirical studies on state-civil society association over the years, by examining scientific literature and tries to identify the existing possibilities for and limitations to materialize the associational democratic project in the neo liberalized era. Theoretical studies, especially in the neo liberalized era have discussed the scope for associational democracy, where both civil society and state can cooperate and coexist. However, empirical studies are inconclusive regarding the benefits of such kind of an association. The review paper concludes that issues in the very nature and structure of participation of civil society with state can destroy the possible positive benefits of association. One important factor that determines the success of association among state and civil society is the way in which plurality is respected and nurtured among different organizations.

Introduction

Political society (state) and civil society have a cyclical pattern of development over the decades and to a great extent, this pattern is a by-product of socio, economic, technological and political developments in the respective periods. State and civil society relations depict inconsistency; sometimes coordinated efforts were made to ensure social development in all societies and at other times the partnership became strained or even became rival in nature. The

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article tries to elaborate all these notable shifts in the trajectory of evolution of state civil society relations and the possibilities towards an associational democracy.

Objectives of the study

The paper aims to provide a comprehensive review of both theoretic and empirical studies on state-civil society association over the years, by examining scientific literature and tries to identify the existing possibilities for and limitations to materialize the associational democratic project in neo liberalized era.

Definitions Used

Civil Society: "Civil Society is the set of intermediate associations which is neither the state nor the family, but which plays an active and positive role in social, economic, and cultural activities." - Andrew Heywood

State (Political Society): State is that "human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of violence within a given territory." –Max Weber

NGO: "Non-governmental organizations commonly referred to as NGOs, are usually non-profit and sometimes international organizations independent of governments and international governmental organizations (though often funded by governments) that are active in humanitarian, educational, health care, public policy, social, human rights, environmental, and other areas to effect changes according to their objectives" -Karns, Margaret P.

Transnational civil society: Transnational civil society refers to nongovernmental non-profit collective action that transcends national boundaries but does not necessarily have global reach. The key actors in transnational civil society are international non-governmental organizations (INGOs), i.e. international

organizations that are neither profit-making nor instruments of government, as well as internationally-orientated national non-governmental organizations- Thomas Richard Davis

Associationalism(Associative democracy): Associationalism is a political movement in which "human welfare and liberty are both best served when as many of the affairs of a society as possible are managed by voluntary and democratically self-governing associations."- Smith M.K.

Methodology of the study

Research articles and books related to the topic were searched in Journal data bases, library catalogues, subject specific professional websites and newspaper database and those relevant to the study were chosen after analyzing the content. Both theoretical and empirical papers were chosen to get the right balance between theoretical discussions and empirical studies. Importance was given to research papers that discuss the nature and structure of civil society relations in the context of historical happenings. Papers were classified into different groups based on the historical period to which the discussion belongs chronologically.

Discussion

Based on a historical perspective of the state - civil society interactions, the researcher has identified four different phases and the origin, growth and development of state - civil society relations in the respective periods is discussed below. The four phases include,

- I. From the Greek beginnings to the end of Medieval period, where state and civil society were viewed as similar entity;
- II. From the age of enlightenment to late 19th century, where civil society having its roots in universal civic values was understood as different from state

- III. Early 20th century to post modern era; where state and civil society has been defined as independent institutions but complementary to each other
- IV. Neo liberalised era, where state- civil society discourse thrived in the form of scope for associational democracy

I. From Greek Beginnings to the end of Medieval period

Earlier discussions regarding the civil behaviour of individuals in a society were based on the assumption that there is an inherent conflict between person's needs as individuals and the needs of their society. Philosophical debates related to conflict between individual needs and needs of society was linked to the communal life in "Polis", the Greek city states in the classical period. Ostensibly, in the context of direct democracy, civil society was understood as political society in classical period.

The deep roots of transnational civil society can be traced to the border crossing forms of religious associations that emerged in the early seventeenth century and they helped in the development of horizontal relationships among people in different contexts before the emergence of public sphere (Jackie Smith, 1997). They consisted mainly of religious organizations, including religious orders, charities, and missionary societies as well as quasi- religious fraternal societies, and a limited range of other forms of cross- border association including for the purpose of trade, performing arts and science. Ladies of Charity (1617), Grand Lodge of England, 1 Gelosi (1569) are best examples for this. During the medieval period, with the domination of Church in political sphere, discussions on civil behaviour was dominated by norms of morality and faith in God as was preached by the missionaries and Church controlled the political society in a way that notions of an independent civil society was not entertained.

II. From the age of enlightenment to late 19th century

A radical deviation in both theory and empirics of civil society can be seen in the age of Enlightenment where for the first time civil society was understood as different from the political society in the writings of John Locke and Thomas Hobbes, rightly reflecting the formation of new independent associations based on universal civic values, outside the State/Church in Europe owing to the change in mode of production¹. More precisely “the idea of civil society is the idea of a part of society which has a life in its own, which is distinctly different from the state, and which is largely autonomous from it” (Shills, 2007)

Industrial revolution and political revolutions of the 1770s -1790s, 1830 and 1848² had an impact on development of transnational civil society. This phase was shaped by the political effects of Enlightenment thought, including the demise of fatalistic assumptions with respect to people’s capacity to shape their futures and to organize independently. (Davies, 2013). Scientific Revolution that took place in 17th and 18th century in the west promoted the formation of associations of scholars that developed a pan European fellowship. Gradually, the period from the late eighteenth century until the mid-nineteenth century saw development of associations which were diversified in structure, specialized in particular issues, and to some extent became secular in activities. The period also witnessed significant social transformation including urbanization and the emergence in the industrialized countries of a refashioned class system centered on the bourgeois- proletariat divide. As a consequence of this both nationalism and internationalism thrived. Apparently revolutionary organizations such as Society of Universal Revolution was developed upholding values of freedom and equality. (Anheier, 2002)

Developments in the state- civil society relations are rightly reflected in the writings of Scottish enlightenment thinkers. The Scottish enlightenment, led by thinkers such as David Hume, Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson has great relevance in the theory of civil society since it repudiated the over emphasis on rationalism as is done by French Enlightenment thinkers and saw 'conscious experience' as the sole determiner of all epistemic claims. And these theoretical discussions helped in understanding civil society in a new light. David Hume laid the foundational ideas of Scottish enlightenment by stating the three universal rules of conduct- the stability of possessions, their transfer by consent, and the performance of promises- to him, these decisions were based on human conventions, and not based on natural law. And this has helped to end the age old controversy over the conflict of interests of individuals and common interests of society, by declaring the notion that when people persuade their self-interest, eventually the interest of society as a whole is achieved.

Adam Smith more interestingly stated the same principle by introducing the "invisible hand doctrine" and believed that a well-ordered society has its own rules of organization which is independent of those laws imposed by the state. His observations were solely based on the development Scotland experienced in all walks of life, particularly in education, trade and banking. Unlike as is been perceived generally, Smith was not a proclaimer of Laissez-faire in all walks of life, instead he mentioned on the role of state extensively in social life, both in his pioneer work 'Theory of Moral Sentiments' and in 'Wealth of Nations'. (Winch, 2013) And this is evident from his assumption of homogeneity of labour; labour can be homogenous only when they are imparted with skill of the same kind, and state has to act as the primary institution to provide universal education, only then the assumption of universal

rationality and homogenization of labour holds. (Sen, 2013) Hence Adam Smith and Adam Ferguson held that binding principle of civil society was a private morality predicated on public recognition by one's peers, joined through bonds of moral sentiments. (Brien, 1999).

Thus thinkers in the age of enlightenment period invariably stated how civil society is different from the political society i.e. state, and how the nature of state through the allocation of resources, both physical and human resources, determines the growth and structure of civil society. Writings of Scottish enlightenment thinkers provided logical reasoning to the growth and development of INGOs independent of state, during the period, which repudiated the earlier claims of conflict between individual and social interests. It also sighted how education, technology and innovation can redefine the social and political relations in a society through its impact on trade and commerce and how it in turn affects the traditional notions associated with societal relations.

As seen from the writings of thinkers in the age of enlightenment, in the first half of nineteenth century, diversification of transnational civil society turned out to be evident. Many organizations were formed and movements were started in order to achieve social goals such as good health, education, peace, democracy, women empowerment etc. Associations such as International Association, Yong Europe, Communist League are particularly important in launching right based approach to attain political national issues. Technological developments of the period such as electrical telegraphy and steam ship made communication easier and imperialism facilitated the opening of new parts of the world to civil society actors. (Castells, 2006)

The last three decades of nineteenth century witnessed unprecedented expansion of transnational civil society organizations

in the backdrop of Second Industrial Revolution and technological innovations. INGOs were started in almost all issue areas including social welfare, international languages, interfaith dialogue, medicine, business, education, transportation, women enfranchisement etc. These INGOs started to influence national and international policies and one such event was Hague Conference of 1899, where transnational lobbying techniques were deployed in order to achieve certain objectives.(Fioramonti, 2013)

III. Early 20th century to post modern era

Writings of Gramsci set a philosophical backdrop to place the complex interactions of state and civil society in an ideological backdrop which is different from rightist or leftist notions and helped to avoid compartmentalization of state and civil society as was seen in the pre-world war era. The discourse which was confined to moral and political philosophy was widened to include sociological and psychological aspects of society concerning justice and capabilities of societies to form civil society groupings. (Forgacs, 2000)

Ostensibly, thinkers in the twentieth century reinterpreted views of Scottish Enlightenment thinkers in both ways; first by upholding the possibility of universalism of natural law as was done by Montesquieu and the second stream of thought led by Herder and Edmund Burke highlighting cultural uniqueness of society. Tradition, they argued, 'constituted a set of normative rules which political leaders should follow rather than create anew and state should be the servant of civil society-now understood as a set of evolved cultural practices and beliefs-rather than the master or its embodiment'(DeWiel, 1997). And this distinct interpretation has come from the happenings of the 20th century: the two world wars and its consequences and the cold war.

Both First World War and the Second World War were to have a greatly detrimental impact upon transnational civil society. Changes

in the power relations within and outside countries had an impact on the growth of civil society. The rate of INGO formation in 1939 was approximately the half of 1938, and remained at similarly low level for each of the following five years (Speecckaert, 1957). Europe, which saw a proliferation in the growth of INGOs in the early twentieth century experienced decline in civil society activities. On the other hand, regions of the world that were relatively unaffected by the war such as America and Africa became favourable for civil society activities. Forecasting a probable perishing of Europe based INGOs during the war; INGOs were established in America to carry forward the works done by them. Inter-American Statistical Institute established to replace International Statistical Institute is one such example (Slim, 2004). Raise of INGOs on the basis of religion, nationality and ethnicity in this period reduced rational nature accrued by CSOs in nineteenth and twentieth century and this intensified the consequences of war. Nonetheless, formation of INGOs with a humanitarian face such as Oxfam (Oxford Committee for Famine Relief) in response to conflict's humanitarian consequences have a crucial role in emergence of global civil society in the twenty first century. These organizations focused on humanitarian relief, post war resettlement and promoted internationalism so as to reduce the likelihood of another conflict. In this context initiative of civil society was particularly important in the formation of IMF and World Bank in 1944 and United Nations in 1945 which assisted countries to overcome burdens of Second World War.

The reference to non-governmental organizations in Article 71 of the UN Charter brought the term in to common usage. The role of these organizations in contributing towards this and other components of the charter has commonly been seen as a starting point for analysis of how close partnership was developing between

non-governmental and inter-governmental organizations, a major challenge to the geopolitics of the emerging Cold War that was threatening to divide the world (Davies, 2013). A considerable number of new INGOs were formed in both communist front and liberal front widening East- West divide. Similarly, formation of AAPSO (Afro Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization) in 1958 reflected a further fissure in transnational civil society between North and South. Split along the North-South and East -West lines and with a growing trend towards regionalization, INGOs in the 1950s were less central to international politics than they had been before the Second World War (Davies, 2013). They contributed little towards policy formulation despite their presence in UN committees. Two aspects in which civil society made its impact was in developing human rights norms and decolonization. Both the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crime of Genocide and Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 were in large part responses to INGO pressure (Korey, 2001). Similarly, NGO networks were central to the dissemination of techniques for resisting colonial rule which in turn promoted civil society activities in colonies.

The revitalization of transnational civil society from 1960s to the 1980s

Cold War raised deep rooted fragmentations in society and this in a way stimulated civil society activities either in support or in opposition to these forces of conflict. For instance, evidence of human rights abuses by Cold War governments helped to mobilize the contemporary international human rights movements and the evidence of humanity's destruction of the environment motivated international environmentalist movement. Governments, seeing the deterioration in international economy and foreign aid, relied on NGOs and considered them as partners in development process since they can get in to grass root level. This is evident from increased

government subsidies to NGOs in this period and emergence of developmental NGOs in third world countries. On the other hand, proliferation and greater coordination among NGOs annoyed governments having particular religious and political ambitions and this resulted in a state- civil society conflict in most of the countries. Launching of Amnesty International in 1961 to 'mobilize public opinion in defence of those men and women who are imprisoned because of their ideas are unacceptable to the government' is important to mention here (Davies, 2013). It is claimed that at this time there emerged a set of new social movements encompassing peace, feminist, environmentalist and many other forms of activism which were thought to be 'a product of shift to a post-industrial economy' and 'different from social movements of industrial age', with a focus on moral, identity, and lifestyle concerns rather than economic redistribution, and a preference for non –institutional political channels and non-hierarchical forms of organization. (Pichardo, 1997).

World Wide Fund for Nature (1961), Greenpeace International (1969) Friends of Earth (1969) were important INGOs formed with a purpose of environmental activism and they resorted to techniques such as lobbying, awareness campaigns, and parallel conferences with a view to influence international environmental policy. The number of INGOs more than quadrupled between 1972 and 1984, from 2795 to 12,686 (Pichardo, 1997). Furthermore the location of INGO secretariats became increasingly dispersed in this period. INGOs were started on account of 'a growing disillusionment and frustration about the inadequacy of established international agencies (like U N) in effectively taking up 'Third World issues' and the need to provide 'closer cooperation among NGOs in Third World countries' that have 'adopted alternative patterns of development that are based on the fulfilment of self-determined basic needs' (Twn, 1984).

Apparently, growth of transnational corporations had a considerable impact on geographical dispersal of INGOs. Foreign direct investments quadrupled between 1960 and 1975 and then more than doubled by 1995, and in 1988 the UN described TNCs as the 'most important actors in the world economy' given that the 'biggest TNCs have sales which exceed the aggregate output of most countries' (UN, 1988). During the 1970s a number of NGOs were formed with an aim to promote corporate social responsibility by corporations based in their countries. However, civil society actors agitated against Corporate Social Responsibility, when they tried to impose company's self-interest on beneficiaries.

Over the course of the period from 1960s until the 1980s, INGOs targeting of TNCs contributed to the enrichment of what Paul Wapner refers to as 'politics beyond state' or 'world of civic politics', by which INGOs help to shape world affairs not only by influencing states, but also by 'working within and across societies themselves', including by targeting corporations.(Wapner, 1995). Transnational networking targeting governments in the same period gave rise to the concept of 'transnational advocacy network operating through 'boomerang pattern': when the links between state and domestic actors are severed, domestic NGOs may directly seek international allies to try to bring pressure on their state from outside(Sikkink, 1998). Transnational campaign against apartheid in Africa and 'Save Narmada' Campaign in India exemplifies this pattern of transnational advocacy.

IV. Neo liberal Era

A second-generation shift in the nature, structure and participation of civil society happened in the eve of twenty first century, on the onset of neoliberalism, where the civil society became global in nature and international law assumed more acceptance and democracy synonymies the state power, making state one another

institution in the society (as thinkers like Tocqueville and Hebarmas talks of associational democracy) owing to pressures of the modern knowledge economy.

This new world order, as Francis Fukuyama puts it, has raised some ostensible questions regarding the possibility for universalization of values in an unequal and diverse societies having completely different socio economic, political and historical background. This paradox has been discussed and debated over and again, on the back drop of sustainable development and unequal growth, sometimes initiated by governments (as is seen in the foreign policy of Iran or Libya) or by civil society in the third world (mostly by the activities of so called “radical” groups) and sometimes by the civil society in the western world, particularly agencies like WHO (Barrientos, 2002). As far as the theoretical debates are considered, unlike the rationalist principles of 18th and 19th century, there is space to accommodate the notions of moral philosophy and human psychology to development question, and there is a rereading happening to the earlier accepted theories. For instance, ideas of Adam Smith (homogenization of labour and *laissez-faire*) and Aristotle (democracy) are seen in a new light, especially in the writings of Amartya Sen and Rawls in explaining inequality and notions of a just society.

These changes were seen in the nature and structure of international civil society and in the issues, they take up understanding the changing role of state, especially after the reform period. Civil society became a distinct entity in par with state as Locke envisaged (Society exists before state) and this was partially accepted by most of the governments since they extended for partnership of civil society in the government sponsored projects.

Saur (2007) argues that during the period from 1990 to 2014, international trade facilitated as a result of liberalization policies promoted by international financial institutions and embraced by

most of the countries. Proliferation of transnational companies was an offshoot of this development and it raised questions about the sovereignty of state as well as tried to redefine the power relation between transnational civil society and state according to changing world. Civil society become an integral part of the development project launched by international institutions and aided by foreign governments, which in turn boosted growth and flourishing of NGOs at local, national and international level. International trade, aid received and foreign direct investment are taken as variables to measure the change to a global economy and its impact on the working of civil society organisations. One important instance that made this correlation evident was the global financial meltdown. The financial crisis escalated challenges faced by civil society in the second decade of new millennium. Especially, those INGOs which were successful in the early decade found it difficult to materialize its perceived goals due to financial constraints and during the crisis period number of INGOs reduced to 21684 compared to 21991 in pre- crisis period.

A more crucial consequence of this was the emergence of ethnic nationalism; under state protection it became world's most devastating socio- political force. This facilitated development of transnational non-state actors that use far from civil methods, such as global terror networks and xenophobic national movements. (Sikkink, 1998). To an extent, this can be seen as a reaction to the values raised by global civil society in past decade, which became a perceived threat to local cultures. Co-option of civil society actors by corporate and government agents of neo-liberal globalization, not only through funding, but also through integration in multi stake holder corporate social responsibility schemes raised susceptibility about the working of INGOs and promoted fundamentalist movements (Davies, 2013).

The structure of civil society has undergone considerable changes in the new millennium. The older, hierarchical, membership-based INGOs faced declining participation and transnational civil society featured new, horizontal, decentralized, network-based forms of mobilization (Clark, 2003). Even though these new networks are more participatory and democratic than the conventional structures, they reject mass politics and create post-modern activist who acts as moral individual than as a political participant. One another feature is the growing homogenization of activities. A study conducted by Smith and Wiest indicates that the proportion of transnational social movement organizations with a multi-issue focus has doubled (Wiest, 2012). Friends of Earth spokesperson in 2002 rightly pointed out that 'we are all campaigning on the same basic trend-economic neo liberalization'.

Structure of civil society participation

The strategies adopted by the global civil society are notable as it disregarded the earlier techniques of confrontation with the state and has instead deployed strategic techniques that can be called as co-option in nature. For instance, strength of global civil society become evident in UN summits conducted in 1990s. At the Rio Summit in 1992, 1400 NGOs were officially accredited, and about 9000, took part in an unofficial parallel forum (Willems, 1996). Representatives of INGOs played an important role in the official preparations for the conference, and amongst the outcomes of the conference were for 'strengthening the role of major groups including NGOs as a part of sustainable development agenda'. And thus scope of including the third sector in policy decisions along with the state was first experimented and it was successful in making globalization a more inclusive process.

During this period transnational civil society targeted international financial institutions such as World Bank and IMF. It

helped to review whether the projects sponsored by these institutions were people friendly and transparent in its implementation. As a part of this initiative Transparency International was formed by Peter Eigen to combat international corruption. Similarly, to challenge the ill effects of liberal capitalist world order 'global justice movement' was started and these forums raised awareness in developing countries about international agreements that may hurt their sentiments. In 1996 an Intercontinental Encounter for Humanity and against neoliberalism was convened, which attracted more than 3000 people from many countries and was to form the model for the later world social forums (Tarrow, 2004). Transnational campaigns also targeted transnational corporations, and different strategies such as boycotts and shareholder activism were deployed to bring out change in corporate sector and thus proved to what extent accountability can be effectively ensured through civic monitoring. Similarly, civil society is capable of affecting the policies of government or the corporate sector through its capacity to educate people.

The research paper 'The future of environmental networks – Governance and civil society in global context' written by David L Feldman (Feldman, 2012) points out the need for focusing on soft power- (the ability to advance a policy agenda through compelling others to emulate certain values, public policies and even culture) -deployed by civil society actors instead of hard power of nation states (the ability to compel action through the granting, or threat of withholding, economic resources such as trade, monetary exchange , or foreign exchange) in order to achieve the aim of environmental sustainability. 'Globalization (globally ubiquitous, locally initiated actions)' of environmental innovations and its boundary spanning through knowledge networks is possible only with the help of civil society actors which may further help in de-bureaucratization of many decisions. By citing the projects implemented by International

Council for Local Environmental Initiatives (ICLEI) in Europe and America, the paper exemplifies the fact that public perception can be powerful motivators for change particularly in ensuring sustainable development.

Civil society actors were able to nurture 'solidarity economy networks' that endeavoured to show how genuine alternatives to neo-liberal economic globalization were viable such as RIPESS (Intercontinental Network for the Promotion of the Social Solidarity Economy)(Borowiak, 2012). The issue of INGO accountability was dealt by the launch of Accountability Charter in 2006. INGOs tried to diversify their membership beyond their rich country origins and efforts were made towards bridging cultural divides (Heinrich, 2007).

The scale of civil society organisation's involvement in service provision especially in developing countries have made some success in improving its visibility and being recognized by respective governments, but they failed to build on whatever local structures existed, and followed the norms and rules laid by their international donors (Andrew Clayton, 2000). It follows that, there is little evidence to show that efforts of the CSO helped in improving income levels in order to bring about long term poverty reduction, as most of the projects were short term in nature and was not planned accordingly to adapt to local conditions.

Emergence and flourishing of corporate social responsibility in par with unfettered globalization in the 21st century has challenged the quality of civil society to regenerate itself constantly and smoothly according to local needs. The appearance of large organized interest groups in the sphere of institutional politics has reduced the scope for unconstrained communication- an essential feature of civil society. CSOs are becoming more bureaucratic in nature and they try to influence public policy in order to achieve some pre-determined

objectives mostly to satisfy their own narrow self-interests. (Slim, 2011)

Ostensibly, questions were raised regarding the independence of civil society and its presumed apolitical nature and the efficacy of civil society in creating an equitable and sustainable world. Specifically, state- civil society cooperation was questioned in the midst of forces of social globalization effecting dynamics of social relations, by means of propagating universalization of values and rationality, as its foremost philosophy, in an unequal and diverse society having completely different socio economic, political and historical background.

Public Sphere and Associative Democracy:

Habermas's conceptual popularization of unconstrained communication in the 1970s and refinement of the theory of public sphere in late 1990s in which he famously argued that 'civil society cannot supply a substitute for the systematic inner logic of public bureaucrats' (Habermas, 1992) helped in bringing back the concept of welfare state by reinforcing role of state in social development. As an offshoot of this, concept of associational democracy emerged in which the state's role changes to that of a facilitator, where along with defining public policy, it selects the social actors participating in the policy formulation, encourages the organization of under represented interests, establishes minimum standards of performance, favours circulation of information and best practices, and reserves the right to intervene in case of self-regulation fails and civil society becomes a player inside the system. (Baccaro, 2005). State - civil society interactions as reflected by associational democracy started getting influence in the international policy documents right from the beginning of 21st C.

Empirical evidences seen in literature throw light into the growing impact of associational democratic projects. The study

conducted in 2013 (Solomon, 2013) in 22 countries supplements the observation, by concluding that other than volunteerism, presence or absence of government social welfare spending is a factor that defines the growth of civil society. About the services provided, two thirds of the NGOs concentrate on three dominant fields of welfare services: education, health and social services. An important finding regarding NGOs providing services in these sectors are that major source of non-profit revenue is not coming from philanthropy but from public sector grants and contracts which accounts for about 55% of the total revenue. Similarly, Solomon (2001) in his research paper indicate that NGOs on average derived 43 percent of their revenue from fees they charged (dividends, return on investments, fees paid by the beneficiaries) for their services, 32 percent from government sources, and 23 percent from philanthropic giving. This shows that money towards welfare activities are channelized through civil society by the respective governments in order to ensure effective allocation of resources in social sector.

Similarly, Bewiel (2009) explains how the central government played a key role in building the capacity of civil society to demand better local government in Brazil and the relationship is seen as a three-way relation between central government, local government and civil society reinforcing each other's working. L Baccaro in his paper "Civil society meets State – towards Associational Democracy", analysis the scope of associational democracy by highlighting the example of Ireland and South Africa where postmodern corporatism has helped to create plurality of actors in civil society movements that ensured expanded form of social partnership successful at both local and national level.

Moti, (2013) examines to what extend growth of civil society has depended up on the forces of globalization and opening up of Africa to the world. To him, rise and influence of CSOs in Africa

has been a state supported phenomenon and a globalization process. Civil society has contributed towards improving good governance by ensuring accountability, openness, effectiveness, and responsiveness of administrative mechanism and by building social capital. Similarly, Wisdom Quaiku and Richard Kojo(Benneh, 2013)in their research paper enquires the impact of association of CSO and local self-government in Ghana. The study reveals that activities of UCSOND (United Civil Society Organization of Nzema East District) at the grass roots have improved popular participation in local administration. Thus CSOs can work effectively if they work within the national frameworks and adopt a right based approach rather than each following their own ad hoc approaches, thus making associative democracy successful.

However, there are a number of studies which throws light into the limitations of associative democracy fostered by the new partnership among civil society and state. For instance, the study report published by Centre for Economic Development, Sofia, about the contribution of civil society in the international development co-operation policy of nine countries of central and Eastern Europe points out the challenges faced by them and the scope for further expansion of activities (Kral, 2013). It finds that even though there are national NGO platforms in place in all countries and they are recognized as an institutional part of administration, the system of civil society input in to the policy cycle still remains mainly on paper in most of the countries. However, civil society has contributed largely towards raising awareness among public and bureaucracy and there by instil confidence among the actors, particularly during the period of financial crisis. Lack of funding and insufficient capacity is the two factors that act as a vicious circle hindering smooth development of associational democratic projects.

There are disagreements among scholars on the role and

efficacy of state –civil society association in brining development to the developing world. Asian experience best exemplifies to what extend plurality of associations, if not maintained well by respective governments may hinder process of development. In spite of the warm relationship that existed among civil society and state during the freedom struggle and at the eve of independence of various developing nations, situations have changed drastically in the Asian Continent. Mostly, being democratic countries or in the path towards democratic restructuring, governments in Asia recognizes the role of civil society in service provision. Still, there are evidences of repression, particularly when it comes to advocacy, campaigns or government reforms. In the event of decreasing funding from the western world, some of the developing countries such as China, Singapore and India have become donors of aid to other developing countries. However, there is a preference for “safe charity” among stake holders of the government and the emerging Asian based corporations. Availability of democratic space is possible only with the formation of national policy that gives enough flexibility to the non-state actors.(Bandyopadhyay., 2013)

“The role of NGOs in promoting empowerment for sustainable community development” by Hedayat Allah, and Marof Bin Redzuan opines that in developing countries such as Thailand, capacity building through micro financing and micro enterprise programs can empower people in such a way that they demand sustainable development and self-reliance. But this is possible only if the people get actively involved in development activities including policy decisions and thus initiates transferring of authority from donor countries to recipient countries by receiving support from all stake holders.

To Eileen Connolly,(Connolly, 2007) the main danger of the new trend (increasingly instrumentalist and narrow view of role

of civil society as supporting government initiatives and acting in partnership with the government /within the government defined frameworks for the provision of services) is that positive aspects of a vibrant civil society identified in the discourse in the 1990s, both in terms of its wider democratic role, and its capacity of innovative policy solutions, will be swamped by the need to conform to a harmonized international aid agenda, which will inevitably reflect the interests of the most powerful international actors.

Last decade saw the growing impact of managerialism among NGO activities and they act as 'business like' entities, according to Michael Meyer and Renate Buber (Michael Meyer, 2013). After analyzing the annual reports published by about 99 Austrian CSOs operating in the fields of social services, development and housing, the study found that CSOs are inculcating managerialism in order to get legitimacy from public and government. They argue that there are substantial changes in the nature of contents of the annual reports published between 1990 and 2010 in which unlike the earlier period, importance is given to the stakeholder's needs and innovation, instead of efficiency and effectiveness of activities.

The resilience of the state in the twenty first century and its ability to exclude non- state actors from decision-making process by manipulating them at national and international level alienated civil society actors from mainstream in the second decade of 21st century. Furthermore, INGOs become financially dependent on governments and a number of governments organized NGOs were formed. Many intergovernmental organizations were dissolved during this period and advisory status of INGOs lost. Government's considerable ability to control and curtail civil society actors poses a challenge to form fresh and flexible NGOs at grass root level.

Conclusion

Literature review regarding state and civil society shows that,

the association and its impact on societal transformation is complex and diverse. Theoretical studies, especially in the neo liberalized era have discussed the scope for associational democracy, where both civil society and state can cooperate and coexist. However, empirical studies are inconclusive regarding the benefits of such kind of an association. Associational democratic projects run successfully in countries where the state played an active role in capacity building of civil society by providing funding and technical support, in a way that plurality of associations was welcomed in both policy sphere and in service provision. This has helped in improving the quality of governance by ensuring accountability, transparency and responsiveness in these countries. On the contrary, in some other countries either state repressed/excluded the non-state actors or the corporate sector dominated with opting for safe charity. This trend pushed the local and afresh civil society organisations to a vicious circle of financial and capacity constraints making democratic spaces unavailable. Thus issues in the very nature and structure of participation of civil society with state can destroy the possible positive benefits of association. One important factor that determines the success of association among state and civil society is the way in which plurality is respected and nurtured among different organisations.

Note

¹ From feudalistic production relations to capitalist mode of production which gave more freedom to society and advancement in technology acting as a backbone of this change.

² The **Revolutions of 1830**, a revolutionary wave in Europe which took place in 1830 included two "romantic nationalist revolutions -the Belgian Revolution in the United Kingdom of the Netherlands and the July Revolution in France along with revolutions in Congress Poland and Switzerland. It was followed eighteen years later, by another and possibly even stronger wave of revolutions known as the Revolutions of 1848. This led to the establishment of constitutional

monarchies, called popular monarchies in western countries. This evoked nationalist sentiments, democratic credos, constitutional theories and economic doctrines which helped in formation of more novel INGOs.

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INTERROGATING CIVIL SOCIETY ON EDUCATIONAL QUALITY AND THE RTE

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Abstract

The paper is an attempt to interrogate and elicit responses from different sections of society regarding their perceptions on issues currently plaguing elementary education in Kerala. The paper is spread across five main themes- challenges that Kerala faces in the field of elementary education, discipline management in schools, child safety, role of media in projecting and curbing these issues and finally suggestions offered by the respondents regarding measures to be taken for improving educational quality. The discussions with stakeholders reveal that no formal and effective linkage have been set up so far between the Government and civil society organizations in Kerala to realize the goal of quality education embodied in the RTE.

Keywords: Civil Society, Quality Education, Kerala

The role of civil society organizations in translating the Right to Education (RTE) from a legal obligation on paper to a movement on the ground cannot be underestimated. Civil society organizations have to be viewed as partners in the implementation of the RTE Act. Civil society organizations have a long history of involvement in education to which they have significantly contributed in a variety of ways. There are several examples of effective partnership between Government and civil society. However, the relationship between civil society and the State is complex and partnerships have not been smooth. The space for NGO/civil society intervention has been limited to taking on implementation of particular projects. Short

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term partnerships tend to be the norm rather than holistic and ongoing engagement (GoI, 2011, Pp.83-84).

Civil society intervention in education needs to be holistic, there are certain areas where it can play a significant role. The prospective areas of partnership between the Government and civil society organizations in implementing the RTE could include: Mobilization and awareness building, social mapping, development of curriculum and pedagogy, training of School Management Committee, Specialized support for children with special needs, involvement in design of infrastructure including school buildings, publication of books and journals to enhance reading ability, gender training, monitoring and social audit. Social audit can facilitate the checking, monitoring and verification of the SSA/RTE Act implementation at the village level. Social audit is carried out by the Gram Sabha with the help of stakeholders like local authority members of SMC, PTA, Self-help groups (SHG's), youth clubs and representatives of disadvantaged groups. People's participation is fundamental to the success of the RTE. The objective of equitable quality for all children can be attained only with active participation of all stakeholders including parents, teachers, community, civil society and children (GoI, 2011, Pp.85-91).

Defining Civil Society

Though the role of civil society in addressing quality concerns in education cannot be understated, the term civil society itself needs clarification. Civil society, to begin with, is usually defined as a sphere of what is sometimes called 'self-constitution and mobilization', aside from the family and independent of the State. It consists mainly of voluntary associations and public communication. It is institutionalized through various rights vis-à-vis the State (but also upheld by the State); and it has emerged through the rise of relatively independent socio-economic relations as against the family, the

feudal lord and the absolutist state. Hence, corporate activity in the market is also included in classical analyses of civil society, but not the intimate sphere, the family. For liberal theorists like Tocqueville, civil society is rather civilized social interaction in between the 'mob' and the State. In the contemporary and often more radical social movement discourse, on the other hand, civil society is also independent of the economy (Tornquist, 1997, Pp.1-2).

Historically civil society signifies a politically created society of citizens (excluding slaves, mobs, natives, immigrants and the like). The Greeks explicitly talked of *politike koinonia*, political community, and the Romans distinguished *societas civilis*, society of citizens, from non-citizen societies like those based on residence or kinship (Tornquist, 1997, Pp.3). Civil Society in its original sense bore no distinction between 'state' and 'society' or between political and civil society. It simply meant a community, a collection of human beings united within a legitimate political order (Khilnani, 2001, Pp.17). Locke's 'State of Nature' closely resembles the modern concept of civil society; the totality of private and particular interests and relationships (Femia, 2001, Pp.132). It was Hegel who first defined civil society as being distinct from the family and the state (Khilnani, 2001, Pp.23). Hegel defines civil society as the specific arena of economic activity, based on property exchange, where particular individuals develop their self-consciousness and set forth their claims for want-satisfaction and personal autonomy. To Hegel, the creation of civil society, by fostering self-subsistent individuality, is a great achievement of the modern world. Hegel's model of civil society – the free market plus the administration of justice – roughly corresponds to the ideal society of the classical liberals like Locke and Smith. For the classical Marxist tradition, civil society refers to the infrastructure, the totality of material conditions and relationships. But civil society in Gramsci's writings belongs to the superstructure,

since it comprises ideological/cultural relations. Gramsci divided superstructure into two levels: one that can be called 'civil society', that is the ensemble of organisms called 'private' and that of 'political society' or the 'state'. These two levels correspond on the one hand to the function of 'hegemony' which the dominant group exercises throughout society and on the other hand to that of 'direct domination' or command exercised through the state and juridical Government. The first set of institutions (churches, parties, trade unions, universities, the press, publishing houses, voluntary associations of all kinds) disseminate the ideology of the dominant class thus ensuring its cultural and spiritual supremacy over the subordinate classes, who consent to their own subordination. Conversely, the apparatus of state coercive power enforces discipline in those cases where spontaneous consent has failed (Femia, 2001, Pp.133-141). A working definition of civil society adopted by the Centre for Civil Society at the London School of Economics states that:

Civil society refers to the arena of un-coerced collective action around shared interests, purposes and values. In theory, its institutional forms are distinct from those of the state, family and market, though in practice, the boundaries between state, civil society, family and market are often complex, blurred and negotiated. Civil society commonly embraces a diversity of spaces, actors and institutional forms, varying in their degree of formality, autonomy and power. Civil societies are often populated by organizations such as registered charities, development non-governmental organizations, community groups, women's organizations, faith-based organizations, professional associations, trade unions, self-help groups, social movements, business associations, coalitions and advocacy group (Narayanan and Sajan, 2005, p.2).

The Kerala Context

Kerala is an exemplar case to analyze the impact of civil society

interventions in the social sector especially in the field of education. Kerala won international reputation for having accomplished, in addition to stable democracy, comparatively high levels of health, education and social welfare despite a gross national product per capita lower than the Indian average. This has been related to a long history of an unusually vibrant civil society with deep roots, in various socio-religious reform movements, citizen associations, co-operatives and library movements. A new generation of civil society movements, including the People's Science Movement (KSSP) has been vital in generating huge campaigns for civil action and community development cooperation (Tornquist, 1997, p.12).

KSSP has played an important role in improving the quality of primary education in Kerala. KSSP organizes mass movement for quality improvement and mass literacy campaigns, promotes pedagogic innovations, teacher exchange programmes, in-service teacher training, assesses curriculum and text books, organizes massive children's science festivals and publishes science journals and books for children (www.kssp.in/book/export/html/16). Despite its achievements, there are complaints raised against the KSSP that it is not able to rise to the expectations of the people and that it is not effectively playing the role of a social critic. There is a widespread perception that the KSSP acts more like a subsidiary of a particular political party. This could perhaps be due to the association of some members who are also political activists (Menon: 2007, P.188, Menon: 2012). The challenge of the organization lies in developing its civic role independent of its allies in the political society (Narayanan and Sajan, 2005, Pp.19, 25, 28).

Civil society thus needs to be free from overt political interference in order to play its role of a social critic effectively. In this context, a survey amongst members of non-profit organizations, media, educationists, business groups and students eliciting responses

on various challenges that Kerala faces in the field of elementary education was conducted by the researcher. Their perceptions on some of the provisions of the Right to Education Act (RTE)(2009) pertaining to child safety and discipline were also collated. The role of the media in spreading awareness against child rights violations and their suggestions regarding measures to improve the quality of elementary education was also taken. The paper thus is spread across five main themes- challenges that Kerala faces in the field of elementary education, discipline management in schools, child safety especially of the girl child, role of media in projecting and curbing these issues and finally suggestions offered by the respondents regarding measures to be taken for improving educational quality.

Civil Society Perceptions on Educational Challenges in Kerala

The foremost problem that Kerala faces in the field of elementary education according to the Former District Project Officer of the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA)(Rajesh,2015) which is the prime vehicle for implementing the RTE is the lack of a clear definition of the term 'quality education'. Parental perceptions on school quality unfortunately have become linked to the medium of instruction in schools and sending children to English medium schools has become a status symbol for even those parents who belong to poor socio-economic backgrounds. This along with decreasing number of school going children in the State has resulted in many Government run schools being closed down in the state for being 'uneconomic'. As per the Economic Review of the State, during 2014-15 there were 5573 uneconomic schools in Kerala. This is an increase of 161 schools over the previous year. Out of these, 2586 were Government schools and 2987 were Aided schools (GoK, 2015). Whereas the RTE stipulates that schools should be established within a kilometer of the child's residence for lower primary and within 3 kilometers

for upper primary, ironically, Kerala faces a unique position where existing schools are being closed down as there are few takers. Government schools today are unable to compete with private English medium schools according to Shri T.P. Sreenivasan, Former Vice Chairman of Kerala Higher Education Council. As a result, there is an exodus of students to private schools (Sreenivasan, 2015). A related challenge is the existence of a large number of unrecognized schools with uneven facilities in Kerala. The RTE specifies that schools need to get a certificate of recognition from the Government based on prescribed norms and standards within 3 years of the commencement of the Act. Even after eight years since the act came into force in 2010, many unrecognized private schools continue to exist in Kerala. Various court decisions have further diluted the purview of the RTE, the Pramati case being a case in point through which the functioning of minority institutions cannot be touched. In Kerala, according to Smt. Sobha Koshy, Chairperson, State Commission for Protection of Child Rights, approximately 70% of educational institutions are minority institutions in the State and the court in one sweep has removed them from the ambit of the RTE. Many of the minority institutions are not complying to the RTE norms and they have their own interpretations of the norms related to admission procedures and fees. Profit motive in the establishment and management of private schools and the resultant corruption is another problem that Kerala faces (Koshy, 2015).

The RTE norms when they were framed were not contextualized according to an eminent educationist. The laws were framed without ensuring sufficient provisions for implementing them in the field. A pilot study could have revealed the ramifications of implementing the RTE, this however was not done (Nair, 2015). A prime reason for the declining standards of school quality is the No Detention Policy according to most of the educationist surveyed (Abraham, 2014,

Sreekumar, 2015, Bindu, 2014). The Minimum Levels of Learning (MLL) need to be prescribed and teachers should ensure that students reach the next level of education fully equipped. Lack of teacher accountability and ineffective teacher deployment in Government and Aided schools is another problem. The child's physical, mental, social and spiritual health is not being catered to. Children are not offered opportunities for exercise. Several children face problems at home and they need guidance and support service, which many schools are neglecting. A field survey of parents of children studying in classes 1 to 8 from select districts in Kerala revealed that 21% of parents felt that their children experience fear and stress before exams and highlighted the need for counseling sessions to be held in school. However, less than 10% of the parents were aware of such counseling programmes held at school. Lack of stakeholder interest in ensuring school quality is another challenge. The Local Self Government (LSG) Institutions that have to oversee and monitor the RTE norms in schools is mostly involved in provision of mid day meals and improving certain infrastructure norms. There is a lack of coordinated monitoring between stakeholders- the Directorate of Public Instruction, LSG, School PTA and School Management Committee (SMC) (Jacob: 2015). Apart from these issues, child safety and effective child friendly discipline management in schools are norms in the RTE that need to be looked into seriously.

Child Safety and Discipline

Pertinent issues related to maintaining school quality is an environment which is safe, disciplined and inclusive for children. The National Commission for Protection of Child Rights (NCPCR) has issued guidelines as per the provisions of the RTE against corporal punishment. It further classifies corporal punishment as physical punishment, mental harassment and discrimination. Physical punishment according to the report is perceived as any action that

causes pain, hurt/injury and discomfort to a child. Mental harassment is clarified as any non-physical treatment that is detrimental to the academic and psychological well-being of the child. This includes ridiculing the child with regard to his/her background or status or parental occupation or caste, belittling a child in the classroom due to his/her inability to meet the teacher's expectations of academic achievement, ridiculing a child with developmental problems such as learning difficulty or a speech disorder(NCPCR, 7-8).As per a report published by the NCPCR, nearly 18000 complaints have been received from 28 States on issues relating to admission, corporal punishment, detention of children, discrimination, attendance of teachers and 25% reservation for children belonging to economically weaker sections in private schools. According to 'Child Abuse in India, 2007', a report of the Ministry of Women and Child Development, two of three school going children in India are physically abused. As per the report, boys are marginally more likely to face physical abuse (73%) than girls (65%). Corporal punishment in both Government as well as private schools is deeply ingrained as a tool to discipline children. Nearly 500 individual complaints on corporal punishment in schools have been dealt with by the Commission (NCPCR, 2013, pp.14-16) Observations during a field survey of schools in Kerala by the researcher revealed that corporal punishment is quite rampant. Very few cases are however reported to the school authorities. It is disconcerting to note that 65% of teachers from unaided schools believed that punishment is necessary to reinforce learning. Parents themselves cited indiscipline as one of the issues plaguing schools today. Surprisingly, many parents were of the opinion that due to the new rules in force against corporal punishment, teachers were now scared to say anything to students and so the children misuse it. The teachers are therefore unable to control student misbehavior. In fact, some parents were of the opinion that teachers need to be

stricter. Complaints of children being harassed were reported by 11.8% of the teachers surveyed. A district wise break up reveals that with 14.3% of teachers reporting complaints of child harassment, Palakkad is worst off as compared to Trivandrum (12.9%) and Kasargod (8.3%). Many of these cases however, go unreported at the school level and even if reported a satisfactory solution could not be given in most cases.

Respondents of the elite interview offered several suggestions regarding steps that can be taken to maintain discipline in schools without violating the norms of the RTE. Some held the opinion (Harikumar, 2016, Sreekumar, 2015) that reward and punishment are integral parts of any system. However, punishment should be positive and should help reform a student. Positive reinforcements are necessary. There is a need to build a positive school structure in order to create a culture of positive rewards. The root cause of indiscipline needs to be understood and cured. According to a teacher with several years of experience in schools across India (Bindu, 2014), indiscipline stems from unimaginative teaching and non-relevant course content. Bored and disillusioned students tend to misbehave. Their area of interest needs to be identified and suitable activities designed to keep the students engaged. Peer group and society can be actively involved in maintaining discipline in school. Active involvement of parents, elders and teachers along with students can ensure discipline. Discipline should come from within, it should not be imposed. A student (Murari, 2015) from one of the prestigious women's colleges in Kerala stated that schools should have suggestion boxes enabling students to put forward their problems. Each student should have a teacher to act as a mentor and counselor who can guide them and help them with academic and personal issues. Each school should have a disciplinary committee that keeps an eye on punishments imposed on students. Students should have

their representative bodies which can take up issues regarding any ill treatment towards students. Media persons (Radhakrishnan, 2014, Manohar, 2015) suggested that parents have a key role to play like the teachers in the child's development. Education is a team endeavour and parents should practice discipline and respect at home, which the child will in turn follow in school as well. There is a need for a new perspective on the concept of discipline which necessitates active deliberation with stakeholders and psychiatrists. Advice from societies that have already done away with this long back can be taken and means to incorporate it in our country devised.

As regards issues of harassment of children, suggestions from educationists and activists (Bindu, 2014, Joy, 2015, Murari, 2015) include publicizing such incidents and continuous follow up in order to curb such incidents. Enlightening road shows and self-defense training programmes for girls can be conducted. Mothers need to be empowered to stand up for the rights of the child. Many girls are not even aware that they are being discriminated against or harassed. By educating the girl child on her rights and capabilities and the various Government incentives in place to encourage education of girls, more girls can fight for their rights and be encouraged to report and take action against discrimination and harassment. Media has an important role to play in educating parents about child rights.

Media and Awareness Building on Child Rights

According to an eminent media spokesperson (Radhakrishnan: 2014), media has become profit oriented in a competitive market driven scenario. Corporate driven media is caught up in its own limitations. There is a need to balance pressures on one side with higher objectives and causes with which media was traditionally associated. According to him, utmost sensitivity and care is needed in reporting incidents of child abuse. Media needs to play the role of a responsible watch dog. Today media tends to sensationalize these

issues in their own commercial competitive interests. There is a need to curb this and be more responsible and show sensitivity in reporting such cases. In fact, he was of the opinion that media itself needs to be sensitized about this issue, through training and educating itself. Media needs to be aware of media ethics in reporting these issues. They need to have complete knowledge about child rights. There needs to be an interface between students and media. Media should depute professionals specializing in child rights and education. Media needs to follow up such cases and the possible nexus behind these incidents needs to be exposed. Media should constantly apply pressure on Government and law enforcing agencies, school management and society in general. A social activist (Menon, 2015) was of the opinion that our society needs to be educated about the rights of the child. Many people in fact, view with mirth and disdain the western attempt to enforce this in their society. There is a clear responsibility for the media and opinion makers in bringing about this modernization in our society. A teacher (Sreekumar: 2015) was of the view that civil society should devise mechanisms for interaction in the education system. Participation of civil society in curriculum formulation, teaching and learning process should be ensured. Media acts as a link between education system and society which can correct and reform both. He also mentioned that school community relationship can be effectively developed through NGO's. A student (Murari, 2015) was of the opinion that civil society especially media must be involved in spreading awareness campaigns. Short films, documentaries, street plays and dramas can be enacted to spread large scale awareness. Parents and children need to be made aware of the benefits of education and the rights of the children.

Each media organization should realize the potential of the student community and come up with programs on the RTE that are commercially viable as well as socially relevant. Media has a

responsibility towards people's rights to know and right to expression. As an organization that makes rights a reality, it has a responsibility towards society. Media has to make constructive criticisms of sudden rapid changes in education system and suggest remedies. According to a senior activist in the field of educational reforms (Menon, 2015), social audit is needed. Education should be seen as a liberating force. Societal attitude has to change. Civil society has to ask what schools are achieving and how best it is serving students in training them to a higher level of existence. As regards strategies for reforming school education, many opined that media needs to make a deeper, wider, continuous and comprehensive analysis of the education system and come up with solutions and recommendations (Radhakrishnan, 2014, Manohar, 2015).

Civil Society and Educational Reforms

Some of the significant suggestions in improving school quality elicited from the elite interview are discussed here. Many opined (Rajagopal, 2015, Pillai, 2014, Menon, 2015, Manu: 2014) that the gains that Kerala made in the field of education needs to be consolidated and built on. The achievements in the field were because the state and society worked together hand in hand in improving education. Others were of the opinion that today our society has made a serious mistake in identifying education with careers and social status. There is a need to re-educate ourselves and view education as a liberating force. Children and parents need to feel free to choose the education and career they really enjoy. Some (Sreekumar, 2015, Murari, 2015, Bindu, 2014) were of the opinion that teachers need to understand the world of students and respect them. In unaided schools, there is a need to improve teacher quality and service conditions. Teacher apathy needs to be curbed in Government and aided schools. Teacher exchange and student exchange among different schools should be promoted.

A student (Murari, 2015), was of the opinion that there is a dire need for curricular reforms. Instead of focusing only on increasing pass percentage, strict grading system needs to be introduced that promotes students with academic knowledge instead of promoting all. Students should be encouraged to think on their own and trained in life skills in order to use them practically in real life. Extra help should be provided for students who are weak in certain subjects she opined. An eminent child psychologist (Nair, 2015) was of the opinion that there needs to be reforms in the examination system. Exams should be held at various levels in school- lower primary, upper primary, high school and higher secondary. At the end of 5th standard a public exam at school should be held. Those who fail at this level need to be provided additional support. A district level public exam at 8th standard should be held and those who fail at this level should be sent to vocational schools where they need to pass for skills. Public exams at the end of 10th and 12th standards at the State level should prepare students for employability and suitable opportunities to this effect need to be given during this time. Overall he was of the opinion that education should develop the child's Intelligence Quotient, Social Quotient, Emotional Quotient as well as Spiritual Quotient.

Conclusion

In sum, it is clear that civil society has an important role to play in building awareness regarding child rights and ensuring that it is realized. Kerala has a long tradition of state and civil society linkages which has helped in making significant achievements in the field of education. Although the first generation need of bringing every child to school has been achieved the problem of educational quality needs to be sorted out. Firstly, a clear cut definition of the term 'quality' applicable to the education system in Kerala needs to be developed. Many of the provisions in the RTE pertaining to

improving school quality are being flouted in Kerala. Incidents of corporal punishment and child abuse are rampant. Sensitivity and media ethics should govern reports on child rights abuse instead of the current trend of sensationalizing such cases. Curricular revision that keeps in mind local contexts, a system of evaluation that promotes students on the basis of their knowledge and skills to replace the No Detention Policy, promoting vocational courses right from the elementary level were some of the important suggestions offered by the respondents. The discussions with stakeholders reveal that no formal and effective linkage have been set up so far between the Government agencies and civil society organizations to realize this goal. Efforts in this direction by civil society organizations have been sporadic and ad-hoc. There is a need to have a continuous and comprehensive linkage between civil society and the state in order to make the goal of education of equitable quality for all a reality.

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LAND PRICE VARIATIONS AND AGRICULTURAL LAND USE CHANGES IN KERALA

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Abstract

The rice culture of Kerala is fast vanishing mainly due to filling of wet lands and paddy growing areas and also due to the intensive diversion of these lands for non-agricultural uses. The shrinking of wet lands and other agricultural lands is adversely affecting our quest for food security. The consequences of excessive land use pattern changes are manifold. The socio-economic and environmental impacts are commonly recognized. Environmental decay is felt in a myriad ways. The booming real estate sector gradually swallowing the God's own Country's life supporting lands, thus causes huge ecological impacts and loss of bio-diversity. It is the high time that planners must thought about alternative ways to meet the growing demand of land for development purpose and also formulate policies to protect the remaining agricultural land in the state.

Key words: Land, Land market, Land Value, Land use, Real estate, Agricultural land conversion

Land and its ownership occupy a unique place in the history of human existence and growth. Apart from food and clothing, dwelling primarily determines the characteristic development of mankind. The socio-economic needs and consequent cultural edifices have largely been evolved through the use of land and its resources since the beginning of human history. In the process of growth and development of society, human beings willfully altered and are modified land in a variety of ways for food production and for other purposes. The Food and Agricultural Organization

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(FAO) eloquently defines that, 'land is a delineable area of the earth's terrestrial surface, encompassing all attributes of the biosphere immediately above or below this surface, including those of the near surface climate, the soil and terrain forms, the surface hydrology (including shallow lakes, rivers, marshes and swamps), the near – surface, sedimentary layers and associated ground water reserve, the plant and animal populations, the human settlement pattern and physical results of past and present human activity (terracing, water storage or drainage, structures, roads, building etc' (FAO, 1995).

Land market is highly imperfect in nature. This imperfection in the functioning of the market results out of the nature of the commodity. Land is a heterogeneous commodity. Two properties are not identical and the information on market transactions is often skewed and not easily available. This heterogeneity arises from differences in topography and aesthetic attributes of the land. Locational proximity to urban areas and accessibility to other infrastructure amenities, returns from land and nature of land (whether it is residential or commercial land) etc. are the primary criteria that fixes the qualitative differences of lands. Along with that, land markets are typically characterized by infrequent traders, durability, a negotiated pricing process, large transaction costs, inelastic supply and longtime delays. All these influence land market both as an investment good and as consumption good. This heterogeneous nature of land also leads to divergence of value in respect of space and time. Relatively low element of risk and uncertainty makes investment in land sector as a fertile ground for speculative activity.

The increasing pace of industrialization and the concomitant urbanization resulted the higher demand of land for industrial, commercial, residential, recreational, educational and other purposes. The pressure of demand for land in urban areas manifests in the form

of congestion, non-conforming uses, higher prices for land and spill out of these effects to adjoining fringe and also to rural areas. The conversion of land in fringe areas from agriculture to non-agricultural uses creates several constrictions. The utilization pattern of the fringe land would be determined by the revenue yielding capacity of each use. Thus the value of land will be a function of the net revenue and the land located nearer the market will yield higher revenue as compared to lands located further off. Similarly the demand for fringe land for urban uses is mainly speculative in nature and is based upon the expected value of land in future which depends on expected future productivity of land. The multiplicity of operators in the fringe land market and their diverse expectations along with the personal whims and fancies of farmers are also important factors contributing to a non-compact form of development known as Sprawl. The Government has a significant role in the land market by means of substituting for the market wholly or partially, controls, land ceiling, zoning and taxation (Wadhwa, 1983).

Emergence of Land Market in Kerala

In Kerala, we can observe special characteristics in land market that is the growth of land values are highest in rural or rural urban fringe areas and lowest at the centre. At the very same time the value of land tends to be higher at the urban centres than others. There is hardly a few studies on land that narrates the emergence and development of land market in Kerala. Most of the studies are discussed either agrarian changes or shift in cropping pattern and thereby changes in land use. According to T.C. Varghese, Political reforms, social changes and economic factors contributed to the development of land market in Kerala (Varghese, 1970).

The ever growing demand for land due to the rapidly expanding population reflected in the land markets in the form of increase in the volume of sales and in price of land. So many reasons have

been cited for the upsurge in the demand for land in Kerala such as increasing density of population, process of urbanization leading to rural urban continuum, break up of joint families and conferment of ownership of land on the nuclear households, changes in the inheritance systems and residence pattern, change in the cropping pattern in favour of cash crops, transaction of land as a secure form of investment, and increase in the inflow of expatriate income (Mathunny, 1992 & Hari Kurup, 2009).

The most expensive use of land in modern times is its use in the urban sector. In the planned development of urban areas leads to urban encroachment on sub urban agricultural lands in haphazard manner. The influence of urbanization on land use could be explained with the help of rural urban fringe, where the transition of land use occurs from rural urban uses, due to the socio – economic pressures from urban centers (Reji, 2003).

This paper attempts to examine the growth of real estate business, its price variations and consequent impacts in the use pattern of agricultural lands in Kerala.

Land Transactions in Kerala

Among the other states in India, Kerala experience a rampant increase in land transactions and prices since the 1990's. The phenomenon of the real estate boom was evident in the early 90's in important cities and urban centers, but towards the latter part of the 90's, the boom is gradually spreading to semi urban and even in rural areas. Kerala being a land scarce and high density of populated state, scarcity of land for alternative and competing uses results in unhealthy and speculative types of land transactions in the state. As a result of greater demand for land due to the population pressure, nuclear family system, urbanization, rise in real income and standard of living of the people, recent development of service sector, Kerala

was one of the states in India with highest land value. The price of land should have further increased as a result of increase in the inflow of remittances from rest of the world. As more and more area getting privately owned and greater demand for land due to factors mentioned above, number of market transfers of land has been steadily increasing and it should be mainly used for the development of the service sector. This is the one of the main reason why our productive sectors like agricultural and industry remains stagnant. To meet the growing demand of land for voluminous uses leads to the conversion of agricultural land. The real estate boom in Kerala is characterized by the concept of land as a factor of production being replaced by land as an investment option and the unparalleled and tremendous increase in the price of land and buildings in the urban and sub urban centers of the state leads to the conversion of agricultural land for non-agricultural uses and it also calls for careful planning and strategies to facilitate the sustainable growth and development of the state.

In this context a discussion on the expansion of land market and its impacts on agricultural land use pattern in the regional perspective of Kerala is very important. The expansion of land market in Kerala is reflected in the land values, magnitude of land transfers and revenue generated from these transactions.

Number of Documents registered and revenue generated from 1986-87 to 2016-17

Year	Number of Documents registered	Collection of Revenue (Rs. in crores)			Annual Growth
		Stamp Duty	Registration Fees	Total	
1986-87	981358	45.73	10.46	56.19	
1987-88	919492	55.99	12.38	68.37	21.68
1988-89	908556	64.03	13.92	77.95	14.01

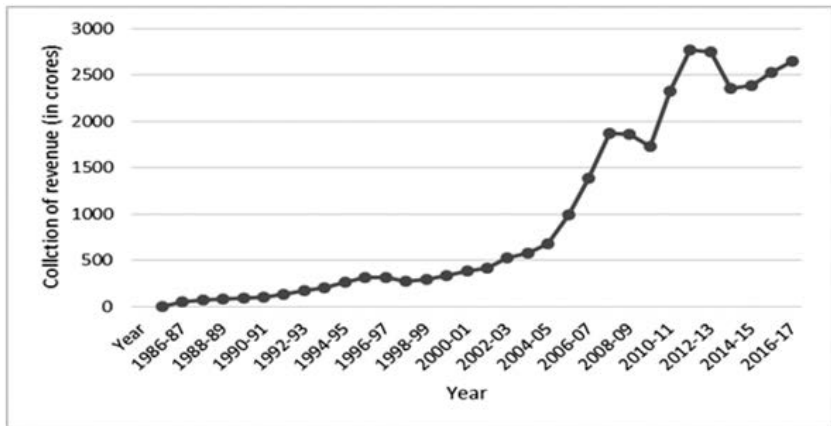
Land Price Variations and Agricultural Land Use Changes in Kerala

1989-90	861136	77.62	16.23	93.85	20.40
1990-91	875898	85.96	17.50	103.46	10.24
1991-92	1051515	115.09	20.36	135.45	30.92
1992-93	1042801	145.82	23.67	169.49	25.13
1993-94	1157958	176.52	29.35	205.87	21.46
1994-95	1106359	226.07	39.28	265.35	28.89
1995-96	1288800	239.33	77.96	317.29	19.57
1996-97	1225698	237.20	78.37	315.57	-0.54
1997-98	1094843	206.42	72.68	279.10	-11.56
1998-99	1040383	219.09	76.42	295.51	5.88
1999-00	1195117	242.93	91.75	334.68	13.26
2000-01	1161392	281.28	104.12	385.40	15.15
2001-02	943366	312.84	106.19	419.03	8.73
2002-03	1092255	395.90	131.05	526.95	25.75
2003-04	1202958	419.13	163.73	582.86	10.61
2004-05	1367244	429.62	244.49	674.11	15.66
2005-06	1138452	792.00	196.24	988.24	46.60
2006-07	1289176	1125.33	257.75	1383.08	39.95
2007-08	1305013	1531.99	340.90	1872.89	35.41
2008-09	1268165	1516.79	349.03	1865.82	-0.38
2009-10	1188258	1404.87	326.71	1731.58	-7.19
2010-11	1253786	1727.66	601.56	2329.22	34.51
2011-12	1310573	2017.30	755.77	2773.06	19.06
2012-13	851525	2034.55	713.00	2747.58	-0.92
2013-14	1179064	1577.49	775.98	2353.49	-14.34
2014-15	1053918	1625.43	764.79	2390.23	1.56
2015-16	973410	1707.06	824.83	2531.88	5.93
2016-17	870487	1892.68	761.01	2653.71	4.81

Source: Department of Registration, Government of Kerala

The number of documents registered in Kerala, we cannot observe a linear trend in growth. It showed a fluctuating trend in spite if it increased from 981358 in 1986-87 to the maximum of 1310573 in 2011-12. After that it decreased to 870487 in 2016-17. In 2011-12, the number of documents registered in the state is the ever time highest. This is reflected in revenue by a substantial increase of more than 400 crores compared to the previous year. The total number of documents registered in 2016-17 is low compared to 1986-87, but the revenue generated in 2016-17 is many times greater than 1986-87. This shows the fact that there is an upward spiraling in land prices throughout Kerala. It may be noted that values reported in the documents are highly underestimated and thereby it will not give a reflection to the actual market price (Kurup, 2009). This help us to substantiate the argument that there occurred an average increase in land price of 300 % in the land market in some cities in Kerala (State Planning Board,2013).

Revenue generated from land Transactions in Kerala from 1986-87 to 2016-17



Source: Department of Registration, Government of Kerala

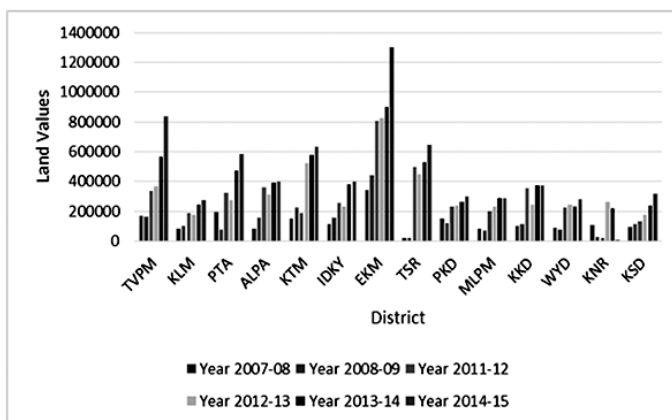
The total Revenue (Stamp duty + registration fee) collected from land transactions in Kerala increased from 56.19 crores in 1986-87 to 2653.71 crores in 2016-17. A marked uptrend in revenue except for the periods 2008-11 and 2012-15. One can easily find a reason for this fall in revenue that in the first is mainly due to the global financial crisis and slow down and the latter referring to the gulf crisis and short fall in remittances.

Mean value of sale deed land transactions in Kerala from 2007-08 to 2014-2015

Mean value of sale deed land transactions in Kerala from 2007-08 to 2014-2015

District	Year					
	2007-08	2008-09	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15
Thiruvananthapuram	172084	165474	336022	366113	568650	834937
Kollam	83550	99506	188725	178101	242100	274782
Pathanamthitta	193909	79511	322695	277739	475008	586005
Alappuzha	83077	157843	359905	311576	391818	398648
Kottayam	150904	227597	191663	521979	575925	636161
Idukki	116238	156818	258618	232523	380815	398463
Ernakulam	340591	442967	805718	823767	899444	1302621
Trissur	19637	22452	500230	447387	528352	644639
Palakkad	150478	117831	234227	238055	265926	298021
Malappuram	85339	73639	202836	229019	286627	285617
Kozhikode	99565	115225	352971	245651	375645	375597
Wayanad	91496	80016	228920	243648	230344	278899
Kannur	109284	27548	24067	265086	218992	8303
Kazarkod	96402	114100	131524	177761	237391	317243
Total	1792554	1880527	4138121	4558405	5677037	6639936

Source: Administrative Report, Department of Registration, Government of Kerala



Source: *Administrative Report, Department of Registration, Government of Kerala*

Another way to substantiate the hike in land price of Kerala is to compare the mean value (price of land/cent) sale deeds from 2007-08 to 2014-15. Average price of land vary from one place to another due to location specific factors. Average value per cent is increased in all most all districts in Kerala at a higher rate than the increase in general price level. Several studies have brought out the high degree of negative correlation between the average area marketed and the unit price of land. This inverse relationship is explained in terms of the 'size effect' or 'scale effect' of the commodity marketed. That means the quantity of land offered for sale is larger in size, the unit price of offered is likely to be less. On the other hand, when the size is small, the plot is likely to fetch a higher price. This issue got its significance when the demand for land for housing wants intensifications. This phenomenon is fairly visible in Kerala as there is rural urban continuum demonstrated by wide spread housing construction throughout the state (Baiju, K.C)

Demand of Land for Non-agricultural Purposes

The demand for land has not been limited to the construction of residential purposes. There is an ever increasing demand for so many sorts of things. The growth and development of our economy

demands more land for infrastructure, rail and road transport expansion, office space for IT and IT enabled services, educational purposes, hospitals, hotels and resorts, shopping mall etc. Here arise a question, after all the growing demand for land is met, how much will be left for agriculture, especially for food production? At the same time the real estate developers, motivated by profit, competing each other for converting the rest of the agricultural lands of state.

Land use Pattern changes in Kerala

As far as Kerala is concerned, it is basically an agriculture based economy with paddy as the prime crop. The rice growing wetlands of the state were significant and are an important part of our ecosystem. The steep growth in agricultural income in the state suddenly declined during the mid 1970's and have been fluctuating thereafter due to the re-distribution of land holdings (Mahesh, 2000). As a result of this farmers began to divert their rice fields to perennial crops such as coconut or arecanut and gradually to cash crops such as rubber, coffee, tea etc. The percentage of population engaged in agriculture has drastically come down.

At present we can see a common trend in Kerala that keeping a wetland fallow for a while, as a prelude for converting it for other uses, especially near highways and roads. Filling up of wetlands and paddy growing areas and converting them in to other uses has become a practice since the late 1980's because of the increased cash flow from NRI remittances and economic development. The real estate business has thus become a big venture in Kerala. The lack of justifiable returns and incentives from agriculture, high population density, a consumerist way of life, easy access to finance and demand for land for building have paved the way to a booming real estate sector. Increase in the agricultural land holding after the land reforms act 1963 has also catalyzed the diversion process in the state (PP Nikhil Raj and PA Azeez, 2009).

In the spirit of the global environmental change debate, land

use changes have received major attention in the past years (Meyer and Turner II 1994; Nijkamp 1997; Ostrom 1990; Parry 1990). Major reasons for this renewed interest are the threats imposed by climate change, deforestation, and desertification and in general the loss of biodiversity. In this context, sustainable land use has become an important analytical and policy issue (Finco and Nijkamp 1997). A potential consequence of land use regulation is higher housing prices, which make housing less affordable to middle and low income households. There is sufficient evidence to support the linkage between land use regulation and housing affordability. Land use regulation reduces housing affordability in both rural and urban areas. Land conservation is a critical element in achieving long-term economic growth and sustainable development. Land use policy, however, must strike a balance between private property rights and the public interest (Junjie Wu, 2008).

Kerala experienced land use pattern changes from its very origin. But this process gets its rapid momentum during the past 15 years. Shrinking of agricultural land has several adverse consequences apart from causing environmental damage and ecological imbalance. Its ill effects could manifest on various dimensions such as declining food production, migration of laborers from agriculture to industry, decline in net sown area etc. The high priority accorded to promotion of exports through increased industrial development has often resulted in unbridled diversion of agricultural land to industrial and other purposes, to the detriment of agricultural production and food security (Lakshmana, 2012).

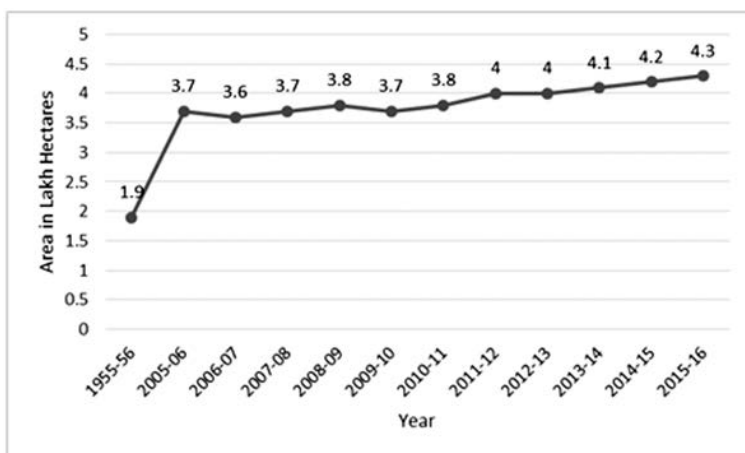
The total area of cropland decreased by 147809 ha during this period. The total geographical area of the State is 3886287 Ha. Geographical area in Kerala has been classified according to thirteen different uses of land. The net area under cultivation during the year 2013-14 was 20,50,994 Ha, which occupies 52.78% of the total area in the State. The total cropped area is 26,16,670 Ha during the year 2013-14.

State level Estimates of Gross Cropped Area, Net Cropped Area and Cropping Pattern (1955-56 to 2015-16)

No	Year	Total Geographical Area (Ha)	Gross Cropped Area(Ha)	Gross Cropped Area (%)	Net Cropped Area(Ha)	Net Cropped Area (%)	Cropping Intensity	Land put to non- agri: uses (Ha)	Land put to non- agri: uses (%)
1.	1955-56	3808984	2212060	58.1	1811817	47.6		190611	5.0
2.	2001-02	3886287	2992252	76.99	2190690	56.37	136.59		
3.	2002-03	3886287	2970384	76.43	2188537	56.31	135.72		
4.	2003-04	3886287	2954454	76.02	2189940	56.35	134.91		
5.	2004-05	3886287	2994666	77.05	2154885	55.45	138.97		
6.	2005-06	3886287	2982454	76.74	2132483	54.87	139.86	370322	9.5
7.	2006-07	3886287	2913873	74.98	2101431	54.10	138.66	358684	9.2
8.	2007-08	3886287	2758740	70.99	2089029	53.80	132.06	371558	9.6
9.	2008-09	3886287	2694943	69.34	2088955	53.80	129.01	376155	9.7
10.	2009-10	3886287	2668678	68.67	2078715	53.50	128.38	371906	9.6
11.	2010-11	3886287	2647461	68.12	2071507	53.30	127.80	384174	9.9
12.	2011-12	3886287	2661757	68.49	2040132	52.50	130.47	399924	10.3
13.	2012-13	3886287	2591734	66.69	2048109	52.70	126.54	402577	10.4
14.	2013-14	3886287	2616670	67.33	2050994	52.80	127.58	405826	10.4
15.	2014-15	3886287	2624624	67.54	2042881	52.56	128.48	419828	10.8
16.	2015-16	3886287	2627577	67.65	2023073	52.06	129.88	434646	11.18

Source: Agricultural Statistics 2015-16, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Kerala and An Analytical study on agriculture in Kerala, Directorate of Agriculture, Kerala

The gross cropped area, which represents the total area cultivated under all foods and non-food crops including the area sown more than once during the year decreased from 2992252 ha (77%) to 2627577 ha (67.65) and the net cropped area, which represents the area sown under the first crop during the year is also decreased from 2190690 ha (56.37%) to 2042881 ha (52.06%) during the last 16 years. Cropping intensity, that is the ratio of gross cropped area to the net cropped area decreased from 136.59 in 2001-02 to 129.88 in 2014-15.



Source: *Agricultural Statistics 2015-16, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Kerala*

Cropping intensity of Kerala has been reducing year by year mainly due to conversion of wet land. Due to mixed cropping pattern, the availability of irrigation facilities and other measures of intensification of agriculture, there is a slight increase in cropping pattern in the last year. At the same time the land put to non-agricultural uses or development purpose such as building, pathways, roads, canals, rivers, bus stands, railways, local reservoirs, swamps and other construction are increased from 370322 ha (9.5%)

in 2005-06 to 434646 ha (11.18%) in 2015-16. In 1955-56, it was 190611 ha (5%). Compared from 1955-56 to 2014-15, the percentage change in land put for non-agricultural uses is 6.18%. This drastic fall in cropped area and the cropping intensity shows the extent of land uses pattern changes from agricultural to the non-agricultural uses in Kerala

Conclusion

Thus the land price variations and consequent changes in the use pattern in Kerala over the years due to variety of factors elaborately discussed above, leads to enormous impacts in the socio-economic sphere. Apart from ecological impacts it hugely ghettoizes the marginalized sections of the society. The key element of sustained growth of an economy is found absent and moreover a cosmetic or surface surge of economy became more and more visible. The most disastrous element of this artificial boom tends to collapse at any time due factors which are scrupulously controlled by outside elements, on which we have little control.

The rice culture of Kerala is fast vanishing mainly due to filling of wet lands and paddy growing areas and also due to the intensive diversion of these lands for non-agricultural uses. The impacts of excessive land use pattern changes are manifold. The socio-economic and environmental impacts are commonly recognized. Conversion of farmland to urban development reduces the amount of land available for food production. It is a serious threat to food security. The booming real estate sector gradually swallowing the God's own Country's life supporting lands, thus causes huge ecological impacts. The sky rocketing price of the land in urban areas has caused hardship to the socially and economically weaker sections of the society, thus they are pushed to the peripheral areas commonly called as the outskirts, largely lies in around urban slums or areas having poor amenities, a prerequisite for a decent living. This causes

enormous socio-economic issues and even leading to affect smooth functioning of society.

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INDIAN CONSTITUTION: SOME LESSONS FROM LEARNING AND TEACHING**

Biju B.L.*

Abstract

Teaching Indian Constitution is almost as old as the history of the text in India. The article looks at some of the lacunae in the process of teaching and learning. It argues that the learning and teaching must address the changes and challenges in theorising culture and economy in the social sciences. It emphasises on the need for a critical approach based on culture and political economy to the text and the history of its formation to discern it better. The paper opens up some of the concealed aspects of the constitution that may skip the attention of teachers while they teach the text to the students.

In the discipline of Political Science, both graduate and post-graduate students learn the Constitution of India as a compulsory paper in their coursework. Except a few, the course content shows similarity across different universities in India. At the graduate level, the course content begins with the evolution of constitution-making including the statutes and Government of India Acts introduced by the colonial government. It then proceeds to salient features of the constitution, preamble, fundamental rights, directive principles, powers and functions of three branches of government, centre-state relations, statutory bodies established by the constitution, and the syllabus ends with some units requiring some qualitative assessment of the general performance and challenges of the constitution. In Political Science, the framework of the earlier syllabus of Indian Constitution seems like the one suitable to teach a paper in the course of law. It describes the evolution of Indian

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******Earlier draft of this paper was presented in ‘Golden Jubilee Seminar Series in Emerging Trends in Pure and Applied Disciplines’ at St. Gregorios College Kottarakara in 2014 and ‘National Seminar on Political Science in India: Emerging Paradigms, Perspectives and Challenges’ at University College Trivandrum in 2018. I thank the students and teachers of the two institutions and the experts for their comments on the drafts.

Constitution, but there may be nothing in the course helpful to ground the acts in a historical context. As same as history, economics and sociology are also conspicuous by their absence in learning and teaching Indian Constitution. Legal experts cum political scientists such as D.D. Basu, and M. V. Paylee were the leading authors of the books for the course. The content of the books mainly gives information regarding the constitutional provisions. At the post-graduate level, also until very recently the prescribed books were the same. Even if some other writers found space in the reading lists such as Shibani Kinkar Chaube and Sobhanlal Datta Gupta, the students and the teachers tend to stick on the conventional authors, and some guidebooks based on a variety of reasons. Questions for examinations becomes repetitive, and students can learn by heart.

Proficient leaning based on a systematic reading of literature was not yet a universal norm. The significant chunk of critical learning in social sciences, in which the central theme of the study is society itself, still confines to a few centres of excellence. Why should not we seriously think about decentralisation and popularisation of critical and quality learning to widely dispersed colleges more democratically and judiciously? The public policy framework for higher education is much inclined to encourage the creation of new centres of excellence rather than horizontally expand the quality of education across the existing institutions. Problems of learning in higher education are partially academic and financial.

For a long period, there was a tendency among the teachers in

the Indian Constitution to strictly follow the stipulated framework provided in the conventional books. Many of us believe that teaching (even if it is in social science) is a non-political act in which the teacher is not expected to engage politics. Thus the constitution of India, which was widely projected as the will of the people formulated on the principle of common good and enshrining moral values and ethics, becomes the natural choice for those among the teachers who adhere to this view. In addition to this, teaching Indian Constitution by focussing on facts and nurturing thin analysis was relatively a trouble-free task since the conventional syllabus demands for no advanced reading. In fact, teaching remains more or less the same even after periodical revision of the syllabus.

Also, in a large number of universities in India, the syllabus revision also rarely make any substantive change. Most of such efforts are limited to making changes in the titles and reordering the existing units, and many participants in the syllabus workshop are found to be satisfied with this. It shows some disturbing implications. The revision of the syllabus does not incorporate the expansion of knowledge in the field of study properly. Many reasons are available for opposition to change the existing syllabus. One of such I heard in some of the syllabus revision workshops is the inability of the students to follow the new syllabus. It was not clarified, who is anxious about a change in syllabus. Moreover, no student I saw there in the venue to verify the observation made by the faculty. Anyhow, it was sure that such academic concerns in the name of students make the knowledge about the constitution remained stagnant and it became dreary for the aspiring students and teachers.

The preceding analysis indicates two sets of issues that confront a teacher in Political Science while teaching a course on the constitution. The first is related to the prescribed syllabus and academic conventions in this field and the second, which is more

serious in my view, is the reign of common sense and the dominant ideology regarding *our constitution*. It affects both the teachers and the students in the process of learning. This paper is written by focussing on the latter.

Indian Constitution: 'The Genesis'

The evolution of the constitution is an essential matter of learning it. It has significantly more than merely following a tradition. It is useful to evaluate the debates in the Constituent Assembly and the constitutional reforms initiated by the colonial rulers critically. However, in the conventional teaching, the debates in the assembly that gave shape to the constitution is given lesser importance than describing the significant events and the summary of different constitutional reform packages introduced by the raj. Very rarely the conventional syllabus demands a critical introspection into the social composition of the assembly, its representative character and mode of selection and the dominant value framework of the constitution makers. Evolution must also bring into account the variety of factors that influenced the constitution making, such as the historical context, the socio-political movements and the legacy of colonial modernity. Each of these requires a theoretical understanding as well. In the usual classroom learning about the evolution of the Indian Constitution, many vital aspects of the process of constitution making are evading our attention.

The mainstream accounts consider the process of the constitution-making in India as the outcome of a successful national movement. Therefore, our *emotional nationalism* discourages a proper inquiry into the events and factors preceding the formation of Constituent Assembly of India and the specific nature of the transfer of power from the British elites to the Indian elites through both negotiation and struggle. Many innovative assessments of the national movement have come out in the past in the Indian

historiography, but the mainstream teaching and our familiar reading pattern in the discipline hardly reorient our attention towards this critical literature.

Teachers who adopt the style of nationalist storytelling about the pre-independent period hardly inform the students about the real socio-political context, diverse political organisations participated in the anti-colonial movement, the nature of struggles, the diverse demands and the ideology of the leadership in the formative years of Indian Constitution. As a result, mainstream teaching does not help the students to look into the process of the interactive relation between the social structure and the constitution at the time of its making. A few questions would be helpful to the students to learn about this interaction. For instance, what was the social character (class, caste religious and gender) of the assembly? Did the assembly accommodate members from all the social groupings equally or proportionately? How did the inadequate representation of the disadvantaged sections of the population in the assembly affect their demands in the future democracy of the nation? What was the dominant ideology of the assembly members? Was it inclusive of the socio-cultural diversity of the population properly? Why some of the popular movements and specific political groupings decided to keep out from the process? What were the objections of Muslim League to Indian National Congress regarding the constitution making? What were the demands of Communist Party and the Socialists vis-à-vis constitution and its making? What was the procedure of selection of the members of the Constituent Assembly? Was it based on adult suffrage or restricted franchise? Why the size of property holdings, personal income, tax payment and educational qualifications became the criterion for determining the right to vote in elections? Was the Constitution of India strikingly different from the Government of India Act 1935?¹ Why the constituent assembly members were more inclined towards constitutions of liberal democratic and capitalist

countries of the West while adopting the general framework of the Constitution of India?

Most often, the commonly referred books keep a dubious silence on the mostly unrepresentative character of the Constituent Assembly and the way of its election. The assembly was not elected by universal suffrage but was formed in 1946 through indirect elections by the members of different provincial legislatures who themselves had been elected by a restricted electorate comprised of propertied classes and educated citizens. The voting right according to the Government of India Act 1935 was available to 15 per cent of the total population, and it comprised only 39 per cent of the adults. Why the mainstream academia in its enthusiastic accounts of the constituent assembly hides the shortage of democratic content of the Constituent Assembly? Why it was consistently reluctant to probe into how the members of the assembly upheld the interest of the property holders (bourgeoisie, landlords and the middle class) in various deliberations.

The lower class, women, minorities and lower castes were falling short of adequate representation in the assembly even though social and ideological pluralism practised by the Congress provided some accommodation to the moderate voices of the dissenting organisations and groups. Such a representation, except in the case of Ambedkar and a few others, was proved not much useful and decisive to affect the course of deliberations in the assembly. After partition, the party-based breakup shows that 80 per cent of the members were from the Congress. Why the Congress leadership agreed to accommodate representatives of the undemocratic princely rulers in the assembly after their merger with Indian union? In fact, the Constituent Assembly of India was an outcome of negotiations and compromises made by our national leadership with an external force and many internal forces. How finally in the preamble “we the people of India solemnly resolve” these compromises?

There were a small group of non-Congress members in the assembly from the Muslim League after partition and two socialist party members and a handful of independents. However, the Congress party, which ruled the interim government and all the provincial governments possessing an absolute majority in the assembly, rendered rest of the membership further ineffective. Granville Austin in his book 'Indian Constitution: The Cornerstone of a Nation' gives the socio-economic profile of the constituent assembly as an appendix. Though Austin takes a precaution in a footnote by saying that the social background of the members need not be the sole determinant of their views expressed in the assembly and it holds some truth, the careful neglect of the assembly to stipulate principle of economic distribution as constitutional mandate to the future governments exhibited its class character and leniency to the interest of the rich and the powerful who elected it. Austin, same as many other western scholars who studied about the constitution and its making, need not be left outside our criticism because they are the most popular texts that we use for teaching. It seems that these liberal-minded scholars described the constitution making in India, a non-western country as an exciting and revolutionary example mainly because from the western point of view such a development in the non-western social context was mostly unprecedented. Therefore, they exaggerated the event of constitution-making in a developing nation against many of the shortcomings of the very process and the content of the constitutional text.

Those who evaluate the assembly debates and the constitution as revolutionary and robust hardly ask, why the framers of the constitution were more concerned about maintaining the standard of political democracy in the new nation and watered down the basic principles necessary for an economic democracy even though the poor, landless peasants and the workers constituted a significant

majority of the population? Like many other western capitalist nations where the constitutions were formed under the tutelage of liberal democratic and capitalist ideology, in India also the same was the dominant ideology of the majority of the constitution makers. They hardly envisaged the constitution as a legal document committed to principles of distribution and a political carrier of radical socialism. The socialist voices of K. T. Shah within the Congress and the two socialist party representatives and the mild socialism of Nehru were put down on several occasions in the assembly debates by the liberals and the conservatives.

Granville Austin reminds us about the oligarchy of leadership in the Constituent Assembly composed of Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhai Patel, Maulana Azad and Rajendra Prasad. Even though B. R. Ambedkar was playing a crucial role in the assembly debates and he was treated as the architect of the draft constitution, compared with the former, he did not have the explicit backing of a party different from Congress in the Assembly, and he was not part of the oligarchy. He was initially elected to the assembly as a candidate of Scheduled Caste Federation from East Bengal with the support of Muslim League but lost his constituency after partition. Later, Ambedkar was re-nominated from Bombay by Congress. Also, Ambedkar did not have any severe ideological objection to the liberal camp in the assembly except in matters related to reservation for Scheduled Castes. However, his proposal to include a list of basic economic rights as part of fundamental rights in the constitution was defeated in the assembly by others. S. Anand rightly states this in the following:

“When Ambedkar did make it to the Constituent Assembly and even headed it, he could not have his way on most issues dear to him. His impassioned belief in separate electorates for Dalits; his unique and original proposals to solve the communal deadlock

through multi-member constituencies and cumulative voting within the framework of parliamentary democracy and to pre-empt the religious partition of India; his zeal for a uniform civil code among Hindus; his enthusiasm for a programme that ensured social and economic equality (not just political equality in terms of universal adult franchise); his advocacy of nationalisation of land and its redistribution as cooperative, collective farms – all these had no place in a Constituent Assembly dominated by conservative, feudal Hindus and a pusillanimous Nehru” (Anand 2009)

Also, the oligarchy of leadership was effective to override ideological opposition by reminding the members about the unity and integrity of India. In fact, there were occasions in which some liberal democratic principles were also significantly compromised in favour of the strong centralised state. Somnath Lahiri, the only member of Communist Party in the pre-partition assembly from East Bengal, derided the Assembly, especially Sardar Patel (Chairman of the Committee on Fundamental Rights) for holding the approach of a police officer in drafting the fundamental rights (See: Constituent Assembly Debates, Vol. 3). Why those who worried in the assembly about the possibility of economic rights creating a financial burden for the government in future had not expressed any distress about the same through compensation for the landlords and zamindars and the extraordinary allowances (Privy Purse) to the erstwhile princely rulers provided by the constitution?

The political image of the Congress representing all sections of the Indian citizens is a trap in our learning of the constitution. Therefore, the Constituent Assembly dominated by Congress is a reason for many of us following Granville Austin and others to treat it as a ‘microcosm of Indian society’. As said earlier, Austin also pointed out the problem of the restricted franchise. However, he has little hesitation to conclude that the assembly was a microcosm

of the nation! However, the Congress became a mass movement and socially and ideologically plural in membership only since the late 1920s and faced political challenges since 1930s. In fact, the Congress governments came to power in several provinces were ruthless towards peasants, students and working class movements. Without looking into the actual history of the Congress in the pre-independence period, how can we repeat the same lessons of our old-school textbooks to students at the higher education level? Such a lopsided view prevents us from seeing that the Congress despite having a mass following carried with it always a political strategy vulnerable to the landlords and the industrial bourgeoisie. In all the critical moments, the Indian ruling class held sway over the organisation vis-à-vis the political decisions and policies and by using the strings of financial support to it. The changes in the organisation's strategy of mobilisation due to the widely applauded Gandhian techniques since the late 1920s neither curtailed the ruling class power nor transformed the party exclusively into a mass party of the poor. The oscillating posture of the Congress between the rich and the poor was the reason for many of the radical left segments of its leadership and working class, peasant members to quit the organisation from the 1930s and to form socialist parties and the communist party during the anti-colonial movement.²

At a time, when India was preceding to independence, the claim of the Congress as the one and unique representative of all sections of the Indian population is false. The consolidation of Muslim minority behind the Muslim League, formation of political parties representing the lower castes and Scheduled Castes in different regions and the growing strength of socialist-communist parties and the right-wing Hindu nationalist organisations affected the capability of Congress for an inclusive representation of India within its party structure. The strength of Congress to retain the

nature of a catchall movement was highly due to its permission of dual membership for party workers. Even though the Congress demanded a national constituent assembly since the 1930s and urged for its election through the universal adult franchise, why in 1940s it was satisfied with an assembly elected on restricted suffrage as proposed by the Cabinet Mission Plan? Was the Congress profoundly worrying about the opposition parties' strength to cause damage to its dream of securing an absolute majority in an assembly elected by adult suffrage?

Congress understood the political advantage of indirect election to the Constituent Assembly from the existing provincial legislatures. The restricted franchise under the Government of India Act 1935 already provided it sweeping victory in the provincial elections. After a long period of their considerable support to the colonial rulers, the landlords and the industrialists had begun to see Congress as their party for the future. It was reflected in the composition of provincial legislatures wherein the party could gain a majority. Communist Party and sections of the Socialist Party had no conviction and hope of victory in such an undemocratic electoral process. They stood against an assembly, which was elected exclusively by the propertied classes providing only an ineffective representation to the working class, peasants and the majority of poor in the proceedings of making the constitution. The effort of the Congress to pursue the agenda of the ruling class was unchallenged, and it was free from facing an organisational opposition except for the Muslim League in the assembly. Though there were a minority of professed socialists in both Congress and the League, the two organisations were vulnerable to ruling class domination. Therefore, the Muslim League hardly became a class-based ideological critique of the Congress.³

The assembly had a strong contingent of legal experts also. This

has a drawback that leaves our attention in the mainstream teaching. In fact, a large number of them were engaging in constitution making without any pressure from the people's demands in real politics. However, their opinion was very decisive on several crucial debates in the Assembly. The movement dynamics of anti-colonialism, the class and mass struggles of various sorts and even the Gandhians made no direct impact on the content of the constitution. Did we inherit a legal framework that was in many ways deprived of the impact of true mass politics of anti-colonial movement? There is also another reservation about the presence of legal experts in the Assembly. In fact, all of them were trained in Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence and law. This is cited as a reason why the Indian constitution and the judiciary while interpreting the constitutional provisions and addressing some extraordinary and new questions of justice in the post-independence, are found to be very constrained by the cages of old conventions.

The conflict between the Congress and the League over separate electorate for Muslims was primarily conceived as the most significant political conflict in the pre-partition period. There was a plurality of struggles and multiple forces at tension with each other in the social terrain of pre-independent India. There is a tendency among the nationalist historians and their disciples in the academia to perceive the demand of Muslim League for the separate electorate as anti-national and sectarian. Interestingly, such a view hides from the students of Indian constitution that the League and its liberal leaders raised a relevant point regarding the political safeguards for the minority religious groups against majoritarianism in a Hindu dominant independent India. Teaching on constitutional development in India used to generate a binary between the 'separatist Muslims' and the 'nationalists' by inculcating a Hinduised partisan approach to events and issues related to partition of India.

This 'we-they' framework in our mainstream learning of the pre-partition political events tends to exonerate the nationalist Congress and prosecute the League. Many teachers used to express satisfaction over Indian leaders to get rid of the 'League problem' by way of agreeing to partition, and thus consider the total objection of the post-partition assembly to separate electorate system as a real, democratic and national success.

In fact, Ambedkar also had raised the demand for separate electorate for Scheduled Castes. The post-partition assembly partially conceded to this by providing political reservation for SCs and STs in elections and public sector employment. Nothing like this as a sort of compensation or compromise was made available to Muslims even though a majority of the community were socially and economically deserved the status of the backward class. The current demand for reservation for Muslims in India is partially a reminder of their unjust treatment by the Constituent Assembly. The political promise of the Congress to ensure representation for Muslims while fielding candidates in elections were not equivalent to mandatory reservation through the constitution. Cultural rights in the constitution were not alleviating the problems of lack of representation and economic backwardness of Muslims. The growth of Hindu communalism and decline of Congress made their situation more vulnerable now. The assembly was also not sensitive to issues of women reservation also. The 'empowerment of the weaker sections' was always considered as a tool 'to build up a powerful state', though the relation between the two notions stood contradictory to each other.

In the mainstream teaching and learning of constitution, the text is widely perceived as a solution to the pressing problems of the day. A critical view suggests that the constitution and its provisions produced problems and sometimes the document as a whole became a problem from the vantage point of some sections of the population.

For example, as Pritam Singh argued the cultural language and specific provisions in the constitution are not free from the accusation of showing a Hindu Bias. In fact, many of the teachers forget the fact that the framers of the constitution were pressurised by the threat of a Hindu priest to go fast unto death to get a Hindu name for the country as 'Bharat' in the first article of the constitution. Many of us also forget about the presence of Hindu right-wing members such as M. R. Jayakar, K.M. Munshi and Syama Prasad Mukherjee and the soft Hindutva sentiments expressed by many Congress members such as Sardar Patel and Rajendra Prasad in the assembly deliberations. In his writings on constitutional principles of Indian secularism, James Chiriyankandath remarks:

“It was scarcely surprising that the form of secularism that found expression in the Constitution was ambiguous. Leaders like Deputy Prime Minister Sardar Patel, Rajendra Prasad, the President of the Constituent Assembly, and K.M. Munshi, Patel's right-hand man in the Assembly, were sensitive, if not openly sympathetic, to the majoritarian Hindu sentiments voiced by a number of Congressmen in the Constituent Assembly. They knew that their predilections were widely shared, especially among upper caste Hindi-speaking members from the United Provinces (U.P.), the Central Provinces (C.P.) and Berar, Bihar and Punjab” (Chiriyankandath 2009)

Do we rightly know about some events in the assembly, for example, P.S. Deshmukh, a Congress member from Central Province moving an amendment demanding citizen status only to Hindus and Sikhs with the support of a few? Even though the amendment was defeated, its reminiscence still seduces the Hindu fundamentalists in contemporary Indian politics.

Under the pressure of the Hindu right-wing members enjoying the support of Hindu traditionalists of the Congress the provisions such as cow protection was included in the directive principles.

The Constituent Assembly as a whole was not resistant to all forms of fundamentalist demands from Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims by following a principle of accommodation and recognition for religions. For example, only some woman members (Rajkumari Amrita Kaur) raised problems regarding the impact of the right to religious practices and the right to personal laws upon women's rights. The assembly might have been moderate to arrive at the end level conclusions in making final provisions, but equally important that the assembly did not produce any radical conclusion in the form of a constitutional text which would be diametrically opposite to the prevailing modes of class, patriarchal, caste and religious power structure of the day.

Why should we sideline objective and scientific assessment of the assembly and the making of the constitution and force our critical stamina to be subsumed under an imported common sense? Why should we repeat to the students that the constitution is a divine gift and an accurate reflection of the will of the people? Does it deserve the status of a sacred document to evade democratic evaluation in social science classrooms? Should it be praised as if it flows from the supreme wisdom of our national leaders? For many students particularly at the graduate level criticism of the constitution is an unfair practice. Only after their exposure to better academic environments in their future studies, they start to learn the elements of critical learning and analytical thinking about constitutions. For many who stop higher education after the B. A. course carries with them the uncritical knowledge about the constitution which serves the interest of the establishment. Mostly, they would be willing to briefly point out the 'limitations' of the constitution while writing answers in the examinations. Why do not they explicitly state the 'drawbacks' of the constitution? Why do we fail to recognise the distinction between two modes of our relation to Indian constitution

by splitting our self into one based on our identity as the learner and the other based on our identity as the citizens? Why should we strictly adhere to the same rules of the citizens when we study the Constitution of India as students?

Enlisting the relevant literature related to study of Indian Constitution is a critical challenge for the teachers in the concerned discipline. Preparation of a reading list for the course necessitates serious reading from the teacher. It demands both historical understanding and theoretical learning of the expansion of knowledge about Indian Constitution. Unfortunately, most of our mundane syllabus revision exercise gives little attention to incorporate a well-planned reading list even though it is the linchpin of a course. Most of our syllabi do not give the reading list specific to each unit. It is necessary for focused reading for the students as well as for the teachers.

Shortage of standard textbooks was taken seriously by the academia in India only recently. Some of the Delhi-based academicians took such efforts. The best examples are 'India's Living Constitution', 'Politics and Ethics of Indian Constitution', 'Contemporary India: Economy, Society, Politics', 'Oxford Companion to Politics in India' and 'Routledge Handbook of Indian Politics'. In some universities, teachers have replaced the textbooks of the old genre with these new ones. The scholarly articles included in the last three books give an excellent review of the existing literature on different topics more comprehensively and thus set a new practice for textbook writing. However, in the mainstream, we pay no heed to the fact that preparation of a standard textbook require many precautions and care more than that we need to maintain in writing a research article or a book. Do our prolific textbook writers and the usual titles one finds in the shelves of our bookshops related to Constitution of India mind this academic task well?

Constitution: An Ensemble of Enduring Social Conflicts

There is a problem in learning the constitution while we perceive it as a treaty of social consensus instead of an ensemble of social conflicts of the period of its formulation and now. In the assembly, not all the members were holding the same ideology and political view even though a majority was from the same political fold. There were socialists, liberals, conservatives and even reactionaries. The ideological plurality will likely increase if we include the members of the assembly from non-Congress parties and the nominees of the princely rulers.

The Congress was not a well-knit political organisation. The leadership practised a strategy to absorb support from different sections of the population based on a single point agenda of political freedom from the British rule. This led to the coexistence of different ideological groupings and movements of different sections of the society under the loosely held political banner. Regarding the socio-economic agenda of the constitution and the future state, the Congress did not presume a uniform view. It was entirely tricky for a party like Congress to bring about a constitution representing the interest of the poor and the marginalised groups against the interest of the ruling class.

The Congress did not formulate a draft constitution carrying the vision of the party before the formation of the Constituent Assembly to bring some clarity in the deliberations. Such a task was quite uneasy for the Congress because of the sharp differences within the party. There was little consensus within the party regarding the stand to be taken towards land reforms, industrial legislation and even about state's role in development and planning. Neither the Motilal Nehru report nor the Karachi resolution of the Congress reflected any consensus. As stated earlier the party sought for the support of the masses to lead the national movement, and at the

same time, rendered its organisational set-up and ideology vulnerable to accommodate the ruling classes and the conservatives. The mass following of the party was not a compulsion for the Congress to act as a mass party. It is also illogical to conclude that the Congress equally appealed to the poor and the rich in the Constituent Assembly. On many socio-economic questions, the Congress organisation seemed to be nurturing the interest of the ruling classes rather than rising with the aspirations of the masses. The assembly was more so in this respect. There are plenty of examples available from the assembly debates and the provisions enacted in the constitution to show the bias of the assembly dominated by the Congress to the ruling class. The right to private property is a case in point.

The constitution made the property right as a fundamental right, and the majority of members in the assembly strongly demanded monetary compensation to the property holders in case of acquisition of private property by the state either for distribution to the landless (through land reforms) or other public purposes. The economic rights (livelihood rights) such as the right to minimum wage, primary health, education and decent conditions of work, which were the pertinent demands of the majority of people, were not enforced as fundamental rights in the constitution. The enforcement of property right in the list of fundamental rights and the relegation of economic rights of the poor into the non-justiciable directive principles of state policy was indeed a ruling class project that worked through the Constituent Assembly elected by the propertied class. Some scholars have pointed out how the Constitution of India provided the rules and legal provisions for a capitalist economic order in independent India (e.g. Achin Vanaik, Pranab Bardhan, Sukhamoy Chakravarty, Sudipta Kaviraj etc.). There was also a significant amount of tension between different sections within the ruling class coalition, for instance, the landlords

and the bourgeoisie. The decline of the Congress dominance in the party system since 1967 election was a consequence of its inability to maintain the mediatory role in the conflicting class interest of the agrarian and industrial classes. To grasp the real impact and the nature of constitution we will have to take into account specific events and issues in the post-independent Indian politics also. The books – “India since Independence: Making Sense of Indian Politics” by Krishna Ananth, “Politics of India since Independence” by Paul R. Brass, “India since Independence” by Bipan Chandra et al. and “India: Government and Politics in a Developing Nation” by Robert L. Hardgrave and Stanley Kochanek - would be quite helpful for reading.

We may be aware of the face-to-face conflicts between the right to wage and the profit of the capital, and the contradictory demands raised by the landlords and the landless peasants in the Indian economy. If viewed against these class conflicts, what was the intention behind our constitution to give extreme weight to the right to property? Did it not help distribution or possession and accumulation of property concentrated in fewer hands? The critical constitutional cases that we teach the students by presenting them as a conflict between the fundamental rights and the directive principles, about separation of power between institutions, limitations on the constituent power of the Parliament and the problem of judicial review were in fact regarding the controversial right to private property. However, in the standard classroom teachings, a critical introspection into the primary reasons of the constitutional cases popularly known as Sajjan Singh, Golak Nath, Keshavanada Bharati and Minerva Mills and the political economy is missing because of the relative neglect of theoretical training in Marxism for students and teachers in the Political Science in general. A systematic study of the Constitution of India is dependent on the strength of the

political theory courses in the curriculum. The theory is both indispensable and can be an outcome of critical learning. Are we teaching the students to learn the constitution as a social construct? Are we learning about the interaction between the constitution and the society without having a theory of it?

Conclusion: Constitution and Its Politics

In the introduction to 'Politics and Ethics of Indian Constitution' Rajeev Bhargava points out six limitations of the constitution viz., the over-centralised idea of national unity in the constitution, the neglect to gender justice, no provision for a minimal representation to minorities in the legislature as a political safeguard, fundamental rights constrained by several restrictions which eventually creates 'rightless people' instead of 'empowered citizens', relegation of socio-economic rights into non-enforceable directive principles rather than making them an integral part of the fundamental rights when the majority of Indians were poor and socially backward, and the lack of giving an idea about the institutional mechanism to realize the concept of social justice. The limitations stem from the nature of membership in the assembly and the dominance of the ruling classes and their intelligentsia in the mainstream national movement that brought about political independence in the form of transfer of power from colonial elites to the Indian elites rather than in the form of a mass revolution by transferring power to the powerless.

The ruling class character of Indian constitution cannot be exempted from responsibility for the pitiable condition of the poor and the deprived sections of the Indian society in contemporary India. However, in the classroom lectures on Indian Constitution, the audience is introduced to the ruling ideas only. We repeat the chanting that the constitution was entirely fair, but the unruly political leaders failed it. We stop there, but do not ask, why they failed! The students who internalised similar narratives from the

mainstream media and popular discussions take hold this view voluntarily as a part of their common sense and start to demand for a strong state, presidential system of government, ruthless law and order mechanism, undemocratic discipline, chosen political leaders and even the abolition of political parties to resolve the problem. In fact, teaching and learning fail to grasp the critical mission of higher education, and we are forced to satisfy with ideal solutions instead of seeking for concrete corrective measures and democratic political alternatives.

We know that the old practices of teaching constitution at secondary education confined the subject within the scope of civics. Learning the constitution in a limited length in the school textbooks was considered as helpful to transform the students as 'future citizens of India'. Students and teachers are supposed to be role models for the rest of the society, the ordinary citizens who engage in politics without any primary reading of the constitution. (Hardly have we asked why the makers of the constitution drafted it in the form of lengthy and incomprehensible text for the common people!) The conventional intelligentsia considered education as a process through which we mould the uncritical self in the students. Should they suppose that uncritical self is a precondition for model citizenship? Questions are very rarely raised about the ultimate consequence of such a harmless study to the pressing problems of inequality and lack of freedom and dignity to a sizeable number of our fellow citizens. There was no much concern about the state of detachment of social science learning from the liberating ideologies that inspired the masses to radically alter their course of living through permanent struggles and confrontations with structures of authority. In our classrooms why should we refrigerate our study of the constitution by guarding it always from the heat of many forms of social struggles? The 'normal' classroom teaching proves,

directly and indirectly, helpful for the perpetuation of the iniquitous social structure and for retaining the power of the ruling classes. The legitimacy of the constitution must be explored seriously in the classroom teaching to fasten our learning as a critical component of the process of radical social change, and to reform the constitution.

Endnotes

- ¹ Interestingly, most of the textbooks and teachers are interested to claim the genesis from the different foreign constitutions and finally argue that there is an 'Indianness'. Nevertheless, rarely we ask the students to compare the said Government of India Act and provisions of the Constitution.
- ² For a critical reading on the character of Indian national movement and its diverse streams the book, 'Nationalist Movement in India: A Reader' edited by Sekhar Bandyopadhyaya would be useful.
- ³ There was an interesting development in 1947 budget of the interim government at the centre. Liyaqat Ali Khan, Finance Minister from League proposed for income tax of 25 per cent on business profits exceeding Rs. 100,000 per annum. The Congress leaders opposed this tooth and nail though Khan justified it based on distributive ethics and necessity of revenue mobilization. In fact, the non-Muslim businesspersons persuaded the Congress to oppose the Finance Minister since the tax proposals would affect them more negatively. Rajagopalachari and Sardar Patel went further by criticizing Khan for taxing them heavily in the budget. It should be a matter of our concern in teaching the political developments running parallel to the making of the constitution, why the Congress was much worrying about the tax burden of the businesspersons and the Hindu rich. The party was catering to the needs of its fundraisers, the industrial bourgeoisie. Nehru, the socialist Prime Minister in the interim government also had once again made a volt-face against Khan's budget proposals. However, the Congress and the League were equally persuaded by landlords since there was a strong contingent of landlords from the Muslim community also. (See for details, Raghavendra Chattopadhyaya, "Liyaquat Ali Khan's Budget of 1947-48: Tryst with Destiny", *Social Scientist*, Vol. 16, No. 6-7, 1988, pp. 77-89)

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INTERNATIONALIZATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION: THE INDIAN SCENARIO

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Abstract

The present paper seeks to provide a comprehensive analysis of how India has positioned itself so far in terms of internationalization of higher education (IoHE). It also investigates the current challenges and institutional barriers which systematically hinder internationalization processes in the country. A special attention has been paid to the attempts made by the Indian Government to encourage international exchanges, by introducing policies with possible direct or indirect impacts. Arguably, at present, the Indian internationalization policy should concentrate not on persuading prestigious foreign universities to establish campuses in India, but rather focus on encouraging international student mobility and developing academic partnership. It is critically important for India to engage with neighbouring countries in Asia on educational front, thus promoting its 'soft-power' and enhancing political and diplomatic ties.

Key words: *Internationalization, international students, Indian higher education system, inbound student mobility*

At present, India is by no means ready to actively participate in the unfolding scenario of global education. Overwhelmed by the crisis of its national higher education, the country has not given priority to internationalization. At the same time, even without considerable efforts from the government, foreign students still choose India as a study destination. The home countries are mainly from the regions like South Asia, Southeast Asia, Western Asia and Africa. Students from these countries choose India as a study

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destination due to the relative geographical proximity, low fees and costs of living, availability of government scholarships, and cultural bonds. At the same time, their numbers are very meagre compared to the neighboring China, since Chinese government has been making deliberate efforts to attract international faculty and students for several decades. They realized much earlier than India the importance of international academic linkages, and did their best to promote the local education system as well as to create a multinational environment at their campuses. In this sense, India still has a long way to go, albeit recently it also initiated some programmes aimed at bringing more foreign students and academics to its soil.

Theoretical Perspectives

Internationalization of higher education encompasses many dimensions that, in turn, provide a broader view of the processes involved. Cabrera & Le Renard(2015) bring together competitiveness, higher education and internationalization. As the world economy becomes more and more dependent on knowledge and innovation, national, regional and local competitiveness is determined by flows and stocks of human talent. Growing global mobility of not only students but also programmes and providers is making higher education extremely competitive. Competitiveness in higher education that was an anathema until recently has become a dominant force in institutional, national and regional policies (Agarwal, 2008, p. 12).

Hudzik (2011) provides a definition of comprehensive internationalization (CI), and refers to it as a commitment, confirmed through action, to infuse international and comparative perspectives throughout the teaching, research, and service missions of higher education. It shapes institutional ethos and values and touches the entire higher education enterprise. It is essential that it is embraced

by institutional leadership, governance, faculty, students, and all academic service and support units (p. 6). Beelen & Jones (2014) examine the definition of 'internationalization at home', which is the purposeful integration of international and intercultural dimensions into the formal and informal curriculum for all students, within domestic learning environments.

At present, more discussions are gaining ground with regard to internationalized curricula. The main notion behind this trend is that at present students need to be equipped with the skills necessary to interact with a broad spectrum of different cultures and perspectives (Coate, 2014, p. 77-90). De Wit & Leask (2016) suggest that one way to do this is to develop the concept of 'responsible' global citizenship using a lens of cosmopolitan learning as the foundation for an internationalized curriculum for all students. The lens of cosmopolitanism applied to the development of global citizens opens up new possibilities. For example, it points to a focus on developing students' critical understanding of the world through intellectual engagement with knowledge, people and ideas from across the world. Responsible global citizens will be deeply committed to solving the world's problems and will be aware of how their actions affect others and they will show concern for the well-being of others. They will demonstrate a commitment to action locally and globally, across social, environmental and political dimensions, in the interests of others. Ravi (2011) speaks about international or inter-cultural understanding which refers to the development of certain attitudes in individuals who, rising above their own selfish and narrow interests, find out the really valuable aspects in all other cultures, besides their own (p. 700).

Knight (2011) specifies the meaning of cross-border education which is 'a movement of people, knowledge, programmes, providers, policies, ideas, curricula, projects, research and services across national

or regional jurisdictional borders' (p. 16-41). Cross-border tertiary education refers to situations where students, teachers, programmes, institutions/providers or course materials cross national borders. It can take several forms, such as students (and teachers) travelling to study (teach) in foreign countries, educational institutions partnering with foreign institutions to offer joint educational programmes or degrees, educational institutions operating abroad, and educational courses being supplied across borders through distance learning (Vincent-Lancrin, 2007, p. 47-102).

Altbach (2004) examines the process of transnationalization and describes it as 'the trend for academic institutions and other education providers from one country to offer degrees or other academic programmes in another country' (p 13-32). In this sense, the concepts of 'cross-border education' and 'transnationalization' have similar, if not the same, theoretical implications. Tsiligiris (2014) states that transnational education encompasses all the activities which allow a student to study in a country other than the one of awarding institution. Garrett (2017) specifies the motives on the part of a foreign institution which include increased international student recruitment and pursuit of an international identity, while host governments and local partner institutions tend to focus on access to high quality education services.

Cross-border education is closely related to the concept of international student mobility, since it involves a movement of people. It largely consists of two main types: 'degree mobility' and 'credit mobility'. Degree mobility implies the international movement of students in pursuit of a full degree at an institution in the receiving country. Credit mobility occurs when students take courses and typically earn credits for their home country degree from an institution in the host country, but generally are mobile for a shorter time and do not earn a full degree (Helms & Rumbley,

2015, p. 20). Tan (2013) observes that international student flows are affected by a variety of domestic factors, which include both push factors (i.e. factors encouraging outward student flows) and pull factors (i.e. factors encouraging inward student flows).

The table given below represents ‘pull factors’, i.e. those factors which attract international students to India and China.

Table 1
Pull Factors in Inbound Student Mobility: the Cases of India and China

<i>Pull Factors (India)</i>	<i>Pull Factors (China)</i>
Unique culture and traditions	Chinese language (Mandarin)
ICCR scholarships	Political and economic development
Low cost of living	Significant amount of financial support and incentives from the Chinese authorities and universities
Low fees for educational services	High-ranked educational institutions
Cultural and religious diversity (easy to adjust for foreign students with similar identities)	Relatively high standards of educational facilities and infrastructure

Source: Created by the author

Table 1 aims at identifying the main differences in ‘pull factors’ which attract international students to both China and India. It also indicates the need for India to catch up with China on multiple fronts, including operation of high-ranked institutions and economic development in general. Arguably, so far, India has been able to maintain its study destination status mainly due to its unique culture, history and traditions, as well as financial incentives such as ICCR scholarships (Indian Council for Cultural Relations).

Current Challenges

Trivedi (2010) mentions the following important characteristics of Indian role as a provider of educational services:

- Indian higher education is considerably cheaper compared to that provided by other developed countries.
- Living expenses are comparatively low for students (p. 183-190).

India has emerged as the least expensive destination for foreign education, while Australia is the costliest. The average annual cost including university fees and living expenditure of an undergraduate international student in India is around \$5,642 per annum, while for Australia it is as high as \$42,093 a year. (Sud, 2014). Education costs are lower in emerging markets such as India, because the state-run universities are heavily funded by the government, and the cost of living for overseas students is lower.

Following rationales could be pointed out in favour of globalizing Indian education: (Harsolekar, 2003, p. 27-32)

- To make it a major source of earning foreign exchange;
- To improve quality of higher education;
- To spread Indian culture and values.

Internationalization can also enhance people to people interactions, improve diplomatic ties and contribute to the long-term stability in South Asia and beyond.

Unfortunately, India still has a long way to go in terms of internationalizing its higher education sector in a meaningful and beneficial way. Countries like China and Malaysia, for example, have been able to make an enormous headway in this regard. In 2017 India hosted only 47,575 international students compared to the almost 400,000 in China (Altbach, 2018). Notably, Indian government has come up with the major initiative called 'Study in India' in the year 2017. It aims to increase the number of foreign students in India to 200,000 during the next four years. It also envisages the increase of India's share in global education trade from the current 1% to 2%. All this seems to be quite ambitious given the existing

challenges the country faces in regards to its higher education sector. During the last decades India has become infamous for declining quality of its education and not being able to keep up with latest teaching methods, curricula content, campus facilities, and so on. This means that 'Study in India' initiative must be implemented along with multiple structural changes within the system, in order to make the campaign achievable. At present, the Government seems to be more preoccupied with the low global rankings of the universities across India, and desperately wants to rectify the situation by improving its international exposure. In other words, at the moment internationalization of higher education in India is merely viewed through the lens of ranking performance, whereas, as mentioned earlier, it potentially brings multiple benefits, which are socio-economic and political in nature.

Most of the public institutions do not show their interest towards internationalization, nor has the government initiated any concrete policies to strengthen these institutions by providing required inputs in terms of upgrading infrastructure and enhancement of skills to take such initiatives. (Qamar, 2015, p. 18). Indian universities have not taken advantage of internationalization trends so far, nor do they have the resources to take such initiatives. There is, however, no effective and coherent strategic or regulatory framework to monitor and assess internationalization activities. A consensus on India's policies on internationalization in higher education is yet to emerge. This is understandable, given the democratic setting of the country and the diversity of views held by different parts of the government, experts and stake-holders.

If the Government is serious in promoting Indian higher education abroad, then it should mitigate the existing hurdles in attracting international students and hiring foreign faculty. There should be minimum bureaucratic hurdles on the way, be it visa issues

or employment of foreign scholars. The country should become 'internationalization friendly', if it wants to achieve the set targets. India's approach to immigration reveals its unwillingness as a society to trust foreigners. The attractiveness of one's culture, institutions and policies can act as a source of influence, or soft power, in international politics. In a world where the competitive edge between economies is determined by the intensity of education, research and innovation, India's ingrained skepticism keeps the world's best and brightest from seeking opportunities in India. A durable power is built on the back of an open society that invites talent from everywhere, even rival nations. In reality, foreign students and scholars who intend to come to India are being fully scrutinized by multiple institutions, starting from Indian Missions abroad.(Mukherjee, 2016).

Professor N.V. Varghese, the Director of the Centre of Policy Research in Higher Education (CPRHE) (Delhi), pointed out that one of the reasons why international students did not chose India as a study destination was that its universities were not ranked high globally. Even though Indian higher education is much cheaper comparing to the one in most developed countries, this advantage can hardly overcome the poor quality of education services being provided. As matters of concern one should also view quality of food, safety issues, accommodation and overall security level in the country. Besides, study visas, issued in India, do not imply any job opportunities and foreign students need to leave the country as soon as their studies are completed.

According to Prof. Rajan Gurukkal, the Chairman of Kerala State Higher Education Council (KSHEC), India is yet to satisfy the conditions, required for an internationalized higher education sector. He indicates the need for smooth internationalization processes wherein graduates from Indian universities can easily move on with their academic carriers to any place on the globe. This means that

with their certificates from India, foreign students should be able to find placement in any other institutions outside the country. The other issues are related to curriculum standardization and outlined course outcomes, i.e. each academic programme should have a clear description of competencies that a student will attain upon completion of a particular course. Professor Gurukkal also specifies a lack of flexibility, when it comes to selecting a study course in India. Academic programmes are rigid by nature, and students are obliged to strictly follow the prescribed courses.

Foreign Students in Numbers

The dynamics of internationalization activities in India are monitored by different agencies, and some of their results are specified below.

Table 2
Top 10 Sending Places of Origin and Percentage of Total
International Student Enrollment in India (2015/16)

Rank	Place of Origin	Number of Students	Percent of Total
1	Nepal	9,015	21.3
2	Afghanistan	4,349	10.3
3	Bhutan	2,794	6.6
4	Sudan	2,047	4.8
5	Nigeria	1,990	4.7
6	Malaysia	1,899	4.5
7	Iran	1,430	3.4
8	Yemen	1,212	2.9
9	Sri Lanka	1,121	2.6
10	Iraq	1,051	2.5
	All Others	15,512	36.6

Source: Institute of International Education. Project Atlas

Table 2 illustrates that the majority of the international students in India originate from the neighbouring countries like Nepal, Afghanistan and Bhutan. These countries are followed by Iran, Yemen and Sri Lanka which are also part of the Asian region. In some instances, foreign students come from the war-torn zones and India eventually plays a role not only as an educational hub for these students, but also the country which provides a temporary shelter. India has a potential to become a 'regional educator', promoting its soft-power within the Asia-Pacific region and beyond.

The most extensive statistical data on foreign students in India is provided by the Association of Indian Universities (AIU). The recent annual survey (2014-15), published in the year 2017, provides a multidimensional analysis of international students in India. An interesting analysis can be made by breaking down the whole Asian region into Central Asia, East Asia, South Asia, and Southeast Asia. The largest number of foreign students comes from South Asia (55.7 per cent), followed by Western Asia (26.6 per cent) and the relatively small number of Asian students originate from the Central Asia (0.94 per cent) (Association of Indian Universities, 2015).

In terms of university typology, the most preferred option is State Universities (36.3 per cent), followed by Deemed Universities (24.9 per cent), Private Universities (19.0 per cent) and Central Universities (17.1 per cent). Notably, the Institutions of National Importance, like IITs and IIMs, are able to attract only a small portion of foreign students (2.7 per cent). The Indira Gandhi National Open University in New Delhi hosted the largest number of foreign students in 2014-15. It is followed by the University of Pune and Ragiv Gandhi University of Health Sciences in Bengaluru. State-wise analysis reveals that Karnataka stands out as a leading state in regards to the number of international students, followed by Delhi and Maharashtra. The relatively large number of international

students was registered also in Telangana and Tamil Nadu. There can be different reasons for these trends, and one can assume that in case of Karnataka, for example, it can be explained by the presence of private educational providers. They have been able to devise internationalization strategies in autonomous ways and taken deliberate efforts to attract the large number of foreign students.

Despite the attempts by the government to bring international students to India, the experience of foreign students here has not always been a positive one, particularly for those from Africa (Balakrishnan, 2017). Part of the problem is that there are no mechanisms in Indian educational institutions to enable these students to settle down and flourish. State governments must be instructed by the Centre to see that African students are assured of their safety and all educational institutions must increase the attention they devote to their personal needs, ranging from housing to food.

Measures to Be Taken

In February 2001 the Association of Indian Universities organized a Round Table on 'Internationalization of Indian Higher Education' at the University of Mysore. Discussions focused on the mechanisms through which the internationalization of Indian Higher Education and the status of international education programmes at select Indian universities could be promoted. As a result of these discussions the 'Mysore Statement' was unanimously adopted. This Statement contains the recommendations to the Government, to academic institutions, and to the Association of Indian Universities. The main issues, outlined in the Mysore Statement, can be summarized as following: (International Association of Universities, 2001).

- There is a need to adopt an open door policy for self-financing students.
- Government, statutory bodies and the University Grants Commission should grant greater autonomy and flexibility to

universities in dealing with the process of admission of foreign students and in entering into collaborative arrangements with foreign institutions.

- Universities and other academic institutions which decide to enroll a large number of international students need to have a good infrastructure.
- The academic institutions must evaluate their strengths in different disciplines of education and identify areas that would attract international students at different levels.
- The procedure for granting admission to international students must be simplified.
- It is essential that Indian academic institutions and especially the universities should establish partnerships and develop networks with foreign universities in both the developed and the developing countries.
- The highest priority needs to be given by academic institutions to the updating and internationalization of the curriculum.

All these suggestion seem to be of vital importance in the Indian context. Sadly, though, they were agreed upon in the year 2001, and not much has been achieved so far. India systematically fails to attract a substantial number of foreign students from different continents, and neither can it provide necessary conditions for visiting foreign scholars and academics. One of the important measures to be taken, in order to make India a more attractive destination for an international student community is curriculum internationalization. Hudzik (2014) highlights three stages in this context:

- Adding cross-border content, concepts, and examples to the curriculum;
- Infusing the curriculum with content throughout that reflects diverse perspectives and knowledge of differences and similarities;

- Transitioning from the comparative exploration of diversity of culture and place toward critical thinking and learning through the lenses of different cultures and world views.

Powar (2011) points out that highest priority has to be given to the modernization of the curriculum. This implies not only the incorporation of the latest knowledge and skill components, but also diversification of the contents to give an international dimension to the programme on offer. It is necessary that, at least at the Master's level, curricula contain information on different regions of the world, especially Europe, Africa and Southeast Asia.

Case Study: Panjab University

One of the oldest Universities in India, the Panjab University (PU) initiated at Lahore in 1882, has a long tradition of teaching and research in science and technology, humanities, social sciences, performing arts and sports. In 1958-1960 Punjab University moved to Chandigarh, the newly built capital of Punjab. With the re-organization of Punjab, the University became an Inter-State Body Corporate catering to the newly organized States of Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Punjab and the Union Territory of Chandigarh. Gradually, the colleges of Himachal and Haryana were affiliated to the Universities in the respective states and the Panjab University was left with the affiliated colleges in the Union Territory of Chandigarh and some parts of Punjab. Panjab University is ranked number one amongst Universities in India and Ranked 363 in the Thomson Reuters-powered 'Best Global Universities Rankings 2016' by US News and Global Report. It is ranked 38 in Asia Times Higher Education Asian University Rankings, 2015, and is placed in the in the bracket 501-600 internationally in the Times Higher Education World University Rankings, 2015-2016 (Official web-site of the Panjab University).

In the year 2017, 225 foreign students were studying at the Panjab University. In terms of levels of education, 122 students took undergraduate programmes, 50-postgraduate ones, and 53 - PhDs. Country-wise, 101 students belonged to the categories of NRI (Non-Resident Indians) and OCI (Overseas Citizens of India) coming from the countries, like Canada, Australia and the USA (Dean International Students, Panjab University, 2017). This substantial number can be explained by the cultural similarities and closeness to Indian traditions of the young people whose ancestors immigrated to the afore mentioned countries decades ago. Another reason is that the education fees in India are much lower than in these countries. In the same year, there were 61 students from Iran, and 40 from Afghanistan. The rest was distributed among such countries like Bhutan, Iraq, Jordan, Myanmar, Thailand, Vietnam, etc. The most popular subjects / departments among foreign students were University Institute of Legal Studies (42), Laws (30), and H.S.J. Institute of Dental Sciences (39).

At Panjab University, there is a culture of conducting diverse programmes, events, celebrations, festivals, etc. almost on a daily basis. Another advantage is the functioning of the Students Centre which serves not only as a meeting point for all students, but also has numerous food courts that operate from morning until late evening, and offers different kinds of food from several continents. There are a number of hostels in the campus, and foreign students have different options to choose from. During the field survey, 18 foreign students expressed their negative attitudes towards conditions in the hostels. To sum up, the following responses were given during the interviews.

- **Positive statements**

- a. Chandigarh is a peaceful, clean, and safe city.
- b. Admission procedure for PhD students is open throughout the year.

Negative statements

- a. Authorities do not really care about one's own time, and all the processes take place very slowly. It can take up to three months to open a bank account. Banks have no check-lists of required documents, which further exacerbates the delays.
- b. No focus on seminars, students' presentations, interactions, but only lecturing and writing notes. Generally, the education system, teaching methods, infrastructure, and technologies are outdated.
- c. Insufficient numbers of teaching staff, thus research scholars are invited to give lectures, making University a training ground. Teachers are often on leave and miss the classes.
- d. Exam results can be delayed up to five months and a degree certificate can be issued with a six month delay.
- e. Curriculum/syllabus are mostly oriented towards Indian students (e.g. Labour Law, Environment Protection Act, Public Administration, etc.). University accepts international student but the context of the syllabus is mainly related to the Indian environment. It is advisable to revise current curriculum and make it relevant, at least, for such regions, as South Asia, Middle East, and South-East Asia.
- f. Information on the web-site is not absolutely correct, and sometimes can be misleading. It mostly presents attractive images, which raise expectations of foreign students.
- g. There is no platform for discussions and exchange of views between foreign and local students.
- h. Unclean conditions in classrooms, departments, hostels, bathrooms, etc.

Concluding Observations

The analysis presented in this paper implies that India still needs to make gigantic steps in order to internationalize its higher

education. The recent government initiatives showcase the attempts to establish academic linkages with an outside world, as well as attract a large number of foreign students. In order to succeed on this front, the genuine efforts should also be made to improve the quality of higher education across the country, to bring it at par with international standards, to produce the cutting-edge knowledge for local and international students and to make them easily employable on the national and global labour markets. Meanwhile, foreign students continue coming to India to pursue their studies, mainly from the neighboring countries in Asia, as well as Africa. Under these circumstances, it is a matter of concerted efforts from various stake-holders to make sure that these students feel satisfied with their study outcomes and spread a good word among their peers about their learning experiences in India.

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AN EXPLORATION OF THE STAGNANT WOMEN REPRESENTATION IN KERALA STATE LEGISLATURE

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Abstract

The disproportional representation of women in world legislatures is a matter of debate in modern democracies. Akin to many other legislatures, women is under represented in Kerala legislature too. Moreover, in Kerala, a stagnation is visible in the statistics on the number of women members present in the last four assemblies. Thus, the state of Kerala which models the unique achievements in development indexes, contradicts its picture in Gender Inequality Index. This paper examines the gender ratio in major Indian state legislatures with a comparative perspective to comprehend the position of Kerala. Above and beyond this paper surveys the trajectory of women representation in Kerala legislature since its formation, to explore the stagnancy. It also analyses the probable reasons for the under representation of women in the state legislature.

Theoretically, for the survival of a healthy political system, equal participation of all sections, including women should be ensured. When equal opportunities are guaranteed, women can participate more in political processes and thereby they can contribute much towards strengthening the pillars of democracy like other communities. Nevertheless, it is a hard fact that women are under represented globally at all echelons of governance in proportion to their population. The equal representation of women in power centers, including the political sphere is an agenda of all feminist scholars since Mary Wollstonecraft. For decades, the women's movement also raises the same issue in national and international

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platforms. In the same way different UN conferences acknowledged about the increasing need of gender balance in political bodies through affirmative action. Accordingly, more than 40 countries have introduced gender quotas either by amending the constitution or by introducing different types of legislation. Similarly in 50 nations political parties have voluntarily introduced electoral quotas for women at the time of election. Owing to different modes of gender quotas, countries like Rwanda, Bolivia and Sub-Saharan nations are competing for securing gender balance in Parliaments, with Scandinavia where women's parliamentary representation was at peak for decades.

Today, as per UN Women statistics around 22.8 per cent of the world's parliamentarians are women, as of June 2016; i.e. only a slow increase from the 11.3 per cent of 1995. As per the statistics taken in October 2017, 11 women are serving as Heads of States and 12 are serving as Heads of Governments. At present Rwanda has achieved the highest position in the percentage of women parliamentarians worldwide. Women there have won 63.8 per cent of seats in the lower house followed by Bolivia with 53.1 per cent after the introduction of the electoral quota. Contrary to nations having reservation, among unreserved nations, there are 38 States in which women account for less than 10 per cent of parliamentarians in single or lower houses, as of June 2016. UN Women also presents wide variations in the average percentages of women parliamentarians in each region. Its June 2017 statistics shows the variations in the following manner; Nordic countries, 41.7 per cent; Americas, 28.1 per cent; Europe including Nordic countries, 26.5 per cent; Sub-Saharan Africa, 23.6 per cent; Asia, 19.4 per cent; Arabs and the Pacific, 17.4 per cent. In other domains of government, the UN women observed in the research on *panchayats* (local councils) in India, that the number of drinking water projects with women-led councils was 62 per cent higher than in those with men-led councils (UN Women, 2018).

India stands 103rd among 140 countries with regard to the percentage of women parliamentarians with its mere 12% representation, when the global average for women in parliament stands at 22.8%. Among Asian nations, China and Pakistan have better representation than India with 21.3% and 22.5% respectively; even Saudi Arabia is in a better position than India (World Bank, 2018). In the first Lok Sabha, about 66 women contested in the election and only 24 women were elected, constituting 4.4% of the House (Loksabha, 2018). Shri. Jawaharlal Nehru, surprised on the low women representation pointed the matter in his letter to Chief Ministers:

“I have noticed with great regret how few women have been elected. I suppose this is so in the State Assemblies and Councils. I am quite sure that our real and basic growth will only come when women have a full chance to play their part in public life. Wherever they have had this chance, they have, as a whole, done well, better if I may say so, than the average man. Our laws are manmade, our society dominated by man, and so most of us naturally take a very lopsided view of the matter. We cannot be objective, because we have grown up in certain grooves of thought and action. But the future of India will probably depend ultimately more upon women than men” (narain, 2007).

Even after seven decades of Nehru’s insightful words, Indian society can’t accomplish much with regard to the number of women members in the lower house. Hardly a marginal increase can observe in the subsequent assemblies except in sixth Lok Sabha assembly when the House had only 19 women members. From 4.4% in 1951, women parliamentarians constitute 12.11% (66 seats) of the sixteenth Lok Sabha today, which is the highest in India’s history.

In the 2009 general election women representation has crossed 10 per cent for the first time. Similar to Lok Sabha, the percentage of women members in Rajya Sabha shows a marginal increase. In 1952, the number of women members was 15 constituting 6.94 percent of the membership of the House, i.e. a slightly greater percentage than the Lok Sabha. The present Rajya Sabha consists of 27 (11.25%) women members out of the 240 total members. Women representation in Rajya Sabha has never crossed 12 per cent, the highest being 11.98% in 1980 with 29 women. The representation was at lowest in 1970, when there were only 14 women members in the House constituting 5.85 per cent.

Correspondingly, women representation in other Indian states depicts an equally depressive trend. More often the representation in many states is less than 12% and in some states, the figure is very much similar to the national average. The trend is not violated in the 2018 elections held to the state assemblies in India. The last elections to North-east assemblies - Tripura, Meghalaya and Nagaland - show that women representation has declined further. However, women played a key role in BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party)'s victory in the Tripura election, where half of the voters were women. Different from earlier elections, the voting percentage of women was higher in many constituencies in Tripura. Women made a record with more than 90% of participation in different constituencies like Unakoti (90.60%), south Tripura district constituency (94.33%), Dhanpur (95.26%), etc. Tripura got its highest number of women representatives this time with the victory of five out of 15 women contestants. But, the percentage of representatives remains low, i.e. 8.33; not even 10% of the women voters. Similar to Tripura only three were women elected to Meghalaya assembly and no woman member was elected to the Nagaland assembly as before.

In the 2017 Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly election 38

women MLAs were elected, the highest since Independence. But the figure is mere 9.42 in terms of percentage, as the assembly has 403 elected seats. Contrary to this, in Bihar, the state which had the second position in the number of women MLAs, dropped to the third position in the last 2015 election. Women now constitute only 11.5% of the present Bihar *vidhan sabha*, against to 14% of the last 2010 election. Thus the State has reversed the stride that was made over the last decade in female political empowerment. Hence, West Bengal, once competing with Bihar in number of women MLAs, enjoys the first position now among Indian states with 14.14% representation followed by Rajasthan. In this statistics Kerala goes down with a meager 5.7% of female members. The following table clearly depicts these facts. Kerala, popular for its female educational achievements lags behind other states like Bihar, Tamil Nadu, Rajasthan, West Bengal, etc. in case of gender parity in state assembly. In addition to this, Kerala's average women representation in assembly is always less than that of the national average.³

States	Total Number of Seats	Number of Women	Percentage
West Bengal	297	42	14.14
Rajasthan	200	27	13.5
Bihar	243	29	11.93
Andhra Pradesh	234	25	10.68
Uttar Pradesh	404	42	10.39
Tamil Nadu	235	21	8.9
Kerala	140	8	5.71

Trajectory of Women Representation in the Kerala Legislature

In Kerala the state which is hailed for its high literacy among women, have only eight women representatives in the present (fourteenth) legislative assembly i.e. a meager 5.7%; out of them two are ministers, a positive symbol. However, to balance the

positive trend no women representative is present in the opposition. An analysis of the past elections demonstrates that the trends visible in the fourteenth assembly elections are not too much different from the past elections except in the case of the number of contestants. In the first Legislative Assembly election of 1957 only nine candidates contested and six of them were elected to a total of 114 seats, limiting the percentage to a mere 5.26. Among them Smt. K.O. Aysha Bai became the first deputy speaker of the assembly and Smt. K.R. Gouri Amma became the first revenue minister. Similarly, in the second assembly election held in 1960, 13 women contested and seven of them were elected, making the percentage 6.1; a little higher than the previous election. By the third assembly election the total number of seats to the Assembly was increased to 133 due to a fresh delimitation of the constituencies. This election held in 1965 became abortive owing to the lack of a single party majority. Though the Assembly was unable to constitute 3 women were elected to the assembly out of the 10 contestants.

After the subsequent Presidential rule in Kerala, a fresh election (the fourth election) was held in 1967 and a total of 423 candidates were contested. Surprisingly, the number of women candidates reduced in this election as there were only seven candidates of which only one woman Smt. K. R. Gouri Amma of CPI(M) from Aroor constituency was elected. Contradictory to this 32,29,370 women, constitutes 74.08% cast their vote in this election. When the majority of women exercised their constitutional right, they got only one representative in the assembly reducing the percentage of women representatives to 0.7. Likewise only two women representatives were elected after the fifth assembly elections of 1970. The total number of candidates increased to 505 in this election; but among them only eight were women. Women voters were not less in this election too; out of 50,92,889 women voters, 37,72,720 cast their vote, i.e. 74.07%.

Similar to the fourth election, only one woman, Smt. Bargavi Thankappan was elected to the fifth assembly (the sixth election) out of 11 candidates in 1977. A fresh delimitation of Assembly Constituencies was conducted in 1974. As a result, in the eve of March 1977, Kerala had, as at present, 140 Assembly seats to its credit. Obviously the number of total candidates was increased to 558; but a proportionate increase was absent among women candidates. Unlike prior elections, this election made a record in history; for the first time in Kerala, the voting percentage of women became higher than that of men. When 46,15,417 out of 57,88,386 (79.74%) women participated in the election as voters, only 44,63,042 out of 56,75,101 (78.64%) men voted. In the seventh assembly election held in 1980, 13 were women out of the 602 candidates and 5 of them were elected. The eighth assembly election was held in 1982. There was an increase in the total number of candidates, but only a small increase can be observed in the number of women candidates. A total of 682 candidates contested, of which only 17 were women. In this election apart from the party candidates, 12 women were contested as independent candidates. However, the number of women members elected to the assembly remained in single digit i.e. four.

Similarly in the ninth general election of 1987 there was a sharp increase in the total number of contestants to 1254 in fray, of which only 34 were women contestants. A slight increase in the number of women voters is visible in this election too; i.e. 80.58% women exercised their franchise compared to 80.51% men. Further corresponding to the previous assemblies, fewer women representatives (8 out of 34) were elected. Women contestants were reduced to 26 in the tenth assembly election held in 1991 and for a second time eight of them were elected. The eleventh assembly election marked another record in history; for the first time women

MLAs reached a number near to 10% of the assembly. Out of the 17 candidates contested, 13 become representatives in this 1996 election. Adding to the credit, Smt. Suseela Gopalan became the minister for industries and social welfare during this assembly period.

There is a remarkable increase in the number of women contestants from the 12th assembly election onwards. Though merely eight women were elected to the assembly, 54 women candidates attempted the election held in 2001. Similar to the twelfth election more women contestants appeared in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth general elections held in 2006, 2011 and 2016 respectively. The number of women contestants increased from 54 to 110 in these last four elections. However, the percentage of women representatives remains stagnant with a meager seven out of 140 MLAs in the twelfth and thirteenth assemblies as well as eight women in the eleventh and the present fourteenth assembly. The following table is prepared on the basis of the above statistics taken from the Election Commission of India.

Year of Assembly election	Assembly (Number & period)	Men voters (in %)	Women voters (in %)	No. of women contested	No. of women elected	Women MLAs (in %)	Total no. of seats
1957	I (1957-59)	NA*	NA	9	6	5.26	114
1960	II (1960-64)	NA	NA	13	7	6.14	114
1965 (Abortive election)	-	NA	NA	10	3	2.25	133
1967	III (1967-70)	NA	NA	7	1	0.75	133
1970	IV (1970-77)	76.03	73.4	8	2	1.5	133
1977	V (1977-79)	78.64	79.74	11	1	0.71	140
1980	VI (1980-82)	73.22	71.26	13	5	3.57	140
1982	VII (1982-87)	73.52	73.51	17	4	2.85	140
1987	VIII(1987-91)	80.51	80.58	34	8	5.71	140
1991	IX (1991-96)	73.58	73.27	26	8	5.71	140
1996	X (1996-2001)	72.01	70.36	17	13	9.28	140

2001	XI (2001-06)	74.39	70.67	54	8	5.71	140
2006	XII (2006-2011)	73.17	71.08	70	7	5	140
2011	XIII (2011-2016)	75.08	74.78	83	7	5	140
2016	XIV	76.33	78.29	110	8	5.71	140
	(2016-present)					average 4.34%	

*NA – not available

Women in Elections vs. Women in the Assembly

An analysis of the past elections to the Kerala Legislative Assembly shows that, contradictory to women's lower representation their voting percentage is always a commendable one. Women voters in Kerala showed maximum participation in assembly elections compared to other states in India. The State record higher polling percentage in general as well as gender category, than the national average, in many general elections. Since 1977 women voters were competing with men to increase the voter turnouts. As stated above for the first time in Kerala voting percentage of women became higher than that of men in the 1977 election (official records related to voting percentage before 1970 elections are not available); the same trend followed in 1987 and 2016 elections.

In the 2016 election a remarkable difference in voting percentage between men and women is observed. In this last election 78.29% of women cast their votes, but the percentage of men franchise was only 76.33%. A significant increase in the number of women contestants is also visible in this election. For the first time, more than 100 women (exactly 110 women) candidates contested in this election; i.e. the highest number of women contestants in history. Ironically less than one-fourth of them belong to the two coalition fronts, the LDF (Left Democratic Front) and the UDF (United Democratic Front). UDF gave chance to only eight women when

LDF gave an opportunity of at least 17 women to contest towards the Assembly. Of the eight UDF candidates no one was able to succeed in the election and thereby the opposition represents no women. Astonishingly the major UDF factionaries like the Kerala Congress (M) and IUML (Indian Union Muslim League) didn't have a single woman candidate, but the factionaries of LDF got five seats out of the 17 candidates. This seemingly greater number i.e. 17 (12.14%) is yet again less than that of the 33% embarked in the Women Reservation Bill. Out of the 17 contestants, eight women succeeded from LDF and opportunely two of them became ministers adding to history; i.e., now women represent 10.52% of the ministry.

The distressing fact emerged from the analysis is that women representation in the Kerala Assembly has never crossed 10%. In other words since 1977, 14 women were never elected to the assembly to fill the ten percent requirement. The maximum representation was in the year 1996 with 13 members in the tenth assembly. Another conspicuous fact is that Kerala got more than 10 women representatives in this assembly alone; in all other assemblies they were less than ten in number. From the above table, it is clear that the number of elected women representatives remains stagnant over the 15 years with an average of 7.5 members. Similarly the average women representatives in the Kerala Legislative Assembly since its formation, remains less than 5% i.e. 4.34%.

However, in the midst of the dismay, the number of women contestants in Kerala assembly elections gradually increases which shows an aspiration to democracy. From 2001 onwards there is a sharp increase in the number of women contestants. An average increase of 56.6% is observable in the growth of candidates from the last four elections. But why this proportional increase in candidature is not resulting in representativeness is the major question to be

answered in the compendium of election studies. One of the main causes behind this contradiction is that the major political parties neither come up with more women candidates, nor do they support the independent candidates. Hence most of the women, contests independently without any party support. This usually results in sheer failures with forfeited deposits similar to that of independent men candidates. Among the independent candidates elected to the assembly very few of them are women in most of the cases. Because the people of Kerala persistently portraits precision over political choices and political parties. Women are of no exception to this quality as they too demonstrate specific political preferences in all elections surpassing gender dimensions. In the absence of such political apathy women's option for women representatives become problematic as well. In such a context male dominated political parties can play a vital positive role in ensuring better representation of women in legislatures other than through the constitutional reservation.

The absence of such realization finally brought the 73rd and 74th amendment with provision for women reservation in the local self-governments. This provision of reservation catapulted many radical changes in Kerala society like mass women mobilization, their healthier political empowerment and participation, strengthening of grassroots democracy, introduction of women centred projects, etc. Adding spirit to the positive socio-political changes/shifts at the grassroots level, is Kerala the percentage of women reservation was enhanced to 50% in 2010 (IB, 2011). The reservation obviously resulted in providing better quality representation of women in local bodies unlike in states like Bihar, which is the first state to enhance the local body reservation of women upto 50%.

Recently in many regions of Kerala women occupy more than half of the seats in *panchayaths* and their participation is very high

in *Grama Sabhas*. Both trends show an unprecedented outcome of the affirmative action measures. The confidence in mobilizing women brought out by the gender quota in local governments is one of the reason behind the introduction of self-help groups, namely *Kudumbashree* in Kerala as a method of poverty alleviation. Later these self-help networks blended with grassroots democracy and acted as a catalyst in mobilizing more and more women to the grassroots politics. This new enrolment to politics may be the cause behind the increasing number of women voters as well as women candidates from 2001 onwards. But a corresponding achievement is absent at state level politics and representation even after two decades of women mobilization at the grassroots level. The mass women's movement and the supplementary increase in candidature did not materialized into a good representative strength of women in the state legislature, leaving a major thrust to Women Reservation Bill.

Kerala in Gender Related Indexes

The performance of Kerala women in gender related indexes is always significant, since that contributed much to the celebrated Kerala Model. Women played a momentous role in making Kerala a 'model'. Kerala is known for its positive sex ratio, i.e. 1084 females per 1000 males, where women outnumber men in all districts. Adding to this, Kerala and Puducherry are the only states in India with a female-to-male ratio higher than 0.99; whereas the national average is 0.94 (Census data, 2011). For about half a century female literacy rate is the highest in India i.e. 92.07% which shows an upward trend. In the Gender Inequality Index (GII) the maternal mortality rate, the adolescent birth rate, the proportion of adult females with secondary education is also quite impressive (Economic Review, 2016) in Kerala. In the GER (Gross Enrolment Ratio) statistics, girls dominate in enrollment with boys. When 26.9% girls enroll in different higher educational institutions, boys enroll in 18.9% only

(NITI Aayog, 2018). When GDI (Gender Related Development Index) measures gender inequality in Kerala, the value is much higher which indicates the greater gender equality existing in the state. Kerala's position in GEI (Gender Empowerment Index) and GEI (Gender Equality Index) is also good.

In principle, the demographic level achievements should result in improvements in labour and political participation levels as well. In countries with high HDI (Human Development Index), the LPR (Labour Participation Rate) is around 60%. However, Kerala lags behind in FWPR (Female Work Participation Rate) with a mere 24.8%. The difference between male and female LPR in Kerala is very high when men account upto 57.8% of work participation. Himachal Pradesh records the highest number of women workforce in India i.e. 49.8%. Hence, the unemployment rate of women in Kerala is high with 14.1% whereas it is insignificant for the males in the state i.e. 2.9% (Economic Review, 2016). Generally India's female labor force participation is in a decline since mid-2000s and Kerala has contributed its worse to this scenario. Adding to this, significant wage disparity exists in the unorganized sector in Kerala.

Similar to economic participation, political representation is an important dimension to measure gender position in many indices. When there is a progression in the achievements of women with regard to social development, a corresponding development should be visible in their political participation too. Parallel to LPR, political participation of women in Kerala is less compared to their male counterparts except in voting. When women participate in the voting process alone, their roles are being reduced to mere voters, to increase the voting percentage at the time of elections. The GII (Gender Inequality Index), introduced in 2010, measures gender inequalities in three important aspects of human development – 'reproductive health'; measured by maternal mortality ratio and

adolescent birth rates, 'empowerment'; measured by proportion of parliamentary seats occupied by females and proportion of adult females and males aged 25 years and older with at least some secondary education, and 'economic status'; expressed as labour market participation and measured by the labour force participation rate of female and male populations aged 15 years and older (UNDP, 2017). Thus when GII measures empowerment by the proportion of parliamentary seats occupied by females, Kerala goes down with its less than 10% proportion.

Conclusion

Recently Kerala model is under severe criticism owing to its decay in sectors like health, environment, economy, etc. The growth of epidemics, life style diseases, cancer threats, etc. weakens the professed 'healthier' health system. The rapid growth of environmental issues adds its share to it. Contradictorily Kerala's economic potency is weak to counter the social problems arising out. The significantly low representation of women aggravates the scenario that defies Kerala Model. The dissimilar victory of women reservation in local bodies proved that breaking the patriarchal fence in Kerala is a constitutional task. When political parties came up with more women candidates through gender quotas towards local self governments, both men and women preferred them, altering traditional values and norms. Similar to Bihar, Kerala society is highly patriarchal which places men over women in society as well as in power echelons, especially in political power centers.

However, why Bihar goes above Kerala in percentage of women representatives and in granting 50% of reservation for women in local bodies earlier to Kerala is another question to be researched. The most probable hypothesis is that in Bihar women are mere puppets of men in political parties except very few. In Kerala women are really empowered and act as threats to men inside and outside the political

realm. Sarcastically it can be interpreted that women empowerment has a negative political consequence here; they might have been deliberately keep aloof from the mainstream state level politics by male dominated political parties assuming women as intruders. A comparative analysis of the percentage of women representatives in the earlier assemblies and present assemblies – roughly the periods before and after women empowerment - shows that representation in both periods remains in almost same figure. Thus these facts and figures coerce for the affirmative action to detour the psychological barriers of patriarchy to ensure equal representation of women in Kerala legislature to endorse the Kerala model.

Note: The facts and figures used in this article are taken from the official website of Election Commission of India, NITI Aayog, UN Women, UNDP, parliament of India, Rajyasabha, Lok Sabha, Kerala government, Kerala State Legislature and Legislative Assemblies of other states. They are cited in the 'References' section of this article.

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DOMESTIC WATER DEMAND AND INCOME INEQUALITY

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Abstract

Like other public utility services the provision of water supply should be accorded very high priority otherwise the health and economic development of the country alike will inevitably suffer. Provision of safe and adequate water supply not only confers freedom from water borne diseases like cholera, desentry, typhoid etc. and save the medical bill to the citizen to the municipalities and to the state and central government but also encourages industrial growth, reduces the rate of fire insurance, promotes tourist tariff, improves civil amenities and promotes the productivity and well being of the nation in general. This paper tries to analyses the influence of economic variables on the domestic consumption level of water. The paper concludes that water consumption level of the different income groups have wide inequality because of their different income level.

Of all the natural resources water is probably the most essential for life. It is a blessing for the human being. It is one of the greatest wealth which is drawn from the environment and is central to sustainable economic development. Water the basic need of man in any region or country shall not be denied since the existence of man itself depends upon it. Global environmental changes are posing a major threat to most of the developing countries. Concern for environmental changes arises because it is believed that the population increase is greater than the earth's ability to provide natural resources so as to maintain the standard of living of the people. Economy is in conflict with earth's natural system resulting in

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collapse of fisheries, shrinking forest, soil erosion, expanding deserts, rising carbon dioxide, falling water tables, rising temperatures and disappearance of species.

Number of debates and discussions are in progress with respect to the term environment and sustainable development but with only modest progress. This lack of progress is particularly evident in the case of water resources. Natural conditions and human activities have over the years affected the quality and quantity of available water. Many of these activities consume the available water without any consideration to the welfare of future generation. Water resources remain under the control of the small but socially, politically, and economically powerful and affordable groups. The supply of drinking water in densely populated areas presents an alarming problem. Many of the fresh water problems of this century will arise from increasing demand for water which arises from rapid population growth, urbanization and industrialization. All institutions and decision makers must take this seriously. The key issue that needs attention here is that water policy has an integral relation to the drinking water related problems of the household sector. The wrong policy implementation without considering the determining factors of water consumption level has created the water crisis in large part of the country. Taking this into consideration the following study would be conducted to analysis the variables which are affecting the drinking water consumption of different income groups. This study has been a modest attempt to gain insight into the socio economic importance of public water supply system.

Objective

The main objective of the study is to identify the influence of household income on water consumption.

Methodology

The study is based on both primary and secondary data. The Economic review published by the State Planning Board since 2000, Water Report of the Water Resource Department, Report published by the Water Authority, articles journals etc. has been used. The demand for water supply is a derived demand. It means that the sales of this services are significantly influenced by consumer income levels, by family life style, pattern and financing term of the instruments through which utility services are brought to the consumers. A detailed survey was conducted in order to examine the influence of the above mentioned variables on the consumption of water and its relationship with income, household size and income related variables. 100 households have been selected randomly and data was collected by using an interview schedule. The area chosen for the primary enquiry was Kottiyam Panchayat area of Kollam District in Kerala.

Mode of Analysis

Simple statistical tools were used for analyzing the data. In order to examine the disparities in water consumption level of different income groups, we have used the most commonly employed index of income inequality namely the Lorenz Ratio.

Results and Discussion

The demand for water is the function of both economic and non-economic variables. Economic variables would include price of water and income of customers. It is generally believed that demand for water supply is relatively inelastic with respect to price change. Household income is a significant determinant of the residential demand for water. All other variables like lawn area, number of bathrooms, number of taps, the level of water using technologies, number of vehicles, availability of storage facilities

etc. are interrelated with income. Variations in the weather have an extremely strong seasonal impact on residential water consumption. Severe drought and the substantial increase in population reduce the existing quantity of water.

On the basis of income people were classified into lower, middle and upper income group's. Lower income groups are again divided into two group's households with water connection and others depending up on the public taps. For analyzing the data, it was very difficult to include the latter section with the other three groups. In the case of public taps it has no meter reading to find out their consumption. That is why people depending on public taps were not incorporated with the other three groups for our analysis.

Table1.

Relationship between Household Income and Average Water Consumption

Household Income	Average Water Consumption in (in Kiloliter)	Price	Slab	% of the population
Below 20000	18 Kl	34	2	17
20000-30000	25.5 KL	50	2	34
Above 30000	35 KL	70	3	20

Source : Field Survey

The water consumption level of different categories of household is presented in table1. The tariff structure recommended by the Kerala Water Authority has been decided around the concept of a slab. Higher charges for the higher slabs of water consumption volumes. For the domestic households it is considered that 10 KL per month is the minimum required level per household. There for the cut off point for the lowest slab is 10 Kl here the water rate is only 19 . Beyond 10 KL consumers are required to pay an additional charge of 2/- The survey result indicates that nobody

came under this category. But according to the statistics available from the Health Department, a person needed 95 liters per day in the rural area and 110 liters per day in the urban area. Even though income significantly affect the water consumption, lower income groups consume beyond the minimum level. But the lower income groups (with income up to 20000) can consume only up to 18 KL of water in a month. Their income would not permit them to consume beyond that level. Price level was found to be non-significant in the case of lower income households. They prefer to use beyond the minimum level despite the higher cost.

The table further indicates that in the middle income groups, income level had a significant influence on the water consumption. Among the three income groups, the middle income class enjoy more benefit.

In general, a change in income of the middle class has led to a change in the consumption of water. But their water consumption level did not significantly contribute to the revenue. Even though their water consumption had increased they paid the same additional charge as that of the lower income groups. Beyond 30 KL will definitely be a luxurious consumption. That is why at the rate 3.45 per Additional liter was imposed on such category. The result of the survey conducted by us shows that 20% of the upper income households consume more than 30 KL. Middle income groups were fully subsidized. When the income of upper households consume more than 30KL. Middle income groups were fully subsidies. When the income of upper households increases they consume more water for lawn, gardening, cleaning, latrine cleaning etc.

The above analysis shows that a direct relationship exists between the level of income and water consumption. In general a change in income may lead to a change in the consumption of water. But generally if the income goes up so does the consumption

of water and the demand for water is related not only to the level of income but other variables too. This section is about income inequality and its influence on the composition of demand. Since the poor and the rich have widely differing consumption pattern, there is no need to emphasize the relevance of trend in inequality to the changing pattern of demand.

Tables 2

Relationship between the Household Size and Average Water Consumption

Household Size	Average Consumption (in kilo liter)	Price	Slab	% of population
Below 3	22KL	28	2	36%
4-5	26 KL	37	2	48 %
Above 5	28 KL	41	2	16%

Source : Field Survey

The demand for water may be expected to rise with the increase in the household size. This is mainly because of the higher requirement of water to ensure a minimum availability of water. In order to clearly identify these possible effects of household size on water consumption the household size may be termed a small, medium and large. It is presumed that a small household consists of one to three members, a medium household of 4 to 5 members and a large household of above 5 members. The above table indicates that the household size is a significant determinant of the residential water demand. Residential water demand means demand by households for drinking, cooking, washing , bathing, gardening and other residential use. The average water consumption of the different households varies from 22 KL among the small households to 26 KL among the medium sized households. This is because water requirement of the added person would raise the overall demand for

water. Water requirements of each member depends on his age. From the table it can be seen that 36 percent of households would fall under the category of small household size consuming only 22 KL of water. At the same time 16 percent of the households with more than 5 members consumed 28 KL of water. Here the smaller households show lower water consumption as compared with the medium and large groups.

In conclusion we can say that the family size have a significant influence on the water consumption level of the households.

Table 3

Relationship between the Household Income, Size and Average Water Consumption

Household Income	Household Size	Average Consumption	Average Water Rate	Slab	% of Population
Below 20000	Below 3	14 KL	26	2	20
20000-30000	4-5	29 KL	43	2	50
Above 30000	Above 5	32 KL	53	3	30

Source : Field Survey

Water requirement of a household to a certain extent is determined by the size of the household while the number of earning members is a major factor in determining the income of the household. The above table shows that 30 percent of the larger household having more than 30000 incomes demand 32 KL of water which is more than double compared to the water consumption level of the small families having lower income. 14 KL of water consumed by the small family is sufficient only to meet the basic necessities because their low income prevents them from consuming more water for luxury. From the above table we come to the conclusion that water demand of the large household with higher income is double than that of the smaller household with lower income.

Table 4
Inequality in Water Consumption on the Basis of Income

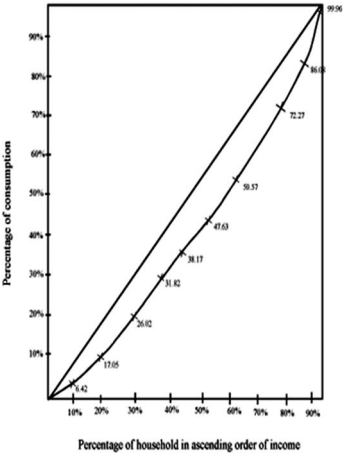
Percentage of Households	Consumption in (KL)	Cumulative Consumption
10 %	6.42	6.42
20%	10.63	17.05
30%	8.87	26.02
40%	5.80	31.82
50%	6.35	38.17
60%	9.46	47.63
70%	11.94	59.57
80%	12.70	72.27
90%	13.81	86.8
100%	13.88	99.96

Source L Field Survey

Figure 1
Lorenz Curve of Water Consumption

Figure 1
Lorenz Curve of Water Consumption

In order to ex consumption across



different income groups we have used the most commonly employed index of income inequality namely the Lorenz ratio. The Lorenz Ratio of the size of the distribution of per capita consumption of water for the households are presented in (table 3). The index of inequality measured by the Lorenz Ratio depends on the level of income as well as the level of consumption. The table shows that by and large there are two phases of movement of Lorenz Ratio.

The first phase representing the consumption of lower middle income groups have shown some tendency of Lorenz Ratio to decline. However over the 4thdecile Lorene Ratio has begun to increase. For instance water consumption of the 20 percent lower middle class households has exhibited some declining trend. Afterwards their consumption level began to rise. Similarly after the 8thdecile, the water consumption of the richest 20 percent has remained stable around the value of 13 percent. First 10 percent of the lower income households consume 6.42 percent water .Second 10 percent of the lower income households consume 10.63 percent. Even if the income of the people in the third decile and fourth decile increased, water consumption decreased considerably. In the case of first decile, average household size is 4. But it decreases to 3 in the succeeding two deciles. Water consumption level is lowest in the fourth decile(5.8) The major reason for decreasing consumption in these two deciles could be because of(a) small size of family (b) non meter reading (c) of highland area, where water distribution becomes irregular. Besides, the table indicates that the percentage increase in water consumption for the upper income class over lower income class was much higher as compared to the upper income class over the middle income class. The growth of the consumption level was much faster after the fourth decile due to the impact of income growth.

Influence of Income related Variables

Income related variables consist of number of bath rooms, number of taps, type of toilet size of garden etc.

Table 5
Number of Bathrooms and Average Per capita Consumption

No of bath rooms	Average consumption	Price	Slab	% of the population
1	15 KL	27	2	14
2	18 KL	38	2	36
3	26 KL	37	2	33
4	34 KL	62	3	17

Source : Field Survey

It is clear from the above table that except for households having 3 or more bathrooms none of the households consumed more than 25 KL of water. Usage of bathrooms depends on the household size. Here 14 percent of the households having one bathroom consumed 15 KL of water. Even though the water consumption of household having one bathroom was significantly affected by their income and family size, they consume beyond the minimum limit. But they want only up to 15 KL of water in a month. While 33 percent of the households having 3 bathrooms consumed 26 KL of water. 17 percent of the upper income households having 4 or more bathrooms consumed 34 KL of water. Here the inequality in the water consumption level of the first and third group is higher than that between the third and fourth group.

From the above table, we can conclude that the number of bathrooms have a significant influence on the level of water consumption.

Table 6
Average Water consumption by Type of Latrine

Type of Households	Average water consumption	Price	Slab	% of the population
Household latrine connected with flesh	38 KL	74	3	42
Household not connected with flush type latrine	30 KL	46	2	58

Source : Field survey

On the basis of the type of Latrine households are divided into two groups namely households connected with flush type of Latrine and households not connected with flush type latrine. The water consumption level of the former group is higher than that of the later. The survey result shows that the households connected with flush type of latrine include only the upper income groups. Lower income groups and middle income groups came under the household not connected with flush type latrine.

In conclusion we can say that the type of latrine has a significant effect on water demand. From the survey report it is found that the households connected with flush will have larger amount of water requirement than of households without flush. Type of latrine to large extent depends on the paying capacity of the consumer. Flush type latrine is an indication of luxurious way of life.

Table 7
Number of Taps and Average Water Consumption

Number of Taps	Average consumption	Price	Slab	% of population
Below 3	15	31	2	26
4 to 5	31	49	3	28
6 to 9	32	54	3	20
More than 9	39	80	3	26

Source: Field Survey

It may be seen from table given above that the water consumption level of the lower income households having less than three taps is below 15KL. That water is not sufficient for gardening. The limited amount of water consumed by them is utilized for basic requirements. 28 percent of the lower middle class households having 5 taps consume double than that of the former. There is thus inequality in water consumption. One interesting thing is that 28 percent of the lower middle income group having 4 to 5 taps bear the burden of additional charge. Because they consumed at the lowest point of slab 3. Here the water consumption of the upper income group is only approaching the upper limit of the slab 3. A tentative conclusion that can be drawn from the table is that households having more than 9 taps consume more water for luxurious purposes than the others.

Table 8
Average Water Consumption by Type of Garden

Type of Garden	Average Consumption (KL)	Price	Slab	% of population
No garden	13	27	1	25
Smaller garden	16	34	2	24
Garden without lawn	29	44	3	37
Garden with lawn	39	80	3	14

Source : Field Survey

On the basis of the type of garden, households were divided into four groups. Households having no garden, smaller garden, garden without lawn, and garden with lawn. 25% of the lower income groups have no garden consumed at the lowest point of slab I. The smaller or marginal garden holding category consumed 16 KL of water. This is higher than the corresponding level for the lower income group. There has been a steady increase in water consumption from households without garden to household attached with well-

built gardens. The size of the garden depends on the income level of the water consumers. The upper income households have well maintained garden with lawns. The type of and size of garden not only reveals the income level and water consumption but also their high standard of living. It may be because of the low capacity to pay that garden and lawn are neglected by the lower income households. Of the factors determining water consumption in household it is found that the effect of the income related variables like garden is more significant than the other factors.

Income related variables consist of, number of bath rooms, number of taps, type of toilet, size of garden etc. are greatly influencing the water consumption of different income groups. The survey results show that there is a positive relationship between water consumption and family size, income and income related variables.

$$D_w = f(Y, F, Y_x)$$

D_w = Demand for water supply

Y = Income of the family

F = Size of the family

Y_x = Income related variables

The foregoing analysis reveals that in addition to income and family size, income related variables are also important in determining demand for water in the household sector.

Summary and Conclusion

The present study has been a modest attempt to gain insight into the socio-economic importance of public water supply system. Demand curve approach was followed for the estimation of water demand. The Kerala Water Authority estimates water demand on the basis of per capita water use ignoring the influence of economic factors. Both the economic and non-economic factors do play significant roles in determining water demand. The economic

factors include Family income, family size and other income related variables. The field survey result has shown that the highest income groups have a tendency to consume larger quantities of water. Household income is a significant determinant of the residential demand for water. All other variables like lawn area, number of bath rooms, number of taps, the level of water using technologies, availability of storage facilities are inter related with income. When the income of upper income households increases they consume more water for lawn, gardening, cleaning, latrine cleaning etc. Per capita consumption of water was seen to be in general functionally and positively related to per capita income. Even though a positive functional relationship between household income and household consumption was found in this case also the positive influence of household income on household consumption disappears after a stage. A positive relationship was also observed between the size of family and water consumption. Water requirement of a household to a certain extent is determined by the size of the household while the number of earning member is a major factor in determining the income of the household.

In order to get a more general pattern of relationship, Lorenz ratio analysis was tried which also showed a positive and statistically significant relationship between per capita income and per capita consumption. Precipitate consumption of water increased along with an increase in per capita income till an optimum level was reached and then it fell.

In conclusion all the evidence thus suggest that the disparities in the level of water consumption between the rich and poor have widened. The main empirical finding of the study is that water consumption level of the different income groups have wide inequality because of their different income level. The water consumption level has exhibited a remarkable increasing trend after the fourth decile.

Here we can strongly recommend that the water supply system should be planned and installed on the basis of estimated present and future demand with reference to their determinants.

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SOCIAL IDENTITY AND INTER-STATE MIGRANT LABOURERS IN MALAYALAM MOVIES

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Abstract

Over the past few decades, interstate migrant labourers from different parts of India, are satisfying the labour needs of Kerala. This indispensable labour force is often represented as a possible threat to the Kerala society. They have been subjected to exploitation, exclusion and marginalization. Recently, Malayalam films are showing interest in characters and themes related to Inter State migrant labourers from North, East, West and North-Eastern parts of India. Characterization of migrants does not limit to stereotypes and stigmatized images. There are also characters of friendship, brotherhood and humour. The collective social identity formed out from these films, shows them to be the latest addition into the Malayalam movies, like that of the identity of Subaltern, Dalits and other marginalised groups.

Key words: Inter State Migrant, Movies, Social Identity

The migration trend of Kerala is facing prominent changes over the past couple of decades. It is no longer a place having emigrants of around 24lakh and 7,00,342 migrants working at different parts of India (Zachariah & Rajan, 2016). Better Standard of living, improved health and educational sector, a high number of out migration (within and outside India), stagnation in agriculture sector, awakening of construction sector, new developmental projects, etc., has transformed Kerala into an employment generating destination (Rajan & Sumeetha, 2016; Reddy, 2015). The formation of 'labour gap' at the lower strata of Kerala society

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along with higher wage rates have catalyzed the flow of migrant labourers from different States of India towards Kerala. Initially, it was the Inter State Migrant (ISM) labourers from the neighbouring South Indian States especially Tamil Nadu who had satisfied the labour needs of Kerala. According to the 2001 census the presence of Tamil Nadu migrants in Kerala was the highest with a population of 2,79,702 people of late, a shift in the migration trends of Kerala is visible. A recent study on ISM labourers for the Labour Ministry of Kerala estimates the presence of ISM as 25 lakh comprising people from West Bengal (20%), Bihar (18.10%), Assam (17.28%), Uttar Pradesh (14.83%), Orissa (6.67%) and several other States of India (Narayan and Venkiteswaran 2013). Though there is no consensus arrived regarding this estimated population, the presence of ISM migrants from different parts of the country is visible across Kerala. Ultimately, transforming Kerala to an in-migrating State (Rajan & Sumeetha 2016)

Migrant labourers from the North, West, East and North-Eastern parts of India have become the prominent in-migrant labourers of Kerala by outnumbering the migrants from South India. These people who are from the backward rural parts of India with diverse linguistic, Cultural and Social features that of Kerala are often addressed by the native Society as, 'Hindikaar' (Hindi speaking people) or 'bhai'/'bhaimaar'¹ or '*anyasamsthana thozhilalikal*'² (Aleyamma 2010, Prasad 2016). They have become an indispensable part of the construction sector, industrial sector, hotels, agriculture, domestic work, fishing sector, etc. Employment in Kerala provides them with better means of living. But being an unorganized labour category they are often vulnerable (Kumar 2011). Like any other migrants they are subjected for exploitation with long work hours, low salary, unsafe working and living conditions. Their basic human rights are violated and citizenship rights are denied. (Kumar 2011;

Narayan and Venkiteswaran 2013). On the other side, the crimes and murders involved by the ISMs makes native people suspicious towards the ISMs. Recently reported crimes committed by migrants especially, the rape and murder of the girl named Jisha³, in 2016 is prominent among them. The attitude native has towards the ISMs and the media show towards migrants is resulting in the formation of a sense of 'otherness' towards the ISM labourers in Kerala (Kumar 2011; Prasad 2016; Mythri 2010). The questions raised and arguments put forward in this article are couched on this background.

Malayalam films, a reference point to evaluate Inter State Migrants

The sensitivity shown by Malayalam films towards social issues is commendable. Migration of Kerala people (both within and outside India) is one such theme which was the central plot for a good number of Malayalam films. To trace the theme 'migration' in Malayalam films is beyond the limits of a few pages. The presence of characters with a Tamil background itself has a long history. In the recent past, themes and characters related to ISM labourers from the North, Eastern, Western and North-Eastern parts of India have become common in Malayalam movies. A labour category which is; socially, culturally and linguistically diverse at one side; vulnerable, exploited and marginalized on the other hand, deserves critical evaluation based on their presence in movies. Cinema as a powerful modern audiovisual medium of communication, is capable of wielding a powerful influence on human minds with its photographic realism, and is particularly effective on the minds of the gullible, illiterate masses who take all that is shown on the screen for reality (Prasad 2010).

A couple of questions formulated on this backdrop such as, (i) How ISM labourers are portrayed in Malayalam films? (ii) What kind

of Social Identity is evolved through these characters or storyline?, are used to analyse the films. The term 'Inter State Migrant (ISM)' is operationalised to represent a migrant labourer in Kerala, who belongs to North, Eastern, North-Eastern and Western parts of India ,especially from the states of West Bengal, Assam, Bihar, U.P, etc. No resource is available to watermark the presence of this category of migrants in Malayalam films. But an evaluation of the films released over the last few years, along with expert consultation shows that the themes related to ISM labourers become prominent over the last three years, especially with the release of the film 'Masala Republic'⁴ in April 25, 2014. More such films till March of 2017 are identified as portraying ISM related characters or storyline. To be specific, these films include Bhaiyya Bhaiyya⁵, Chandrettan Evideyya⁶, Amar Akbar Antony⁷, Appuram Bengal EppuramThiruvithamkur⁸, Darwinte Parinamam⁹, Kismath¹⁰, AnnMariaKalipilannu¹¹, Oru muthassi gatha¹², Jomonte suvisheshangal¹³ and C/o. Saira Banu¹⁴.

Identification of Themes related to ISMs in Malayalam Films

Keywords encapsulating the characterisation of ISMs in these films were derived by analysing the aforementioned films. A word cloud generated (Fig.1) out from the frequency of these keywords is revealing. The portrayal of ISMs in Malayalam films is distributed across, the way in which ISMS are addressed, the job profile of ISMs, the characterisation of ISMs, linguistic characteristics, symbols used to depict ISMs, the qualities associated with ISM characters and the social interaction of ISMs with the natives.

➤ The term 'Bengali'¹⁵ is generally used to represent a person who belongs to 'West Bengal' and use Bengali language as their mother tongue. It is true that ISMs from different districts of West Bengal occupies a major share of the migrants in Kerala. But in movies the term is not restricted to address migrants from West Bengal alone. In the film 'masala republic', all migrants including the two ISM

protagonists Sanju Bhai from Arunachal Pradesh and Bheemta from Assam are collectively referred to as 'Bengalis'. The migrant from Assam in the film *Kismath* is addressed as 'Bengali'. These ISMs are identified by tagging names or events to the term 'Bengali'. Couple of movies such as 'masala republic' and 'bhaiyya bhaiyya' portrays

Fig:1 Distribution of ISMs and their related themes in Malayalam Films (Courtesy: WordItOut.com)



the Malayali¹⁶ contractor who supplies migrant workers with the name 'Bengali Babu'. Dialogues packed with humour such as, 'without onion there is no Bengali and without Bengali there is no Malayali', 'Children's, Malayalis and Bengalis are using panmasala', 'shambhu will snatch Bengali guys' etc., are commonly used in the film 'masala republic'. These dialogues and words are capable enough to assert the term 'Bengali' as a symbol to represent the whole ISM labourers. Like the term 'bhai', which Malayalam media (especially print media) use to address the ISMs (Prasad, 2016), the term 'Bengali' gets wider connotations. In Malayalam movies a single word 'Bengali' becomes a common word symbolizing the whole group of ISM labourers who are diverse within themselves.

➤ Like linguistic tags several other symbols are associated with the portrayal of ISMs. 'A tall, well built man in rain jacket is walking under the rain. He is wearing a headset in his ears and music is played loud in it. He is wearing old jeans, untidy T-shirt and a pair of chappal'. This is how the ISM character of the film 'Amar Akbar Antony' was introduced at the opening scene. In other films also the ISMs are depicted as persons fond of wearing a headset and enjoy listening music over the phone. In the film 'Masala Republic' at a serious scene, one of the main characters got annoyed and throws the mobile of the ISM to the ground accusing him for playing music loudly. The migrant becomes glad only when he manages to buy a new phone with good sound quality. Mobile and headset becomes the symbol to represent ISMs. Migrant listening to the music over the phone is a common sequence in other films also.

➤ The 'Masala Republic' is considered to be the first film to portray ISMs as full length characters. The storyline revolves around two ISM's Sanju Bhai from Arunachal Pradesh and Bhimta from Assam. It tries to humorously depict the misery of ISM's due to the Kerala Governments ban on manufacture, storage and selling of Gudka, pan masala and their variants. Horde of ISM's were shown chased down, arrested and jailed by the Anti Gudka Squad of Police Department for using 'pan masala' (it is the term used in this film to represent Gudka and related products). Dialogues such as, 'Bengalis can't survive without pan masala', 'because of the ban on pan masala Bengalis have lost stamina to do hard labour', 'the ban has affected construction sector' etc., were used to establish ISMs addiction towards tobacco and related products. Mobile phones with headsets and panmasala becomes symbols to represent ISMs.

➤ The employment nature of the ISMs is also a feature attached with them. The ISMs are mainly portrayed as construction workers. As manual labourers, especially in the films 'Bhaiya Bhaiya', 'Our

muthasi gatha' and 'C/o.Saira Banu' they becomes the symbol of hard work. The ISM characters are portrayed as workers who are ready to do any job which demand physical power. The film 'Appuram Bengal Eppuram Thiruvithamkur' stands apart from the rest of the movies by portraying the character named Kumar, a migrant from West Bengal as clerk. Chronological evaluation of these films makes it clear that there has occurred a shift in the nature of employment of ISMs from construction workers to domestic workers. Films such as 'Ann Maria Kalipilanu', 'orumuthasi gatha' and 'jomonte suvishesham' deals with the people at the upper class structure of the society. In these films ISMs, are presented as domestic workers within their houses. They are portrayed as trustworthy, loyal and hardworking domestic labourers.

➤ Malayalam language is often tagged as a tongue twisting language, but the interaction of ISMs with the Malayali's are giving opportunity for them to learn Malayalam. In most of the films the migrants are made to talk in Malayalam with a Hindi flavour. Like the regional variant of Malayalam spoken language, the language ISMs speaks gives the possibility for the formation of Malayalam in different slang. The way ISMs speak Malayalam is used by most of the films to evoke laughter. Most importantly the problems encountered by Malayali during their communicating with the ISMs are dramatised to evoke humour. Also the characterisation of ISM labourers results in presenting regional languages such as Bengali and Assamese in Malayalam films. The title song of the film 'Masala republic' is a combination of Bengali and Hindi languages. In the film Kismath, Assamese language is used. A Bengali couple in the film 'appuram bengal eppuram thiruvithamkur', speaks in Bengali language. Hindi is commonly used in these films as a means of interaction between the native and the migrant. Thus, ISM related characters and themes give an opportunity for Malayalam films to become multi lingual

and multi cultural. Like that different types of characters are evolved through the presence of ISMs.

➤ **ISMs as Maoist and Criminal**

The bond of brotherhood between a Malayali and a Bengali is the central plot of the film *'bhaiyya bhaiyya'*. The film depicts Babu Ram Chaterji (BRC) as the first person from West Bengal to come Kerala during 1980's. He grew up with a Malayali child named Babu. Since their childhood strong brotherly relation has evolved between the two. They stand in support of each other throughout the film. The story is narrated by Babu during his journey to West Bengal along with Mr.BRC, his girlfriend and another friend of him in an ambulance. They are travelling with the dead body of Usirali Mandal of Chota Lalgad who met with an accident in their worksite and died. The fun filled moments attains a serious phase when reaching West Bengal. It is revealed that the dead man is not Usirali Mandal and his ID proof is fake. The dead man is presented as Bindra, who is one of the most wanted Maoist criminal in West Bengal. The existing speculations over migrant labourers as having criminal background are used to craft this film.

The same strategy is used by the makers of the film 'amar akbar antony' to give a dramatic effect to the film. This film is basically an entertainer which narrates camaraderie and bondage between three Malayali youngsters; amar, akbar and antony. Serious and sensitive issue of rape and murder of girl children is wrapped inside the film. The film starts with a news report cautioning natives on sheltering migrants. From the opening scene onwards a tall well built ISM labourer is presented as a criminal character committing rape and murder of small girl children. His physical appearance and gaze is used to present him as dangerous. The film maintains an entertainer mood, but twice in-between he is presented as committing rape and murder of girl children.

At the end of the film a ten year old girl, named 'pathumma' who is near and dear to the trio, was raped and killed. At this moment the complete identity of the person is revealed as, 'dhapan' from West Bengal, a habitual offender who got trial from West Bengal for rapping a ten year old girl. He is shown under suspicion when the trio fights and beat him down. The twist happens at the climax. The story reveals a Malayali senior citizen as offender for the rape and murder of pathumma. A boy child was also presented as a victim of his sexual misbehaves. Finally, both culprits were lynched by the mob. The character 'dhapan' never speaks a single word in the film. But the film is successful in personifying him as a symbol of 'danger'. The ISM labourer is used only as an object to keep the suspense by hiding the crime. The existing speculation over the migrant labourers is exploited to give a dramatic effect to the film.

A change over in the Characterisation of ISMs

Surprisingly the films which presented ISM labourers in the year 2016 has a different story to tell. Sibichan, Jopan and Ambrose, the three best friends who shares a rented room, has never expected a brotherhood relation will be formed with the Bengali couple, Kumar and Dev Janaki who rents a room nearby their rented room. The movie 'Appuram Bengal Eppuram Thiruvithamkur'⁸ is the story of this relation. The inter caste marriage has forced the couple to leave their village. For the past three years they are living in Kerala. Kumar had a clerical job in a footwear company, but lost it due to the company's close down. He fails to find another job and his physical state, cardiological problems to be precise rules him out of any prospects to achieve manual jobs. Unfortunately, Kumar was beaten heavily by a group of native people accusing him for a robbery. Even though he was rescued by sibichan, the attack was followed by prejudiced statements from the mob such as, 'The migrants are all robbers and they roam around to plan robbery',

‘for them Kerala is their Gulf: No one has to be believed, all are thieves’. The couple fail to find a solution to their financial problems and tries to kill themselves but the trio friends rescues them. Finally, the three friends donate 3 lakh rupees for Kumars surgery, which they have raised to buy an auto of their own. The film ends when the two groups working together and living harmoniously. This film is the first one to share a friendly attitude towards the ISMs.

The role transformation of ISMs from construction labourer to a domestic labourer brought changes in the way they are looked at. The movie ‘*orumuthasigatha*’ shows a glimpse of it. Bhushan Babu from West Bengal is presented as the new domestic worker sheltered in the house of Sibichan. He is presented as a character that does all household works from cleaning to cooking food. He turns to become a fitting companion to sibichan’s mother and mother in law, around whom the story revolves. Dialogues such as, ‘Bengalis are now present everywhere in Kerala’, ‘Native students have started learning Bengali to ease the communication problem with other Bengali student in the school’, ‘Bengali language has more demand than Malayalam in future’ and ‘It is only left to see a Bengali in the shoes of a Malayali priest’ are satirically used to evoke laughter. Even though the climax reveals that it was a Malayali who was in the disguise of a Bengali, the way the ISM character was casted and the dialogues uttered by others are highly relevant.

The ten year old girl named ‘Ann Maria’ has a dream to secure first prize in the school level long jump competition like her father. The story line of the film ‘*Ann Maria kalipilannu*’ is the events associated to make her dream true. She is the only daughter of a doctor couple, who has a dysfunctional family life. Mother, maid and a migrant servant are the people living at Ann Maria’s home. The only male in that house is ‘sanath’, an ISM labourer from West Bengal. He is the sole companion of Ann Maria. Along with the

household work he manages to be with Ann Maria wherever she goes. To avenge on her PT instructor for shattering her dreams Ann Maria seeks the help of Gireesh, who disguised himself as a goonda. He cheats her initially and Sanath makes a statement against Gireesh at the Police Station to recover the mobile phone which was given as a reward. As the story unfolds Gireesh and Ann Maria become close friends but Sanath is not left behind. The film never uses any tag names such as 'bengali' to identify Sanath. He is always called by his name and treated with dignity. Sanath is shown as a person who takes the responsibility of the girl by himself. The permission to travel with Gireesh was granted by Ann Maria's mother because Sanath assures to accompany her. This film stands apart from all other films in treating a migrant labourer.

Sumangal, who got arrested for a bike accident in the film 'kismath' becomes the symbol of injustice shown towards migrants. He was accused for causing the accident by hitting a Malayali's bike. He argues for his justice several times but the police were not willing to listen to him. The inspector scolds him. Later when he reveals that he belongs to Assam, the Inspector doubts him as a Bodo¹⁷ terrorist. Finally, he manages to compromise the issue by paying an amount of Rs.2000/-. Though nobody listens to him, he persists to make arguments to get his justice. Rather than a migrant who fear to speak out in public Sumangal demands his justice. Though no one is ready to hear and help him he advocates for himself.

The story of the film 'C/o. Sairabanu' revolves around the death of a migrant labourer named Kishan Kumar, who lost his life in a road accident. Police records testimonies Kishan Kumar is from Sonathpur, Minarvagaav, Siliguri district, West Bengal. The son of Sairabanu is presented before the law as the culprit. The character named Advocate Annie, the most reputed and experienced lawyer, advocates to bring justice to Kishan Kumar. No lawyers were willing

to take the case against her. As a result of that, Sairabanu was forced to become the advocate of her son under the special legal provisions with the concern of the Court. She later finds that it is Advt. Annie's teenage son who was behind the wheels during the collision with Kishan Kumar which turned out to be fatal. Sairabanu neither have evidence to prove the truth nor she wants to bring a teenage boy before the law. Being a postwoman she comes across the fact that among the migrants there are multiple persons with the same name. Her doubts and instincts lead her to the truth that the person claimed to be dead in the FIR is indeed alive. On the final day of trial she presents another Kishan Kumar before the court with proper identity cards. The available documents fail to identify the dead person. On the basis of that the accused was released. The Court raises its concern over similar incidents in the near future and rules for further investigation over the identity of the dead man. The film concludes with Saira at the Malda Town railway station in search of the dead man's beloveds.

Discussion

Inter State Migrants as full length as well as passing characters in these films are powerful enough to make an impression upon the viewers. The number of films dealing with the ISMs is increasing year after year. Most importantly the ISM related roles are mainly enacted by migrant labourers. The persons named Sumangal Singha Roy, Rupesh Bhimta and Santhosh Lakshman are now becoming common in the bigscreen. The term 'Bengali' becomes a representative word to address ISMs in Malayalam movies. Things such as the pan masala, mobile phone and headset become the materials associated with ISMs. The migrants are mainly characterised as construction workers. The recent films have begun to take a different position on them. Migrant characters as domestic workers are on the increase. Even though the government records and existing studies fail to find

migrants as domestic workers the Malayalam movies are exploring new horizons. In several films ISMs are portrayed as criminals and Maoists. This reflects the popular image about them as a potential threat to the native society. On the other hand qualities of brotherhood and trustworthiness are being attached to these characters. Also they are used to evoke laughter among the audience. The problems confronted during the communication between the native people and migrant workers, the way in which migrants talk in Malayalam, etc., are commonly used as humour generating scenes. Certain films to be specific 'Darwinte Parinamam', 'Chandretan Evideya', and 'Jomonte Suvishesham' provide screen spaces for the migrants only to create humour. The wide range of characters and qualities associated with the ISMs in Malayalam movies are powerful enough in the formation of social identity for them.

Social Identity and ISM

Richard Jenkins in his work 'Social Identity' (1996) argues an identity as the internal-external dialectic of identification. He defines that, social identity is a characteristic or property of humans as social beings. It is both a practice and process of 'being' and 'becoming'. It is our understanding of who we are and of who other people are and reciprocally, other people's understanding of themselves and of others. More than selfhood, a collective social identity of ISMs is emerged through their characterisation in Malayalam films. The collective identities emphasis, how people are similar to each other and what they are believed to have in common (Jenkins, 1996, p.80). Jenkins proposes two different types of collective identity. In the first, the members of a collectively can identify themselves as such: they know who (and what) they are. In the second, members may be ignorant of their membership or even of the collectivity's existence. The first exists as much as it is recognized by its members; the second is constituted in its recognition by observers. This forms the

conceptual distinction between groups and categories respectively (Jenkins, 1996, p.82). The films discussed here are crafted for the People of Kerala in a single language Malayalam. The ISMs are themselves not aware of such films. So the identity formulated by the film makers about the ISMs is to present before the People of Kerala.

Group identity is the product of collective internal definition. In the relationship with significant others, it mobilise identification of similarity and difference which inturn generates group identities. At the same time, self-conscious group memberships signify others and create social relations with them. The categorisation is also a general social process with a collective external definition. The identification of others, their definition according to our adoption (which they may either accept or recognise), is often a feature of identifying ourselves. Categorisation is a routine and necessary contribution to how we make sense of, and impute predictability to, a complex social world about which our knowledge is always partial. The ability to identify unfamiliar individuals with reference to known social categories allows us at least the illusion that we know what to expect of them (Jenkins, 1996, p.83). The way in which these categories are defined may not be part of the local knowledge of the people to whom they are applied, but the categories themselves are locally grounded (Jenkins, 1996, p.85).

Categorization of ISMs is based on the perspective of the film makers and according to the storyline. The various themes presented in these films gives a collective social identity to the ISMs through the eyes of the beholder. The collective identity formed through these films categorize ISMs as a manual labour category of Kerala with the qualities attached to them ranges from Construction worker-Domestic worker, Criminals-Friends and Danger-Humour. Their collective identity is represented with the symbols – ‘Bengali’,

‘Mobile phone/Headset’ and ‘pan masala’. Initially, the ISMs were portrayed to elicit crime and danger. Now there are a good number of films which approach them in a friendly manner. The social identity formed to these unfamiliar individuals are done with the known social categories either as first hand understanding about migrants or with reference to the existing categories.

Since films are considered as a microcosm of the social, political, economic, and cultural life of a nation. It is the contested site where meanings are negotiated, traditions made and remade, identities affirmed or rejected (Stead,1989). The social identity formed through this categorization demands further scrutiny. The ISMs are categorised as the manual labourer who beholds stereotyped images as criminals and murderer. Even though there are a similar number of films which use migrants to elicit humour and evoke laughter, the characterization of the ISMs as criminals has a strong impact. This long range of characterization widens the qualities associated with the ISMs resulting in the categorization of ISMs as the objects to hide crime and to elicit humour.

The humour is generated with the degrading type of events and dialogues. Two events in the film ‘Orumuthasigatha’ are perfect examples. The comment made by the old duo over Bhushan Babu (the ISM character) as, ‘belonging to a category of people, who use pan masala instead of toothpaste’. The restaurant waiter’s statement as they, ‘don’t employ migrant is their speciality’ are formed in a degrading manner. The communication issues during the migrant-native interactions and the way in which migrants talk in Malayalam are also situations which are used to make laughter. More than considering them as human beings, films objectifies them to portray crime or humour at a degrading level.

ISM – a new marginalized category in Malayalam films

The ISMs are categorized as working class people engaged in

unskilled manual labour. They belong to the lower class structure. Similar types of characters are portrayed in Malayalam films mainly by the people at the margins of the society like Subaltern, Dalits etc. Marginalised communities are forced into stereotypes or as the Other (Raj, 2016). Dalit characters were minimal and redundant and reduced to being sidekicks to villains or unskilled labourers with no identity (Parayil, 2015). Dalits remained as instruments to idolize the hero, to act as a contrast to the elite protagonist or as poor helpless victims who offer the protagonist an opportunity to display his heroism. The subaltern presence, their inabilities, inhibitions, spontaneous acts, ignorance, language, tastes and behaviour always prompt humour and laughter (Parayil, 2015). The collective social identity of the ISMs in Malayalam films to elicit crime and humour are nothing more than an addition to the marginalized characters in Malayalam films. This working class people from a different ethnic group provides new vista for categorization in Malayalam films. The characterisation of ISMs is also becoming part of victimhood, stereotypes and laughter. Like the voice and images of marginalized and dalits in popular cinemas, the voice and images of ISMs becomes momentary and easily forgettable. It is true that films are acknowledging the transformation of the working condition of migrants as a construction labourer to a domestic worker. More than that there isn't any changes in the way migrants are treated. The issues and problems related to the ISMs are unheard and under- represented. The film *C/o. Sairabhanu* may be seen as an initiative towards this by portraying the undocumented recruitment of migrants to Kerala. However, the film does not voice against this. Rather than that it manipulates the identity of the ISMs in rescue of the culprit. The existence of ISM in Kerala is providing new possibilities for characterisation in Malayalam films. But the social identity evolved through these characters is not different from any other marginalised category in Kerala.

Conclusion

The Inter State Migrants (ISMs) from North, East, North-Eastern and Western parts of India has become an indispensable manual labour power of Kerala by out numbering the ISM labourers from South Indian states. Their presence in Kerala over the past two decades has made several changes to the socio-economic condition of the state. Their presence is even acknowledged by Malayalam film industry by portraying characters and themes related to ISMs. The persons who came here as labourers are also getting a chance to share the screen in the movies. The characterization of ISMs in the movies, is providing a social identity for them. An evaluation of this Social identity using the framework of Richard Jenkins shows that a collective identity for the ISMs is emerged out from these characters. Their categorization is influenced by qualities attached to these characters to elicit crime, humour, friendship and brotherhood. The categorization of ISMs in these films is no more constrained to stereotyped images alone. The humour generated by these characters is self degrading. The categorization is not effective to address the problems of ISMs. Like the existing identities of marginalised groups such as subaltern and dalits, the social identity of ISMs portrays the possibilities to become the new symbol of victimhood and self degrading humour in the malayalam movies.

Notes:

1. *Bhai*, is a term used in Hindi which means brother
2. *Anya samsthana thozhilalikal*: it means 'labourers from other States'.
3. *Jisha* a 29 year old law student was brutally raped and murdered on April 2016. The police have arrested 24year old Ameer-Ul-Islam, a migrant labourer from Assam for committing the crime. The trial is going on.
4. *Masala Republic*. Dir. Visakh G S. Perf. Indrajith Sukumaran. Chemmeen Cinemas. 2014.
5. *Bhaiyya Bhaiyya*. Dir. Johny Antony. Perf. Kunchacko Boban and Biju Menon. Nobel Andre Release & Tricolor Entertainments. 2014.

6. *Chandretan evideya*. Dir. Siddharth Bharathan. Perf. Dileep. Popcorn Entertainments, 2015.
7. *Amar Akbar Antony*. Dir. Nadirsha. Perf. Jayasurya, Prithvi Raj and Indrajith Sukumaran. Thameens Release, 2015.
8. *Appuram Bengal Eppuram Thiruvithamkur*. Dir. Sennan Pallassery. Mylakkattu Films, 2016.
9. *Darwinte Parinamam*. Dir. Jijo Antony. Perf. Prithviraj Sukumaran. August Cinema, 2016.
10. *Kismath*. Dir. Shanavas K Bavakkutty. Perf. Shane Nigam. LJ Films, 2016
11. *AnnMariaKalipilannu*. Dir. Midhun Manuel Thomas. Perf. Sara Arjun and Sunny Wayne. Playhouse, 2016.
12. *Orumuthashigatha*. Dir. Jude Anthany Joseph. Perf. Rajini Chandy and Bhagyalakshmi. AVA Production, 2016.
13. *Jomontesuwisheshangal*. Dir. Sathyan Anthikad. Perf. Mukesh and Dulquer Salmaan. Kalasangam Evergreen Films, 2016
14. *C/o. Saira Bhanu*. Dir. Antony Sony. Perf. Manju Warriar and Shane Nigam. Eros International, 2017.
15. According to Oxford Dictionary 'bengali', is an ethnic group speaking Bengali language and living in Bangladesh and Eastern India. West Bengal comes under the Eastern part of India.
16. Malayali, according to Oxford Dictionary, is a term used to represent a person who is a native of Kerala State in India.
17. The armed separatist group of people who seeks to obtain a sovereign Bodo land for the Bodo people in Assam, India. The Government of India designates it as a terrorist group.

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GLOBALISATION AND HIGHER EDUCATION: OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES BEFORE INDIA

Rajeswari P.V. * & Pavithran K.S. **

Abstract

Globalisation has many-sided influences on world countries. The challenges raised by it on developed nations is entirely different from those in developing nations. Economic development and education are connected invisibly and are complementary to each other. The widespread use of English, the enormous growth in number of international schools, changes in dress pattern is the direct impact of globalisation. Countries with lower living standards are more vulnerable to changes due to lack of already available frameworks. Global policies initiated by UNESCO and UNICEF to create a global education system plays stronger role in developing nations rather than in developed nations. Interventions from international agencies are suspected on the fear that it will shift the control of education from national agencies to international agencies. International student mobility, increased rate of private investors in education, more market oriented studies shifting the culture of nations worldwide are the challenges posed by globalisation in Higher Education.

Globalisation has a complex effect on the system of higher education worldwide. Higher education is considered to be an important investment in human capital. It gives emphasis on the restructuring in the educational system with extensive usage of information technology, promoting original research works and to present themselves with the people who can work in the international environment. At this time there ensues an invisible system of link

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between economic growth and education because each is essential for the growth of the other (Dhingra, 2015).

Globalisation has brought new employment opportunities to the developing countries and provided numerous educational opportunities across the world. One can move out of his home country for better opportunities elsewhere. It also increased competition in the market and promoted Foreign Direct Investment which can stimulate economic growth. The widespread use of English, the enormous growth in the number of international schools, the changes in dress code (e.g. people prefer to wear western style dress rather than the traditional one), competition for superpower/regional power position among the developing nations are the direct impact of globalisation. Globalisation has proven to be bringing changes and influencing more in developing nations while comparing to developed nations. Countries with lower living standards are more vulnerable to changes in their educational and cultural fields because of the lack of already existing frameworks. 'Millennium Development Goals' and 'Education for All' being implemented by UNESCO and UNICEF to create a coordinated global education system plays a stronger role in developing /under developed nations rather than in developed countries. Globalisation in effect brings changes in the life and thoughts of people in developing countries whereas the developed nations act as a model for the rest of the world in terms of economic growth, opportunities, educational standards and cultural patterns. It is actually increased the gap between haves and have not's and help the accumulation of wealth and superior positions in the hands of few and thus promotes rivalry and competition among the nations. It is more important to have a world order which promotes world peace rather than a developed one in terms of accepting the goodness in each nation than few nations with well-equipped position. A global order based

on promotion of every nation will be far better than an order in which so many tries to be like a few.

Globalisation has a very close relationship with education. Being education is an important tool in defining a society, globalisation is to be combined with education and the global happenings have a profound effect on it. Globalisation of the world economies is prominent to increase emphasis on internationalization of the themes included in a course of study in educational institutes. It also create the occasions for new partnerships in research and education organizations through the world (Oblinger, 1996). Under the impact of globalisation education is motivated to vital alterations. The effects of globalisation in education carries greater expansions in technology and communication are anticipating changes within education systems across the world as ideas, standards and knowledge, changing the parts of learners and educators, and creating a shift in the society from mechanization towards an information society(Naik, 2015). It echoes on culture and fetches about a new system of cultural imperialism. In case of technological use in education, the western societies leading ahead, leaving less developed countries far behind. A lack of proper infrastructure and funds makes the situation in the underdeveloped countries to implement any technological and communication development. The world capitalist societies are slowly becoming international with a strong emphasis on free trade developing. Educational institutions obviously have reacted accordingly by becoming more market focusing their energy more on making capitals rather than providing satisfactory education for students (Benking, 1997).

Globalisation and Higher Education in India

Globalisation has a multi-faceted effect on the system of higher education in India. It has brought the use of information technology, productivity dimension in education and gave emphasis

on research activities as education is an important part of human capital. As on today we have more than 760 universities, 261 private universities, 112 dual mode universities and 11 women universities. There are 38498 colleges all over India out of which 77% are privately managed. 63% is privately unaided and 14% privately aided colleges and 10.7% of the colleges are meant for women (<http://mhrd.gov.in/statist>). Education system has shown an increase of 14 fold in terms of the number of Universities and thirty-three times in terms of number of colleges, while comparing to the number of colleges at the time of independence. Student enrollment in the formal system of education at the beginning of 2015 was 12.57 lakhs, resulted in India ranking second largest education system in the world. The expenditure on higher education has increased from 49% in 1950-51 to 90% in India. It is significant that despite these impressive statistics the system enters to hardly 6% of the relevant age group as compared to more than 80% in the developed countries this is partly because the expansion has been offset by the growth of the population in the relevant age group (<http://mhrd.govt.in/statist>). Nevertheless the fact illustrates how difficult it is for developing countries to bridge gap and to keep pace with the developed world. Resource restraints are crucial and the quality of education obtainable to most Indian students is doubtful in terms of its capability to face challenges raised by further learning and job market. The situation is more complex due to the inelasticity of higher education system, the pressures from, religious, regional and caste oriented groups, and related problem.

In order to face the challenges of globalization the centre-state regulatory bodies and institutions have taken initiative. For this purpose University Grants Commission insists that foreign universities to offer courses in India should be accredited in their respective countries, with a valid degree for students in India as

well as in the country which it belongs to. A mechanism to screen the application of such institutions for approval and promotion of internationalization of higher education is being evolved by the Ministry of Human Resource Development. On behalf of government of India various regulatory bodies are offering several schemes concerned with higher education such as travel grants, seminar grants, research grants etc. It includes bi-lateral exchange of academic staff from India to foreign countries. UNESCO, UNICEF, and UNDP, French, German, Canadian embassies and other organisations are offering similar programmes. UGC provides financial assistance to universities and colleges for the promotion of usage of computers in research and related areas.

The initiative of World Trade Organisation are anticipated to bring stress on the universities worldwide into severe focus (Altbach, 2015). It is supposed that academic world would be meaningfully changed if higher education worldwide is exposed to the constructions of WTO. The impact of WTO initiatives on advanced countries may differ from India. The situation in developing countries is different from developed nations in terms of literacy, access of higher education, and in the number of organisations to promote various types of institutions to promote different programmes, quality improvement of academic institutions alone is not the problem with India regarding higher education. It aims at access to academic institutions that can contribute to the national development. There has been anxiety stated in its impact on the environment and eminence of research and its significance to the native needs, which is hypothetical to contribute for the establishment of civil society. Once our universities are subject to an international academic market place regulated by the WTO, they would be swamped by overseas institutions and programmes intend on earning of profit and not or less concentration of national development. WTO is

estimated to enable all kinds of educational products to be freely transferred from one country to another. Copy right, patent, and licensing which are now part of international treaties would further strengthened. It would become challenging to control the trade in academic organizations, programs,degrees or product through the universal borders. At present authority over higher education is exclusively in the hands of national authorities. Moreover world student mobility data,compiled by UNESCO,confirm imbalances in student exchange between developed and developing nations. India alone accounts more than 13.9% of the total number of international students in USA compared to only 703 Americans who studied in India during 2015-16 academic year. A study conducted by Australian Edu World,states, "It is the quality of education and the perceived value of an overseas degree which appears to be the most significant factor in influencing student decisions to study outside India,and for morethan 1/3rd of such students,a major motivation was their desire to broaden their experience by living and working in another country."

The major challenges faced by higher education system in India are severe scarcity of funds, lack of independence, and problem of affiliation. At the same time the influence of globalisation on education develops speedy advances in technology, communication and knowledge economy. All developed countries face the problem of severe limitations in delivering basic services while motivate their citizen to seek more education. Thus globalisation creates a separated society of those who can manage to pay for such information technology and those who cannot. The extent of education transnationally as a result of globalisation has effects on humanities worldwide. The capitalist society is steadily becoming global with a sturdy emphasis on open trade emerging. Educational institutions focus more on training their students for international

job markets. Educational policies, expenditure on education, new educational techniques, all are affected in a global manner. The wider acceptance of IT education gained in India after the introduction of globalisation is a glaring example in this respect. Market oriented studies, human resource management concepts, women education are other priorities that nations adopt in their education with a global perspective. It is nowadays very clear that the demand in IT professionals steep due to a policy change regarding the issuance of visa to foreign nationals. Even employees working in India are at a risk to lose their job in India. The multinational companies in India are planning to make a cut short in their present employees up to 5%. This surely will reflect in our future course preference and educational promotions by the governments.

Commercialisation of education is another impact of globalisation on education. Private or unaided institutions in India had a tremendous growth in India in the past few decades. In order to prepare candidates for the international job markets the governments gave great opportunities to the private educational institutions which ultimately led to a new business growth rather than a group of educated vibrant youth. It also brought in a trend to get prepared for the international job markets among the youths, which reflected in the quality of the employee stock available in India. This is also severe in developing countries while developed countries acts as the opportunity providers, the latter suffers in getting quality employees too. Educational policies as well as teaching methods of a country are also affected by globalisation. Developing and under developed countries are striving hard to enable their students with technological developments and suffer from lack of funds and resources. Thus private investors can flourish in those countries. The commercialisation of education makes it a profit motive industry. Capitalism is giving way to technological industrialisation or

educational industrialization in a sense. It is one of the main agenda of globalisation to bring in an information society which desires imaginative individuals and governments, should be trained only in educational institutions, the individuals to adopt new standards and developing students to obtain and use information gains significance in the process of globalisation (Naik, 2015).

Globalisation replicates in culture and carries about a new method of cultural domination. With the changes that it brings into every nation's educational policy methods and aims it is actually bringing change in each and every nation's culture too. According to Gordon, "Higher education is principal to the social, economic and cultural health of the nation. It will continue not only through the intellectual development of students but by preparing them for work, but also by adding to the world's store of knowledge and understanding." How far globalisation and the new educational content of each nation across the world are able to achieve this? Why is the content of our higher studies demand more and more market-oriented studies? There lies the real agenda of globalisation that it is focusing on a society which can promote economic imperialism, where the industries can flourish at the cost of newer information. The method of delivering knowledge permits persons to discover new horizons in learning and thinking beyond text books. Thus globalisation brought into a knowledge revolution in everyone's life. However almost all countries of the world have adopted educational principles from the western world and are eager to rise modern and therefore promote education as a symbol of modernity and development to their own population and the foreign countries. The spread of education internationally as a result of globalisation has effects on cultures worldwide. The capitalist society is gradually becoming global with a strong focus on free trade emerging. (Naik, 2015). Educational institution obviously have reacted accordingly,

by becoming more market oriented, focusing their energy more on creating capitals rather than providing sufficient education for students. (Benking,1997).

Conclusion

Globalisation has a many-sided influence on the structure of higher education in India. It has compelled to reform the education system, the use of information technology, giving productivity element to education and stress on its research and development activities because education is an important part of human assets. Intense resource limitations are visible and the quality of education accessible to most Indian students is questionable in terms of its capability to meet the challenges raised by further education and employment market. This is further complicated by the strictness of higher education system, pressures from religious, regional and caste based groups. The situation is further complicated by the strictness of higher education system, the pressures from regional, religious and caste based groups, and related problems. The widespread use of English, the enormous growth in number of international schools, changes in dress pattern is the direct impact of globalisation. Countries with lower living standards are more vulnerable to changes due to lack of already available frameworks. Global policies initiated by UNESCO and UNICEF to create a global education system plays stronger role in developing nations rather than indeveloped nations. Interventions from international agencies are suspected on the fear that it will shift the control of education from national agencies to international agencies. International student mobility, increased rate of private investors in education, more market oriented studies, shifting the culture of nations worldwide are the challenges posed by globalisation. Educational policies, new education techniques, all are affected in a global manner. IT education, Market-oriented studies, human resource management concepts, women education are the

priorities in education with a global perspective. The multinational companies planning to cut short their employee strength to 5% nowadays surely will reflect in our course preferences and policies of the government. Thus globalisation brought into a knowledge revolution in everyone's life. However almost all countries of the world have adopted educational ideals from the western world thought and are anxious to rise modern and therefore promote education as a symbol of modernity and development to their own population and the foreign countries.

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